THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

As it relates to

RELIGION and the *CHURCH*,

From the Earlieſt Accounts

TO THE PRESENT CENTURY.

Comprehending a clearer and more connected View of the Progreſs of our ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION; the Preſervation of our RIGHTS and LIBERTIES; and the Riſe and Declenſion of the POWER of the POPES in ENGLAND than any other Hiſtory extant.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By FERD°. WARNER, L.L.D.

CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD KEEPER.

VOLUME I.

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TO

THE KING.

SIR,

THE following history, which I have the honour to be permitted to lay before Your Majesty, is intended to give an idea of the government and doctrine of the English Church from the beginning; of the temper, intrigues, and principles of the several parties; and of

of the characters of the principal perſons, related to it, who have at any time made a figure on the public ſtage.

Your Majeſty may ſee here in a clear and connected view---what no other impartial hiſtory, I believe, affords --- the entire progreſs of our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, from liberty to ſervitude, and from ſervitude to liberty again; till it was happily eſtabliſhed in the ſame uncorrupted form, in which it ſubſiſts at this day under Your Majeſty's auſpicious influence.

It is the intention, SIR, of the following hiſtory, to deduce the whole ſeries of cauſes and effects in this amazing progreſs; the cauſes which good men oppoſed and lamented at the time, in the former part of it, tho ſo diſguiſed by the artifices of the court of Rome, that many could not, and many pretended that they did not, diſcern them, till an effectual reſiſtance became impracticable. In the latter part of this progreſs, occaſioned by an uſurpation, fatal to the juſt authority and prerogatives of the crown, as well as to the rights and privileges of the church, Your Majeſty knows the miſeries from which this kingdom was delivered: and Your ſubjects will ſee and feel themſelves happy in a continuation of that deliverance, under a prince who is very zealous to preſerve the bleſſings of the reformation in their full extent.

If

If I have made uſe, SIR, of the materials with which the Engliſh hiſtory is replete, to bring the fatal politicks of remoter ages into view; if I have expoſed the miſtaken meaſures of ſome other princes, dilated on their miſcarriages, and the ill effects of thoſe miſcarriages in their conduct, this will ſerve to throw a luſtre on the wiſdom and integrity of Your Majeſty's own adminiſtration; full of glory to Yourſelf, and of happineſs to Your people.

Your people, SIR, cannot reſtrain their gratitude towards a ſovereign, who has approved himſelf their father in a conſtant preſervation of their rights and liberties, when they read here the many attempts that have been made on both, by ſeveral kings of England, againſt reaſon and againſt law: And it is impoſſible indeed for Us, to underſtand the whole extent of our happineſs under the government of KING GEORGE the ſecond, any otherwiſe than by a compariſon of the times we live in, with the miſeries that have been inflicted upon other ages, under other princes.

Permit me, GREAT SIR, to hope then, that I ſhall at leaſt have anſwered one end of writing hiſtory in this work---and the nobleſt end of all, that of inſtructing poſterity by the examples of former times --- in taking occaſion from the many inſtances of tyranny and oppreſſion which are here exhibited, to inculcate leſſons,

to my countrymen, of loyalty and affection to the beſt of princes.

Whilſt the inhabitants of this country retain a proper ſenſe of liberty and religion, Your Majeſty cannot fail, indeed, to poſſeſs Yourſelf, nor to deliver down to Your deſcendents, the hearts of all Your ſubjects, with the inheritance of the crown. But, SIR, notwithſtanding all Your Majeſty's pious care, an indifference to chriſtianity among the higher order of Your people is getting ſuch an aſcendant, and among the lower there is ſuch an increaſe of popery and enthuſiaſm, that ſo far as theſe ways of thinking have any influence, there is reaſon to fear that our liberty may become licentiouſneſs, and that our pure religion may be turned into ſuperſtition.

Under this alarming apprehenſion, to which the breaſt of no good man can be a ſtranger, I thought I could not acquit myſelf of my duty to Your Majeſty, and my country, in a work of more utility---having already contributed my endeavours towards ſtopping the growth of Infidelity---than to lay open the errors, the miſchiefs, and the iniquities of Popery, in a clear and true detail of its tyranny and uſurpation over the Engliſh Church.

Of this book it is, SIR, that I have preſumed to beg the gracious patronage and acceptance of Your Majeſty; not for the ſake of my performance---for that would be a vain preſumption --- but becauſe of the honeſt intention

tion and important nature of the undertaking, as well as of that zeal and fidelity with which I have all my life approved myſelf,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's

moſt obedient

moſt dutiful

moſt devoted ſubject

FERDINANDO WARNER.

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PREFACE.

THERE is no application of the mind, ſo agreeable to human nature, as the ſtudy of hiſtory; nor is any ſtudy more proper, to train us up to private and to public virtue. This is the obſervation of an ancient writer: and if we allow it to be true, then the hiſtory of our native country, wherein every man finds examples, in his own profeſſion, in his own rank, and manners, muſt be of all hiſtory whatſoever, the beſt, and the moſt neceſſary. With good reaſon therefore might Sir W. TEMPLE complain, "that ſuch a nation as ours, ſo applauded for its wiſe and happy inſtitutions, ſo flouriſhing in arts and learning, and ſo adorned with excellent writers in other kinds, yet ſhould not have produced one good or approved general hiſtory of itſelf. The authors, ſays he, are mean and vulgar, tedious in their relations, injudicious in the choice of what was fit to be told, or to be let alone, with little order, and in a wretched ſtyle: that tho it is a ſhame to be ignorant in the affairs of our own country, yet it is hardly worth the time or pains to be informed; ſince for that end a man muſt read over a library rather than a book, and after all muſt be content to forget more than he remembers." Indeed this complaint has been removed, in ſome meaſure, ſince that time, as to civil, naval, and parliamentary affairs; but with regard to eccleſiaſtical, it is as juſt, at this day, as it was then.

There are ſome particular periods of our church hiſtory, it muſt be owned, which have been wrote by men of great abilities and character; ſuch as the antiquities of the Britiſh churches by biſhop STILLINGFLEET, Dr. INET'S hiſtory of the Engliſh church to the death of king JOHN, and that moſt excellent hiſtory of the reformation by biſhop BURNET. Theſe have all been of great uſe to me, I confeſs: and I have had very little aſſiſtance from any other modern writers, in compiling the following work. But then theſe hiſtories reach only thro ſome certain periods, and are intermixed with many tranſactions in the ſtate; or tranſactions which relate to different nations, and to other affairs foreign to the hiſtory of the church. Mr. COLLIER'S indeed is a general eccleſiaſtical hiſtory to the death of CHARLES the ſecond; and he is the only author before me who has attempted it ſo far, in this large and comprehenſive form in which it is now offered the publick. The character, however, of this work of Mr. COLLIER'S, I have no need to ſay, is extremely low: it has been given the world by biſhop NICHOLSON in his hiſtorical library, from whom I had rather the reader ſhould take an account of it than from me. "There are ſeveral paſſages," ſays the biſhop, "in this work, in which ſome ſpecial reſpects are paid to the "biſhops and ſee of Rome: and whatever were his views at his "firſt ſetting out, it is manifeſt that his buſineſs in his ſecond "volume, was to compromize the differences between the "churches of England and Rome, and to eſtabliſh a fundamen-"tal hereditary right of ſucceſſion to the imperial crown of this "realm, ſupported by paſſive obedience, and non reſiſtance." Such therefore being the character of the only general church hiſtory that we have by a proteſtant writer, it ſeemed to me to be a work which could not be unacceptable, to compile from the beſt authorities, a new eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the Engliſh nation, detached as far as it could be, from all its connexions, that it might be full and compleat.

Whoſoever obſerves only, how unavailing to produce any important event the ſtate of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction is in the preſent time, may perhaps be of opinion, that the world is but little intereſted in its hiſtory. But this opinion would be erroneous and abſurd. For "the external polity of the church of England, which "of late years hath been confined within very narrow bounds, had "ſome centuries paſt a much larger circle, and a very conſider-"able influence in all national affairs:" it had indeed ſo great an influence,

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influence, " that the welfare of the ſtate was as much affected " with the right or the wrong uſe of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, as " the advancement of religion and learning." To be entirely ignorant then of theſe tranſactions, even in the former ages, as lord BOLINGBROKE ſays, would indeed be ſhameful; tho to be learned about them is a ridiculous affectation. " But he who has not ſtudied " and acquired a thorow knowlege of our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, " during the laſt three centuries, in all the variety of events by " which it hath been affected, will be very unfit to judge or to care " of it." In the following work, I muſt own, I have touched our church affairs in the early ages, but very lightly: and yet there were ſo many obſcure and doubtful paſſages to be cleared, ſo many plain miſtakes to be rectified in the beſt hiſtorians who had copied them from others, and ſo many parts of our eccleſiaſtical hiſtory to be delivered from the fabulous antiquities which had diſgraced it, that I found it a taſk of great difficulty and labour, to extract a ſeries of true hiſtory, notwithſtanding all the helps that I had from thoſe who had gone before me. For ſuch has been the wretched ignorance of ſome of our old hiſtorians, who have made a continued mixture of truth and falſhood, that it is difficult to diſtinguiſh and form a judgment. Such has likewiſe been the bigotry and the prejudice of other writers, that they have enriched it with a profuſion of miracles and legends, formed to juſtify the errors and ſuperſtition of the church of Rome: and this hath greatly added to the trouble of a fair hiſtorian, whoſe duty it is to diſcover and to rectify theſe miſtakes; whether they are owing to the prejudices and views of the ſeveral writers, or to the uſages and opinions which prevailed in the age in which they wrote.

I have ſpared neither labour nor expences in ſearching all the authors, ancient and modern, of any name, who have wrote of our church hiſtory within the period I propoſed. But I have omitted purpoſely thro the whole any reference to the places from whence my materials have been collected; becauſe I know of no other end it anſwers, as I deliver nothing new, than to break the thread of the ſtory, and to make the pages inelegant and confuſed. The ſame materials for ſuch a work are common to every writer; and every fact in this hiſtory hath been already related by ſome or other: but yet all the facts that are here inſerted have never been put together in any other hiſtory, nor many of them been related perhaps in the ſame language before:

whether the ſtyle and manner are altered for the better the reader is left to judge. The greateſt part of the obſervations, which are ſcattered thro the work, are ſuch as the facts ſuggeſted to my mind: and theſe obſervations, together with the characters that are given of the principal perſons, being almoſt all of them peculiar to this hiſtory, are enough I believe to diſtinguiſh it as an original work.

In the choice of my authorities, I have endeavoured to take thoſe of the moſt reputation, who lived neareſt the ſeveral ages of which they treated; and in the matters of controverſy between the churches of Rome and England, I have generally taken the authorities which have been allowed in both. But in ſuch a various and long detail of great affairs thro ſo many centuries, it is impoſſible but that ſomething will ſtill remain obſcure, ſome tranſactions may perhaps be deſcribed improperly, and ſome miſtakes in facts and dates may have eſcaped me. As far however as the records and memorials now remaining, and the opportunities which I had, would direct me in theſe particulars, I have endeavoured to make this hiſtory as free from ſuch blemiſhes as I was able. But who is able to write the truth, except thoſe who have themſelves experienced it? Cardinal DE RETZ was in the right to ſay, "that one ought not to wonder, "if hiſtorians, who treat of matters with which they have had "nothing to do, miſtake ſo often; when it is impoſſible for "men who have been neareſt to the facts, not to miſtake like-"wiſe on numberleſs occaſions, mere appearances, ſometimes "falſe in every circumſtance, for the real truth." All that I can ſay is, that I have endeavoured throwout the whole to have at leaſt the merit of being impartial; to let facts and perſons appear in their proper light, without concealing, or diſguiſing, any circumſtance that has been well atteſted, to ſerve a party, or a principle. This is not only the duty, but in my opinion, is one of the firſt and chief qualifications of a writer of hiſtory. In ſhort, I have endeavoured to reſcue religion from ſuperſtition, and to deliver down a general eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the Engliſh nation, ſtripped of legends, and fables, and falſe accounts. But if I have happened to affirm any thing which contradicts the common opinion, or ſhocks the prejudice of the reader, I have done it on what I thought a good authority: and if I have been partial in any paſſages, it has not been with deſign, but thro inadvertency and miſtake.

For in the execution of this work, I have obſerved, as cloſely as my materials would enable me, the plan which CICERO has laid down, and which LIVY followed. The fundamental laws of a compleat hiſtory, as CICERO gives them, are, "that the writer ſhould not dare to affirm what is falſe, ſuppreſs what is true, nor give any ſuſpicion of favour or diſaffection; that in explaining the councils, he ſhould ſometimes interpoſe his own judgment on the merit of them; in relating the acts upon thoſe councils, that he ſhould explain the manner how they were brought about, and diſtinguiſh thoſe events which were owing to chance or raſhnéſs, from thoſe which were the effect only of political prudence; that he ſhould likewiſe deſcribe the particular characters of all the great perſons who bear any conſiderable part in the ſtory; and ſhould dreſs up the whole in a clear and uniform ſtile, without affecting any ornament, or ſeeking any other praiſe but of perſpicuity." To follow this plan, and this alone, I think, is to write hiſtory: and whoſoever falls ſhort of this attempt at leaſt, where his materials would enable him to arrive at theſe perfections, tho he may give us a plain and true detail of facts, yet cannot be ſaid to be an hiſtorian; for the nobleſt end of hiſtory is unattained. Thus the noble writer abovementioned complains, "that we have no general hiſtory to be compared "with ſome of other countries; and the only two pieces or par-"ticular hiſtories we have, to be compared in any reſpect with "the ancient, are the reign of HENRY the ſeventh, by my lord "BACON, and the hiſtory of our civil wars by my lord CLAREN-"DON:" He ſhould have added, the hiſtory of the reformation, and of his own time, by biſhop BURNET, equal at leaſt to the laſt, and vaſtly ſuperior every way to the firſt; but the reaſon why he did not muſt be plain to every one.

Having given the reader an account of what he is to expect in the following work, it may be proper that I ſhould acquaint him with what he is not to look for. It being my deſign then to write only the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of my native country, I have ſtudiouſly avoided every thing which is foreign to the affairs of religion and the church of England; not concerning myſelf with civil, or parliamentary tranſactions, or ſo far only as they are interwoven with the eccleſiaſtical, and without which the latter could not have been ſo well underſtood. Thoſe have been already drawn out by others tolerably well: but the church hiſtory of England, if we except the particular periods which I mentioned

at the beginning, has not had that fidelity and exactneſs beſtowed upon it which it ſeems to deſerve: for, to uſe an expreſſion of LIVY's upon this occaſion, "my prejudice in favour of my under-"taking deceives me greatly, or there never was a hiſtory more "abounding with great examples, to be followed, or to be ſhun-"ned." Beſides, the only external vindication of the Proteſtant religion, againſt the chicanery and the arts of Papiſts, it is well known, muſt be ſought for in ſuch a work as this: and in an age wherein Popery is making a very viſible and amazing progreſs, if I have only leſſened the labour and expences of thoſe, who have value enough for their religion to be intereſted in its defence, by bringing this defence into one clear and connected view with truth and impartiality, which cannot be found entire in any one beſides, I flatter myſelf that this hiſtory is a work of no ſmall importance to the publick, and the deſign of it is entitled to the public favour. As I have rarely meddled with any affairs but what are purely eccleſiaſtical, the reader muſt not expect many mirthful or pleaſant paſſages. Here was no room to entertain him with the eloquence of orators and patriots in the ſenate, nor with the ſkill and courage of generals in the field; which are circumſtances that not only make other hiſtory more agreeable, but which give a great deal of room for ornament to the work. Here was for the moſt part a dry and barren ſtory, related in much uncertainty and confuſion: and if this is more enlivened, treated with more clearneſs, and poliſhed more from its ruſt, than it hath hitherto been, the reader ſhould look for nothing further. Let him not, however, imagine from hence, that he will meet only with a heavy obſolete account of canons and councils, with no hiſtorical tranſactions to amuſe, nor reflexions to entertain him. For, as diffidently as I think, and as modeſtly as I would ſpeak, of the execution of this undertaking, yet this much I will preſume to ſay, that the mind of any reader muſt be of a very futile caſt indeed, which is not entertained in the following hiſtory. In conformity to cuſtom, and for the ſake of brevity, I have given it only the title of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England; but according to the nature of my work, I might have called it with propriety, the hiſtory of the riſe, the progreſs, and declenſion of the power of the popes in the Engliſh church; the hiſtory of their errors againſt truth and ſcripture, of the miſchievous effects of their diſcipline on religion, and of the iniquities of their uſurpations over the rights and liberties of the Engliſh nation: Or I might have called it, the hiſtory of the government and doctrine

of the ancient church of England, of its ſubmiſſion to the encroachments of the ſee of Rome, of its ſlavery and oppreſſion under the papal power, of its happy deliverance, and of its eſtabliſhment and perſeverance in truth and liberty; for all theſe events are related in the following work. But there is no injuſtice done the reader, if he finds more in the performance than the title page ſeems to expreſs; and he will certainly pardon the diſappointment.

I am not ſo arrogant as to imagine, that, with all my care and aſſiduity, the following work is exempt from errors: I am ſure that none are committed willfully: but as the beſt hiſtorians which I have conſulted, appear, by comparing all their accounts, and by laying facts and dates together, to have made a great many miſtakes, it is probable that ſome of them are copied in this work. As imperfect however as it may be in ſome inſtances, I hope it will anſwer the great end which I had in writing it: this was not to ſerve a particular cauſe, nor to flatter any party, but to do a general good: to give an account in due order of time, as far as I was enabled by all our hiſtories, of the ſeveral changes in the government and the doctrine of the church of England; by which it would appear, that it was originally free and independent of any foreign authority and juriſdiction whatſoever; that the ſee of Rome, by degrees, and with much artifice and iniquity, uſurped this authority: that notwithſtanding this uſurpation yet we did not leave the church of Rome, till the church of Rome left the original diſcipline and conſtitution of the ancient Engliſh church, and introduced cuſtoms and authority unknown to former ages.

Should any one be of opinion, that I have done a diſſervice to my own order, by the warmth and freedom with which I cenſure many great eccleſiaſticks and ſome of the fathers of the church, let it be conſidered in my juſtification, that this is a liberty which is abſolutely neceſſary to be taken, in order to render hiſtory, in the principal characters of it, more uſeful to the world. Let it further be conſidered, that ſuppoſing the worſt of the characters I have exhibited, to be even blacker than it is drawn --- and where is there a profeſſion without wicked men belonging to it? --- yet a reader muſt be very uncandid and injudicious, to throw upon a whole order in general, the defect and vices of individuals. But if theſe conſiderations are not ſufficient to exculpate me from this objection, I can add another; that as it has

has been all along my desire, that impartiality, which is the rarest merit of an historian, may be the distinguishing character of this work, so it may therefore have happened to me perhaps, as I have been told it has happened to a very worthy judge; "that "to avoid a byas one way, he took too strong a ply the other, "and out of mere impartiality was rather unjust." My intention was not to deviate from the truth, thro flattery to some, or thro dislike of others. The good ecclesiasticks are mentioned with all possible reverence, as their due, and as an incitement to the living: but then indignation towards the unworthy, is equally just, and a necessary warning to the bad. Nor did I imagine that it would be doing any honour to my profession, to do it at the expence of truth. I shall be very little concerned however at the malevolence of those who can make this objection; being fully convinced of the truth of this remark of PLINY's, which may be applied concerning prelates as well as princes, "that such as do not "enough hate and detest the wicked, can never love enough "the worthy." But after all, I have lived long enough in the world to know, that it is very difficult for a writer on ecclesiastical subjects to please any reader, and almost impossible to please them all. I have lived long enough to know too, that the more a man exerts himself, tho in the way of his profession, to serve his country and religion, so the more he reproaches the idleness of others, who have better opportunities, and greater leisure; and instead of their thanks, he will only meet with their envy and ill will.

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BOOK III.

ALterations introduced by THEODORE into the diſcipline and worſhip of the church of England. Rupture between the king of the Northumbrians, and WILFRID biſhop of Holy-iſland---The effects of that rupture. Affairs of the Engliſh church under THEODORE. Council of Hatfield eſtabliſhes the doctrine of the Engliſh church, on the common foundation of the univerſal church. The ſee of Northumberland divided, and a new biſhoprick erected at Hexham. THEODORE reconciled to WILFRID---his letter to the king of MERCIA in the biſhop's favour. WILFRID reſtored to the whole dioceſe of Northumberland. The death and character of archbiſhop THEODORE. WILFRID drove from his biſhoprick, flies into Mercia, and made biſhop of Lichfield. The king of the Weſt-Saxons abdicates the throne and turns monk---Settles the government of his kingdom upon INA---The laws of INA which concern the church. BRIGHTWALD ſuccedes THEODORE in the primacy.

macy. The controverſy about Eaſter revived. Reflexions on the ſtate of the church in the ſeventh century---and on the monaſtic order. BEDE, the hiſtorian, ſent for to Rome to aſſiſt the pope in a controverſy, and refuſes to go. A council of the biſhops at Oſterfield---WILFRID's cauſe tried at this council---He appeals to the pope, goes to Rome, and has a determination in his favour. Synod at Nidd decree WILFRID's reſtoration to the ſee of Hexham only. Weſt-Saxon dioceſe divided into two, Wincheſter, and Sherborn in Dorſetſhire. Death and character of WILFRID. Pilgrimages to Rome much in faſhion in England. Death and character of BRIGHTWALD. Account of the biſhopricks in England. Origine of patronage, and pariſh churches. BEDE's account of the abuſe of monaſteries---His death and character. Learning more prevalent, at the end of the ſeventh, and the beginning of the eighth century, than in any time before the conqueſt. The archiepiſcopal dignity reſtored to the ſee of York. Synod of Cloveſhoo, its canons. OFFA, king of Mercia, makes Lichfield the metropolis of his kingdom, and inveſts the biſhop of it with an archiepiſcopal title and dignity. Two legates arrive in England from the pope. A national council of the ſeven kingdoms at Calcuith. The worſhip of images introduced into the church.---The riſe, the progreſs, and the conſequences of this controverſy. The Doctrine of relicks publiſhed by a canon of the council of Nice. Peter Pence, their original. OFFA, king of the Mercians, his death and character. Doctrine of purgatory, ſome reflexions on it. Lichfield reduced to the ſtate of a private biſhoprick. Diſſolution of the heptarchy. Provincial ſynod at Cloveſhoo. Foundations of the monarchy laid by EGBERT. Council of Calcuith, its canons — Reflexions on them. General name of England given to the ſeven kingdoms.

BOOK IV.

INcurſions and ravages of the Danes. Grant of the tithes by king ETHELWULPH. State of the parochial clergy and churches. ALFRED aſcends the throne — founds the univerſity

ſity of Oxford --- His wars, and peace, with the Danes --- His death and character. Supremacy in eccleſiaſtical, as well as civil affairs, the abſolute right of the kings of England. Decay of learning, diſcipline, and religion — Council of Graetly, its canons — ODO, archbiſhop of Canterbury, his conſtitutions. Great Synod at London, eccleſiaſtical laws of it. DUNSTAN, his great power at court --- favours the monaſticks --- baniſhed the kingdom --- different reaſons aſſigned for his diſgrace — The effects of it — recalled, and made biſhop of Worceſter and London — attempts to force the canons and ſecular clergy to forſake their wives and turn religious, or elſe to quit — the meaſures which he purſued to bring this about by his intereſt with king EDGAR. The king's ſpeech at a council on this ſubject — Reflexions on it. The eccleſiaſtical laws of EDGAR. Some other canons. DUNSTAN's conteſt with a nobleman about an inceſtuous marriage. Council at Winchester — Pretended miracle at it. Council at Calne — Proceedings at it. Death and character of DUNSTAN. New attempts on England by the Norwegians and Danes. Courſes of homilies appointed to be publicly red in the churches. City of Canterbury beſieged — Noble ſpeech of ELPHEG the archbiſhop on that occaſion — Put to death cruelly by the Danes. The Danes poſſeſſed of the greateſt part of England under CANUTE — Marries the widow of the Engliſh king — His laws againſt ſorcery and idolatry. Whimſical election of a biſhop of Durham. CANUTE undertakes a pilgrimage to Rome — Ridiculous ſtory of him — His death and character. Troubles in England about the ſucceſſion. EDWARD the confeſſor aſcends the throne — marries a daughter of earl GODWYN, but does not admit her to his bed — Uſes his mother with cruelty — Obliges her to purge herſelf of a criminal accuſation by the ordeal trial — favours the Normans to the prejudice of his ſubjects. Exeter erected into an Epiſcopal ſee. EDWARD abſolved from a vow of a pilgrimage to Rome on condition of founding a new monaſtery, or enlarging an old one — rebuilds the abbey of Weſtminſter, and grants a charter of lands and privileges to the monaſtery. The inſolence

of a Norman archbiſhop of Canterbury — obliged to abſcond — His character. The two archbiſhopricks filled by the biſhops of Wincheſter and Worceſter, and allowed to retain their former ſees. Death and character of EDWARD. The End of the Saxon empire.

BOOK V.

THE Norman revolution. WILLIAM the conqueror crowned by the archbiſhop of YORK, and why — Turns out all the Engliſh eccleſiaſticks and puts Normans into their places — Deſpoils the monaſteries and cathedrals — Quarters his Normans upon the monaſteries — Makes court to the ſee of Rome, and deſires the pope to ſend his legates. The archbiſhop of YORK's remonſtrance againſt the king's oppreſſions. Council of Wincheſter in which the archbiſhop of Canterbury is depoſed. Error of modern writers taken up from Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE about the conqueror. The new archbiſhop obliged to go to Rome for his pall. Extraordinary treatment of the archbiſhop of YORK, and the biſhop of LINCOLN at Rome. Simony, what intended by it in the ancient hiſtorians. Difference between the two archbiſhops. The pope little regarded at the court of England. HILDEBRAND a new pope, under the name of GREGORY the ſeventh, his vaſt and ambitious deſigns. Council at London held by LANFRANK, proceedings in it. Council at Wincheſter. Tranſubſtantiation introduced by degrees and without any noiſe. Diſputes between the pope and the archbiſhop. GREGORY's management of the king — Convenes a ſynod at Rome and ſummons the Engliſh biſhops to no purpoſe. The king forms the church of England on the Norman model, in taxing the lands of the eccleſiaſticks, and charging perſonal ſervices upon them. Attempt of the monaſticks to exempt themſelves from epiſcopal juriſdiction — ſource of great troubles in England. A change in the adminiſtration of government; and the eccleſiaſtical and civil courts ſeparated. Diviſion of dioceſes into

archdeaconries and rural deanrys. Death and character of WILLIAM the conqueror. Reflexions on revolutions and ſtate intrigues. Death and character of LANFRANK. Covetouſneſs and oppreſſion of WILL. RUFUS who ſucceded his father in the throne. ANSELM promoted to the ſee of Canterbury — His quarrel with the king. Schiſm at Rome on the death of GREGORY. Zeal of ANSELM for pope URBAN. The biſhops withdraw their obedience from their metropolitan. The king overreached by the court of Rome, and URBAN acknowledged in England. Extraordinary decree in the council of Clermont. ANSELM deſires leave to go to Rome, and refuſed — Commanded to leave the kingdom — Takes the habit of a pilgrim and goes to Rome --- His pompous reception there. The king declared worthy of excommunication. The right of inveſtiture decreed at Rome to be in the apoſtolic ſee — This denied and refuſed in England. The king dies by an accident — his character. HENRY his brother aſcends the throne — grants a charter to reſtore the liberties of the church and ſtate, and renounces the prerogatives his two predeceſſors had uſurped — Recalls ANSELM — That prelate's inſolent declaration. The pope's legate driven out of the kingdom without executing his commiſſion or getting his character acknowledged. Ancient rights of the crown of England to inveſt the biſhops and abbots aſſerted by the biſhops and nobility --- Their declaration againſt ANSELM. The king's perplexity about it — His brother ROBERT duke of Normandy invades England — A Peace made between them. Council at Wincheſter determine againſt the king's obeying the pope. An embaſſy to Rome — The Embaſſadors managed artfully by the pope. A great council held at London, in which the pope's letters to ANSELM were red. The king's ambaſſadors, and ANSELM's agents, make a different report. Moſt of the biſhops and nobility on the ſide of the king. A national ſynod at Weſtminſter — Proceedings in it diſliked by the clergy. ANSELM, and the biſhop of EXETER, ſent on an embaſſy to Rome. The pope's inſolence. The biſhop of EXETER's courage. ANSELM forbidden to return to England. Reflexions

flexions on the canons againſt the marriage of the clergy. ANSELM intending to excommunicate the king, invited to a conference with him in Normandy — Their reconciliation — His return to England. The pope's determination about the right of inveſtiture, and the clergy doing homage to the king — This controverſy ended. ANSELM calls a ſynod to forbid the marriage of the clergy. The dioceſe of Lincoln divided, and a new biſhoprick erected at Ely. Death and character of ANSELM. RALPH, biſhop of Rocheſter, after an interval of four years, made archbiſhop of Canterbury, by the king's direction to the monks. The king ſhews his reſentment of the pope's ill uſage. The pope extremely mortified, and threatens the king and the monks of Canterbury. The chapter of St. Davids apply to the king to provide them a biſhop. The king of Scotland ſends to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, to aſſiſt him in filling the vacant ſee of St. Andrews. The pope attempts to introduce the power of legates, and is defeated — Takes the ſide of the archbiſhop of York in the diſpute between the two primates — His death occaſions a ſchiſm. CALIXTUS made pope, and convenes a council at Rheims. HENRY ſends biſhops to that council with particular inſtructions. The archbiſhop of YORK, and the pope, break their word with the king — The king being enraged at this proceeding forbad the archbiſhop's returning home — Accepts the mediation of the pope — Makes an agreement with him. The pope offers to abſolve the king of his promiſe, which the king rejects — The pope reſents the baniſhment of the archbiſhop of YORK. The king conſents to his return on ſome conditions — Having concluded a peace with France, the king returns to England — His only ſon drowned. A legate ſent into England, and treated civilly, but allowed to do nothing. Death and character of archbiſhop RALPH. CORBEL ſuccedes in the ſee of Canterbury. The king's affairs in great diſorder. A new pope, HONORIUS, ſends a legate, whom the king conſented to receive. A council at Weſtminſter in which the legate preſided — The canons of that council — Reflexions on ſome of them — The legate diſgraced by

by his irregularity. The origin of the vaſſalage of the Engliſh church. The archbiſhop of Canterbury made legate — Calls two councils to eſtabliſh the celibacy of the clergy, but to no purpoſe. Schiſm at Rome on the death of HONORIUS — The king acknowleges INNOCENT, againſt the advice of his biſhops — Founded a new epiſcopal ſee at Carliſle — Marries his daughter againſt her inclinations to the earl of ANJOU's ſon — Has a grandſon from this marriage named HENRY — The king dies — His character. STEPHEN earl of Bologn ſuccedes him in the throne — Reflexions on this event — The biſhops and nobility perjured — The king's promiſes — His liberality with his late uncle's treaſure — Grants a charter to confirm the liberties of the people — Pays a ſervile addreſs to the ſee of Rome — His affairs in great diſorder. The pope ſends a legate who convenes a council at Weſtminſter and preſides in it — The extraordinary ſteps of this legate. Death and character of archbiſhop CORBEL. THEOBALD ſuccedes him. The nobility diſcontented and revolt. The king's ſeverity to ſome of the biſhops diſguſted the clergy. The biſhop of WINCHESTER, the king's brother, and legate to the pope, ſummons the king himſelf to a council, which he called, to anſwer for this indignity to the biſhops — Proceedings at this council. An unnatural bloody war. The legatine power eſtabliſhed. A diſpute about an election to the ſee of YORK. The king defeated at Lincoln and taken priſoner. The biſhop of WINCHESTER, as legate, calls a council, in order to dethrone his brother, and ſet up MAUD the late king's daughter — His ſpeech on that occaſion. The king offers to retire into a convent, if he might have his liberty, and is refuſed. MAUD conſpired againſt and obliged to flie. The king releaſed. The clergy exempted from the ſecular power. The occaſion of bringing the canon law into England. The barrenneſs of our eccleſiaſtical hiſtory at this time. An attempt to make St. Davids a metropolitical ſee, fruſtrated. EUGENIUS the pope calls a general council to Rheims — The archbiſhop goes to it againſt the king's conſent. The king propoſes the coronation of his ſon, which is

is rejected. A design of exempting the religious from episcopal jurisdiction, carried a great length. Procession and Pentecostals explained. The death of the king's son opens a way to an accommodation with HENRY son of MAUD. The king dies the next year — His character. The restoration of the Saxon line.

BOOK VI.

HENRY the second ascends the throne — Takes proper measures to restore the tranquillity of the kingdom. ADRIAN an Englishman in the papal chair — Violates the authority of the episcopal order by exempting monasteries from their jurisdiction — Consents to king HENRY's undertaking the conquest of Ireland — False representation of the Irish people. HENRY invades and conquers Ireland — Reflexions on his accepting this authority from the pope. The archbishop recommends BECKET to the king for the great seal — The post of lord chancellor filled by this ecclesiastick to the king's great satisfaction. The king imbibes a spirit of violence in religious matters — Some German hereticks branded in the forehead, whipped, and starved to death — Reflexions on this cruelty. ADRIAN dies, and a schism of eight years ensues at Rome. The death and character of archbishop THEOBALD. The see of Canterbury filled by BECKET — The king soon saw himself thorowly deceived in him. Pope ALEXANDER calls a council at Tours, at which the new archbishop, and two other prelates attend — Canons passed at this council — BECKET secretly resigns his archbishoprick, and takes it again from the hands of the pope — Measures probably then concerted between the pope and BECKET. A misunderstanding begun between the king and the archbishop. The English clergy ensnared, and the primate cajolled by the artifices of the court of Rome. The grounds of the dispute between the king and the archbishop — HENRY acquaints the pope with this dispute, and convenes the principal lords of the kingdom, spiritual and

temporal, to take it into conſideration — The proceedings at this meeting. A convention of the lords ſpiritual and temporal at Clarendon to recognize the laws relating to eccleſiaſticks — The articles of Clarendon — Diſagreed to by BECKET — The pope refuſes to confirm them by his authority — Grants the power of legate to the king. Rejected by HENRY with the ſcorn it deſerved. A council meets at Northampton where BECKET is capitally accuſed — He denies the authority of the court, and puts his perſon, church, and dignity, under the pope's protection — His moveables confiſcated — Further proceedings againſt him — He abſconds and leaves the kingdom in diſguiſe and in a fictitious name. Embaſſy to France and Rome upon this occaſion. The pope adheres to BECKET, and declares ten of the articles of Clarendon void, with a menace of excommunication to thoſe who ſhould maintain them. BECKET offers in the conclave to reſign, which the pope would not permit. The king iſſues out a rigorous proclamation againſt the pope and the archbiſhop. BECKET excommunicates ſome of the lords of the council, and the king's chief miniſters — He writes angry and threatening letters to the king. HENRY levies a great army, which intimidates the pope, and he inhibits the proceedings of BECKET — The king impoſed upon by the pope's inſincerity. An extraordinary regard ſhewn for BECKET by the pope. An interview between the king, and the archbiſhop; makes the breach ſtill wider. The king threatens the pope. The pope ſends legates who brave the king. Another interview with the archbiſhop without effect. The pope ſets the primate at liberty to inflict the cenſures of the church upon the king — He empowers three legates to put the kingdom under an interdict. The king proceeds vigorouſly to ſecure himſelf, and the pope ſuſpends his reſentment. His eldeſt ſon HENRY crowned by the archbiſhop of YORK. The pope and the archbiſhop ſend an inſolent menace to the king. The king determined to come to an accommodation, gives the primate leave to return upon his own terms to England. BECKET's implacability againſt his brethren who had offended him — They repair to the king in Normandy

mandy with bitter complaints againſt the archbiſhop. The king in a rage complained that no body would revenge him of this unruly prelate. BECKET murdered in conſequence of this complaint — His character. The king threatened with an interdict and excommunication, for this aſſaſſination—This affair accommodated—The terms of accommodation. A diſpute between the court, and the convent of Canterbury, about the election of an archbiſhop. The king and his ſons diſagree. The ſee of Rome admitted by this difference to the power of confirming the elections of metropolitans. BECKET canonized by the pope — Many pretended miracles at his tomb. The king's affairs ſettled, and his ſons reconciled. A council at Weſtminſter, and its canons. Diſpute between the two archbiſhops. The clergy diſcharged from the laws of the ſtate. The uſurpations of the ſee of Rome, not owing to the Engliſh biſhops, but to the kings of England. Quarrel between the archbiſhop, and the prior of Canterbury. The epiſcopal authority trampled on by the pope. A general council held at Rome — The extraordinary canons paſſed in it againſt the rights of ſtates and princes. An excellent letter from the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY to the pope — Another letter of his to three Engliſh biſhops. A commendation of pope ALEXANDER — He is ſucceded in the papal chair by LUCIUS, who requires an aid of the king and clergy of England. The death and character of RICHARD archbiſhop of Canterbury. A diſpute between the provincial biſhops, and the convent, about the election of a ſucceſſor. BALDWIN, biſhop of Worceſter, made archbiſhop — He builds a college within a mile of Canterbury for ſecular canons — The pope obliges him to demoliſh it — He brings the timber and materials to Lambeth and erects that palace. The death and character of HENRY the ſecond. RICHARD his eldeſt ſon ſuccedes him in the throne. Another conteſt about the college at Hackington. An expedition to the holy land — Reflexions on it. The king ſettles the adminiſtration in his abſence, gives the biſhop of ELY the firſt place, and reſtrains his brothers by an oath from going into England — The miſchiefs which followed from the king's

abſence, who was taken priſoner — His brother JOHN enters into meaſures with France againſt him. HUBERT biſhop of Saliſbury, choſen to the ſee of Canterbury in an unprecedented manner. The king ranſomed, and returns to England — His natural brother, the archbiſhop of YORK, revolts againſt him--- The temporalities of his ſee ſeized by the king. HUBERT carries on the college at Lambeth which is oppoſed by the monks of Canterbury. His project for an accommodation rejected--- He is menaced by pope INNOCENT in an inſolent manner. The king takes the houſe at Lambeth into his protection —— Acts with great ſpirit and firmneſs, but appeals to Rome and ſpoils all. Pope INNOCENT treats him with unheard of inſolence. The whole nation aſtoniſhed at this uſage, and the king very uneaſy under it—He is killed at a ſiege in Aquitain. His character.

BOOK VII.

JOHN, brother of RICHARD the firſt, ſuccedes him in the throne. HUBERT archbiſhop of Canterbury made lord chancellour. An attempt of the chapter of St. Davids to chooſe their biſhop againſt the king's conſent, and to divide the province of Canterbury — Pope INNOCENT refuſes to confirm the election. A new ſcene is opened, and INNOCENT exerciſes a ſovereign authority over the church. HUBERT convenes a council at Weſtminſter, and is inhibited by the lord chief juſtice — The canons of this council. The origin of vicarages in England. Quarrel between the king and the archbiſhop of York, and between the king and the monks of St. Auſtins. The king contributes to a holy war, and exhorts his nobility to do the ſame, at the pope's requeſt — The king is ſuppoſed to murder his nephew ARTHUR —— He is not to be rouſed from his ſloth and pleaſure. The death and character of archbiſhop HUBERT. A great diſpute about the election of his ſucceſſor, and attended with ill effects. The court of Rome raiſed above the king's indignation. Pope INNOCENT writes

writes to him very insolently, and lays the kingdom under an interdict. The king's steadiness and resolution broke — Makes great offers to the see of Rome, which are refused. The king is deposed in a consistory, and the king of France and all Europe invited to dethrone him — He resigns his crown and sceptre to the pope's legate at Dover church, in the presence of all his court, and does homage for his kingdom to pope INNOCENT. Yields up the patronage of all the churches belonging to the crown, and takes the oath usually given by vassals to their sovereign — Grants indemnity and reparation to the exiled bishops and clergy. The pope makes a tool of the king of France. The bigotry of the English punished. The archbishop absolves the king from his excommunication — He communicates the charter of HENRY the first, which he had found, to the barons. A ridiculous story told by M. PARIS of king JOHN. Reflexions on revolutions. The king makes a second resignation of his crown before his great council, &c. The archbishop protests against it in the name of all the nobility. The clergy join the barons against the king and the pope. The king fills the churches and monasteries with his creatures and the legates relations — The king represented at Rome as a prince of extraordinary Piety, and the archbishop blackened. Reflexions on the bigotry of the clergy. The king procures the interdict to be taken off — He gives up his claim to the nomination of bishops and abbots. SIM. LANGTON elected archbishop of York by the chapter, and refused by the pope. The barons enter into a confederacy, and demand the laws and liberties granted by EDWARD the first — Both sides prepare for war — Remarks on this confederacy. A meeting at Running meadow near Staines, and Magna Charta and the Forest Charter executed — The king revokes them and raises a great army. The barons call in LEWIS son of the king of France, and promise him the crown. An unnatural war. The fourth Lateran council. The barons excommunicated by the pope. The death of INNOCENT the third. The death and character of king JOHN. The earl of Pembroke procures HENRY, JOHN's eldest son, about ten years old, to be crowned. He

is appointed guardian to the king, and protector of the realm. The eccleſiaſticks left to the pope's mercy. The barons return to their loyalty and the prince of France is ſent home. A ſynod at Oxford under LANGTON —— Another at Weſtminſter. HONORIUS ſuccedes INNOCENT in the popedom. The archbiſhop's death and character — GREGORY the ninth ſuccedes HONORIUS. A quarrel between the king, and the convent of Canterbury, about the election of an archbiſhop — The king bribes the pope and carries his point — The ſee vacant preſently after, and another quarrel — The convent elect three ſeveral primates, who are all rejected by the pope. The pope appoints EDMUND treaſurer of Saliſbury to ſuccede LANGTON. HUBERT chief juſtice and firſt miniſter diſgraced and ruined. The biſhop of WINCHESTER ſuccedes as favourite. He purſues arbitrary inſolent meaſures, and is turned out. The king demands the great ſeal of NEVIL lord chancellor, who refuſes to deliver it —— The king ſends for a legate to ſcreen him againſt his ſubjects. The legate calls a council at St. Paul's— A canon againſt pluralities oppoſed by CANTILUPE biſhop of Worceſter — Many good canons paſſed. The death and character of the biſhop of WINCHESTER. A quarrel between the king and the convent about his ſucceſſor. RALEY fills the ſee. The barons make a remonſtrance againſt the government in church and ſtate. The archbiſhop writes a letter of complaint to the pope—He retires to a monaſtery in France. His death and character. The pope ſends a nuncio. GREGORY the ninth dies and is ſucceded by INNOCENT the fourth. BONNIFACE the queen's brother elected to the ſee of Canterbury in the room of EDMUND. The pope ſends a nuncio to exact money of the eccleſiaſticks. The barons determined to put a ſtop to theſe oppreſſions — They order all perſons to be ſtopped at the ſea port towns who bring any bulls or mandates for this purpoſe — They drive the nuncio out of the kingdom. A council at Lyons under INNOCENT the fourth. The barons carry the grievances of the Engliſh church thither —The pope ſurprized at this boldneſs delays giving an anſwer — He orders two bulls to grant the Engliſh their own rights. A conven-

tion of the lords called, and their grievances digeſted under ſix heads. They determine to demand a redreſs of the court of Rome in which the king joins with them. Their ill ſucceſs. A diſpute between the king, and the convent of Durham, about a biſhop. The king recommends his half brother, ATHELMAR, for the ſee of Wincheſter — He carries his point, and the pope confirms his election — He takes the croſs from the hands of the legate, demands a ſubſidy from the clergy, and is upbraided by them with male-adminiſtration. GROSTEST, biſhop of Lincoln, at the bottom of this oppoſition — He endeavours to oblige the king and the pope to change their meaſures — He refuſes to inſtitute an Italian to a living given him by the pope, and is ſuſpended for it at Rome. He makes an eſtimate of the value of livings held by foreigners. The king demands a ſubſidy of his parliament — They reſolve to grant it on conditions — His ſatyrical anſwer to the biſhops who waited upon him on this occaſion — He confirms the charters in a ſolemn manner at Weſtminſter hall — He breaks thro his oath immediately, and gets the pope to make it void. A diſpute between the pope and GROSTEST about inſtituting a Roman boy to a living. The pope excommunicates the biſhop, who deſpiſed his cenſures and continued in the diſcharge of his office to his death — His death and character. Pope INNOCENT dies and is ſucceded by ALEXANDER the fourth. The new pope ſends a nuncio with many bulls to raiſe money from the clergy — He abſolves the king from his vow of going to the holy land and commutes the ſervice. A conteſt between the nuncio and the prelates and clergy. URBAN the fourth ſuccedes ALEXANDER. A conteſt between the king and the barons. A national council held at Merton under archbiſhop BONNIFACE, and another at Lambeth. The king applies to the pope to revoke the decrees paſſed in theſe councils, and the pope did not confirm them. A national ſynod at London under OTTOBON the pope's legate. The principal conſtitutions paſſed in this ſynod. Reflexions on thoſe concerning pluralities, non-reſidence, and commendams. Archbiſhop BONNI-

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FACE dies, and is ſucceded by KELWARBY, at the nomination of GREGORY the tenth. The death and character of HENRY the third.

BOOK VIII.

EDWARD eldeſt ſon of HENRY the third ſuccedes him in the throne. A parliament paſſes the ſtatutes of Weſtminſter. A general council called by GREGORY the tenth at Lyons, to demand an aid from every church for the holy land. A tenth granted for ſix years. The archbiſhop made a cardinal, and reſigns the primacy — BURNELL choſen by the chapter, and approved of by the king to ſuccede him — He is rejected by the pope, who gives the archbiſhoprick to PECKHAM. A provincial ſynod at Reading held under him — He paſſes ſome canons in it which the king obliges him to revoke in a month after before the parliament. The ſtatute of Mortmain — A provincial ſynod at Lambeth. The canons paſſed at it. The archbiſhop enters on a provincial viſitation. A parliament convened, and the third ſtatutes of Weſtminſter paſſed. The death and character of PECKHAM. A parliament called, and the knights, citizens and burgeſſes now firſt ſummoned by the king's writs. The clergy now firſt called to parliament. The inferior clergy firſt brought to convocation a few years before. They think it a grievance to be called to parliament, and procure all their grants to the king to be made in convocation. A parliament called at Bury, where the laity granted a ſubſidy and the clergy refuſed it. The pope grants a bull to forbid their aid to the king without his leave. The king orders the ſtores of the clergy to be ſealed up, and a diſpute enſues between his majeſty and the archbiſhop. WINCHELSEA ſuccedes PECKHAM in the ſee of Canterbury. The king confirms the charter of the eccleſiaſticks, they give him a ſubſidy, and the diſpute is ended. The pope claims the ſovereignty of Scotland, which the parliament deny. The king applies to the pope to diſpenſe with his oath about the two charters, and is gratified — He enquires into a conſpiracy that had been entered

tered into to depoſe him, and charges the archbiſhop with high treaſon. The archbiſhop's revenues ſeized, and he himſelf outlawed. He is ſuſpended by the pope. A parliament at Carliſle, in which the oppreſſions from Rome are reſolved to be no longer permitted. The death and character of king EDWARD — He is ſucceded by his eldeſt ſon EDWARD the ſecond. The archbiſhop is recalled from his exile. The king breaks thro the canons againſt pluralities and non reſidence. The archbiſhop refuſes to comply with the king in this, and confederates with the nobility to defend the rights of the people — He calls a provincial council at London. The beginning of a provincial ſummons of the clergy to parliament by the archbiſhop's mandate, and not by the biſhop's of the dioceſe. The death and character of archbiſhop WINCHELSEA. REYNOLDS biſhop of Worceſter ſuccedes him in the primacy — He has uncommon privileges granted him by pope CLEMENT the fifth. A provincial council held by him at London. The ſtatute paſſed, called articuli cleri, and confirmed by way of charter. The barons being enraged at the adminiſtration of the two SPENCERS, the king's favourites, paſſed a vote in parliament for their baniſhment, and the forfeiture of their eſtates. The pope ſets aſide the election of a biſhop of Durham by the chapter, and prefers his legate ASSER to the ſee of Wincheſter, without the election of the chapter, or the king's conſent — He promotes ORLETON to the ſee of Hereford, tho oppoſed very much by the king. The king brings articles of high treaſon afterwards againſt him in parliament — The biſhop claims the privileges of the church—He is tried in the King's Bench, and his temporalities ſeized till his peace was made at court — He enters into a conſpiracy with the biſhop of LINCOLN, the queen, and ſome of the barons; and the king is depoſed. They are ſent to perſuade him to quit the government, and to take his reſignation. The king delivers up the crown and ſcepter to the commiſſioners, and reſigns the government — He is put to death, by intimations from the queen and the biſhop of Hereford, with the utmoſt cruelty — His character.

He is ſucceded in the throne by his ſon EDWARD the third. The death and character of archbiſhop REYNOLDS. He is ſucceded by MEPHAM, who held a provincial council, began a metropolitical viſitation, and dies. STRATFORD, biſhop of Wincheſter, and lord chancellour, recommended by the king, ſuccedes to the ſee of Canterbury. The pope tranſlates ORLETON biſhop of Hereford to Wincheſter, in oppoſition to the king's will. The king expoſtulates againſt theſe inſults on his prerogative — The reign of this prince taken up with military atchievements, and affords little for church hiſtory. A ſurvey taken of all the glebe lands, and returned into the Exchequer, where it is now to be ſeen. A ſtatute made to ſecure the temporalities of biſhops and abbots. Archbiſhop STRATFORD in diſgrace, and why. The king fights, and conquers the French Fleet —Obliged to make a truce which breaks his meaſures. A great diſpute between the king, and the archbiſhop. A great debate in the houſe of lords, and reſolved that peers ſhould be tried only by their peers in parliament. The king receives the archbiſhop into his favour. A parliament is called which paſſes the ſtatute of Proviſors. Another parliament held at Weſtminſter, and the liberties of the church explained. The death and character of the archbiſhop. ISLIP ſuccedes him in the ſee of Canterbury. A ſtatute to confirm the privileges of the clergy, againſt the encroachments of the ſecular judges. The old controverſy about carrying the croſs revived by the two archbiſhops, and compromiſed by the king. The ſtatute of Præmunire paſſed. ISLIP dies, and is ſucceded by LANGHAM, biſhop of Ely. The pope demands the tribute which king JOHN had bound himſelf to pay. A vigorous reſolution made in parliament againſt this demand. The archbiſhop condemns ſome errors in a viſitation of the univerſity of Oxford — is made a cardinal — reſigns the primacy — and is ſucceded by WITTLESEY biſhop of Worceſter, at the nomination of the pope. The prelates and all orders of eccleſiaſticks commanded to prepare themſelves in a military manner to defend the kingdom againſt the French. A complaint that the nation was governed only by churchmen.

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The probable reaſon why churchmen had the chief poſts of ſtate. The archbiſhop dies, and EASTON choſen by the convent is objected to by the king. The pope tranſlates SUDBURY biſhop of London to the ſee of Canterbury. The parliament make reſolutions againſt the pope's encroachments. WICKLIFFE appears, and advances many opinions againſt the papal power, and the eſtabliſhed religion. The death and character of the king. RICHARD his grandſon ſuccedes him in the throne. WICKLIFFE tried, and enjoined ſilence. The parliament provides a remedy againſt foreign eccleſiaſticks. Archbiſhop COURTNEY ſuccedes SUDBURY in the primacy — He holds a ſynod in London to deliberate on the opinions of WICKLIFFE. The univerſity of Oxford required by the king to expell all that were ſuſpected of theſe opinions. The parliament give a check to the king's arbitrary meaſures. The opinions of WICKLIFFE propagated with great ſucceſs — An account of them. The exactions of the king, and the diſaffection of the prelates and clergy — They grant him an aid on conditions. Eleven commiſſioners appointed to take care of affairs jointly with the king. The judges give their opinion that the king is above the laws. The king declares himſelf of age, makes alterations in his council, and introduces a confuſion which is fatal to him. The parliament revive a ſtatute, of EDWARD the third, againſt the papal power. The biſhops proteſt againſt all ſuch ſtatutes. The pope ſends a nuncio to complain of them, and to threaten the king, and kingdom; but he is not regarded — He is obliged to take an oath to do nothing prejudicial to the royal authority, or the laws of the realm. A proclamation iſſued out at the requeſt of parliament, againſt the acknowledgment of the papal power contrary to the laws. The archbiſhop of CANTERBURY complained againſt, and makes his ſubmiſſion — He excommunicates the Lollards; the name given to WICKLIFFE's followers — They deliver a remonſtrance into parliament — The articles it conſiſted of. The king called from Ireland, to take meaſures with his clergy in order to ſuppreſs this hereſy. The death and character of archbiſhop COURTNEY.

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ARUNDEL tranſlated from York by a papal bull to ſucceed him — He is impeached of high treaſon, and condemned to perpetual exile — WALDEN, lord treaſurer, promoted to the primacy on his baniſhment. The pope ſends a nuncio to get the ſtatutes of Proviſor and Præmunire to be repealed, but could not ſucceed. A conſpiracy to dethrone the king. The duke of LANCASTER invited to accept the crown. The king offers to reſign the crown on conditions — Executes an inſtrument of reſignation — The end of his reign — His character. HENRY duke of Lancaſter proclaimed king. ARUNDEL archbiſhop, now in England, ordered to reſume his dignity — Crowns the king. The king's ſon created prince of Wales, &c. A convocation ſummoned by the archbiſhop in which the new king pays great court to the clergy. The parliament revive the ſtatute of Præmunire and paſs two others againſt the papal power. The biſhops addreſs the king againſt hereticks — The act paſſed for burning them. Reflexions upon it. A prieſt burnt for denying tranſubſtantiation. A reflexion on the king. The king commands the ſheriffs to return no gentlemen of the long robe to parliament. The parliament remonſtrate againſt the idleneſs and luxury of the clergy — The archbiſhop vindicates them. A provincial council at Oxford to check the growth of WICKLIFFE's hereſy. The conſtitutions of this council. The commons petition the king in favour of the Lollards, and that the act for burning hereticks, might be repealed, or altered — The king's anſwer to their addreſs. The commons in reſentment, preſent a bill to diſable the king from medling in elections, and to fine every ſheriff for making falſe returns. — The king paſſes it very unwillingly, and orders a bill to be brought in which the commons reject. The great encreaſe of WICKLIFFE's doctrine. Proceedings againſt it at Oxford. The death and character of HENRY the fourth. Reflexions on his death, and the acceſſion of his ſon HENRY to the throne. The new king grants a general pardon except for rapes and murder. Proceedings of archbiſhop ARUNDEL againſt Sir J. OLDCASTLE — The knight makes his eſcape out

of priſon, and flies into Wales. The king miſinformed, and exaſperated againſt the Lollards. The death and character of ARUNDEL. CHICHELEY, biſhop of St. Davids choſen to ſuccede him. New, and ſeverer ſtatutes againſt the Lollards. The commons addreſs the king to apply the revenues of the eccleſiaſticks to the ſupport of the government. The king inclined to take their advice. The archbiſhop diverts this ſtorm. The execution, and character of Sir J. OLDCASTLE. Council of Conſtance, turn out three popes which had all at one time aſſumed the dignity, and elect another. An extraordinary declaration of this council. MARTIN the fifth, appoints thirteen biſhops in the province of Canterbury in two years. A concordat between him and the church of England. An act of parliament to prohibit the admiſſion of eccleſiaſticks on the pope's proviſions, and againſt the clauſe, "non obſtante." The pope tranſlates the biſhop of LINCOLN to the ſee of York, and the dean and chapter refuſe to admit him by the king's command. The king turns the monks out of the French monaſteries in England. The death and character of HENRY the fifth. The acceſſion of his ſon an infant, HENRY the ſixth, and the ſettlement of his council. The perſecution of the Lollards revived. A complaint of the houſe of commons againſt the clergy. An obſervation on the difference between the preſent and former non reſidence of the clergy, and the caſes ſhewn not to be the ſame. The proſecution of one RUSSEL a franciſcan heretick. The univerſity of Oxford decree againſt his opinions. Pope MARTIN writes an angry letter to archbiſhop CHICHELEY about the ſtatutes of Proviſo and Premunire — Repeats his command to get them repealed and terrifies the Engliſh biſhops — Writes to the king, the parliament, and the protector of the realm upon the ſame ſubject. The archbiſhop harangues the houſe of commons about it, but they refuſe to repeal or amend the ſtatutes. The biſhop of WINCHESTER, made a cardinal, and legate a latere. The king's proctor forbids him to exerciſe that power. The cardinal makes promiſes to do nothing prejudicial to the king or his ſubjects, and is admitted to the council board — He is appointed legate for

Germany, and general of a cruſado againſt the hereticks in Bohemia — Petitions the council for leave to levy forces and appoint the officers, which is partly granted under ſome reſtrictions. An act of parliament to give privilege to the ſervants of the clergy attending convocation. The pope's nuncio demands a tenth of the clergy which they refuſe, and grant him a ſmall aid on certain conditions. The nuncio is impriſoned for collecting money contrary to law. Some of the clergy accuſed of hereſy and recant, and others are impriſoned. Delegates appointed to repreſent the Engliſh church at the council of Baſil. The council of Baſil meet. The pope endeavours to diſſolve it. They paſs ſeveral decrees to leſſen the papal power, and cite the pope to appear before them. The pope tranſlates the council to Ferrara. Some remove thither and ſome ſtay at Baſil. The pope is depoſed at Baſil, and FELIX choſen in his room. The pope dies and NICHOLAS is choſen at Ferrara, to whom FELIX reſigns the popedom. A complaint from the univerſity of Oxford of the declining ſtate of it, and the convocation paſs a canon that none but graduates in the univerſities ſhould be capable of benefices. A reflexion on it. The archbiſhop holds a provincial ſynod to defend the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction — He deſires to reſign on account of his age and infirmities, and recommends the biſhop of BATH to ſuccede him. A reflexion on this requeſt. The death and character of archbiſhop CHICHELEY. The convocation addreſs the king, that the ſtatutes of Proviſors and Premunire may be explained to a more commodious ſenſe. The death and character of cardinal BEAUFORT, biſhop of Wincheſter. The pope requires a tenth from the clergy which the king forbids. He fills many vacant ſees without oppoſition. The king appoints WAINFLEET biſhop of Wincheſter. The archbiſhop dies, and is ſucceded by KEMP, who lives but a ſhort time, and is ſucceded by BOURCHIER biſhop of Ely. The court too much engaged, in the factions of the houſes of York and Lancaſter, to attend to any thing elſe. Religion and learning go to decay very much. PEACOCK biſhop of Chicheſter publiſhes the firſt deiſtical books in England, and declaims

claims in the pulpit againſt the biſhops. The proceedings againſt him, and his confeſſion. HENRY the ſixth is depoſed; his character. EDWARD earl of March advanced to the throne, under the name of EDWARD the fourth — Grants a very extraordinary charter of liberties to the clergy — His declared, and ſuppoſed motives for ſo doing. He is dethroned and impriſoned; eſcapes and is voted a traitor and uſurper; returns to England as a ſubject, takes the oath of allegeance to HENRY, cauſes him and his ſon to be put to death, and is involved in foreign and domeſtic troubles all his life — His death and character. His ſon ſuccedes him about two months, and is privately ſtrangled in the tower by the direction of his uncle the duke of Gloceſter; who mounts the throne under the title of RICHARD the third. He puts the biſhop of ELY under arreſt, and commits him to the cuſtody of his confidant the duke of BUCKINGHAM. He refuſes to make good his promiſes to that duke, which gives him great diſguſt. The duke, and the biſhop, enter into meaſures to dethrone RICHARD, by projecting a marriage between the earl of RICHMOND, a prince of the houſe of Lancaſter, and the eldeſt daughter of EDWARD the fourth, to unite the houſes. The earl of RICHMOND comes into England with a ſmall force, gives king RICHARD battle, at Boſworth; in which the king is defeated and ſlain. His character. A reflexion on the cruel effects and ſtrange turns of faction, in the conteſt between the houſes of York and Lancaſter. The concluſion.

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N. B. The reader is desired, before he begins the work, to correct the following

E R R O R S.

Pa. 57. l. 18. insert, in, between error and which. p. 66. l. 1. read, of whom nothing. p. 92. l. 7. after shaving, insert, the head. 99. l. 3. read, desired, instead of said. 102. l. 21. after EGFRID, insert king. 141. l. 23. read, medioties. 156. l. 8. from the bottom, read, see instead of see. 202. l. 1. read Pershore. 230. l. 24. read, agree in. 231. l. 12. instead of : put ; 259. l. 6. between to and place, insert, take. 266. l. 2. make the full stop, a comma. 298. l. 11. read consulted. 319. l. 5. read died. 328. l. 27. read their. 372. l. the last, read, antipope. 393. l. 11. read the dead. 388. l. 39. between of and them, insert, some of. 427. l. 9. from the bottom, read which and not of.

A Return of all the Names not being made yet to the Author, the LIST of SUBSCRIBERS *must be deferred till the publication of the Second Volume.*

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THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

IT is not peculiar to the firſt ages of the Britons, as rude and illiterate as they were, to be without authentic materials for ſuch a work, as can entitle the authors of it to be call'd hiſtorians; or as can enable others to write their hiſtory in that copiouſneſs in which it muſt be written, to become a leſſon of politicks or religion. Nations, like men, it has been obſerved, have their infancy; and the few paſſages of that time which they retain, are not ſuch as deſerved to be moſt remembered, but ſuch as being moſt proportioned to that age, made naturally the ſtrongeſt impreſſions on their minds. It is certain as to Britain, that there never were any original monuments or records, and that we are obliged to foreign writers for the little light that we have of it in the earlieſt ages. This will not indeed be wondered at, when we know that the Druids, who had almoſt the ſole management of all affairs in this iſland, never committed any thing of their polity to writing; and this is the reaſon that we have ſo little handed down concerning the government and religion of the ancient Britons. Thus much however concerning the latter ſeems to be very clear, that it bore a near reſemblance to the principles and the worſhip of the Gauls: and from what CAESAR hath ſaid of both the nations, who knew more of both than any author extant, it appears that their deities were much the ſame, and that the Druids had the direction of all religious matters, as well amongſt the Gauls as in Britain. The name of thoſe eccleſiaſticks was derived from the celtic or gauliſh word "deru," which ſignified an oak; becauſe their dwelling was

in groves, and there they performed their ſuperſtitious ceremonies; and becauſe the miſſeltoe which grows upon the oak, was look'd upon among them as a very ſacred thing, and the greateſt bleſſing beſtow'd upon them by the Gods.

The Druids were not only at the head of religion, to whom belong'd the care of their public and private ſacrifices and the interpretation of their myſteries, but they were held in ſuch great veneration among the people, that they had alſo the arbitration of all their differences. They not only preſided at the worſhip of Dis and Samothes, and at the ſacrifice of their priſoners of war to Andate the Goddeſs of victory, but no public tranſaction paſſed without their approbation, and a malefactor was not put to death without their conſent. Whatever offence was committed among the people, whether it related to life or property or poſſeſſion, theſe were the judges that were to determine; and whoſoever refuſed to ſubmit to their determination, whether he was lord or vaſſal, they excluded from partaking of their religious rites. A man thus excommunicated was reckoned among the number of the wicked; his company was avoided, he was deprived of the benefit of the law, and rendered incapable of any place of honour or truſt. From hence it is very probable that our ancient outlawries were derived; for by the old engliſh law, before men were outlawed for debt, he who lay under that ſentence was reckoned a more hideous monſter than a man excommunicated in a roman catholic country, and it is ſaid that it was legal for any one to kill him.

The chief of the Druids was a ſort of pontiff or high prieſt, to whom all the reſt of the body were to be ſubject, and at whoſe death the moſt worthy was elected in his room. This election however was not always unanimous; for if the candidates were many and their pretenſions nearly equal, as they ſometimes were, it was decided by the majority, and not always without violence and the ſword. The Bards among the Britons were an inferior order to the Druids; and had not their name, as ſome imagine, from Bardus king of the Celtæ, but from the Britiſh word "barydd or bardd," which ſignifies a divine. The buſineſs of theſe Bards was to celebrate the praiſes of their heroes in verſes and ſongs which they ſung to their harps; and they continued for a long time, even after the

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the Romans had entirely quitted the iſland. The Eubates were a third ſort of prieſts, who gave themſelves up to the ſtudy of natural philoſophy. In ſhort the religion of the Britons and Gauls being much the ſame, it is probable that one of theſe nations had it from the other. We find CAESAR was of opinion that the Gauls had it from Britain, becauſe all who deſired to have a thorow knowledge of its myſteries took a voyage to Britain, in his time, to learn it: this might be only perhaps during the wars in their own country with the Romans, ſince it is probable that the Gauls when they peopled Britain, planted their own religion in it. But be this as it may: as the Druids of both nations had the ſame principles and maxims, and as we know but little of our own, we muſt ſearch among the Gauls for the eccleſiaſtical polity of the ancient Britons; the materials of which are ſcanty and inſufficient, it being, as I ſaid, the conſtant practice of the Druids to lock up their learning from the common people, and to make their young pupils learn every thing by memory.

The chief principles which were taught by theſe philoſophers, and which the beſt writers concerning thoſe times have handed down, are, that every thing derives its origin from heaven; that the diſobedient are to be ſhut out from the ſacrifices; that the ſoul is immortal, and after that tranſmigrates into other bodies; that if the world is deſtroyed it will be by fire or water; that upon extraordinary emergences men are to be ſacrificed; that priſoners of war are to be ſlain upon the altars or burnt alive incloſed in wicker in honour of the Gods; that there is another world, and they who kill themſelves to accompany their friends thither will live with them there; that all maſters of families are kings in their own houſes, and have a power of life and death over their wives, children, and ſlaves; that the diſobedient ſhould be excommunicated, deprived of the benefit of the law, be avoided by all, and rendered incapable of any employment. Many other particulars of leſs importance might be added; but theſe may ſerve to give us a notion of the religion of the ancient Britons, and to confirm what is ſaid by GILDAS, a native of this iſland, and who lived neareſt the time of any Britiſh writer, that they were overgrown with the common errors of the pagan world, and had idols as monſtrous, extravagant, and altogether as numerous, as the Egyptians. At the ſame time therefore that providence permitted the firſt inhabitants of Britain

to be invaded, oppreſſed, and harraſſed by the Roman power, the ſame providence directed that a paſſage ſhould be thereby opened to let in the light of truth upon their minds, and to reſcue them from a much greater bondage than the Roman yoke, the bondage of error and ſuperſtition: in this, as in many other of his diſpenſations, ſhewing evidently to mankind, that the calamities which he inflicts are not always evils in their conſequence, and that, on the final event of things, his ways are juſt and right.

Having given the reader this ſketch of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of this iſland, whilſt the inhabitants of it were pagans, and which is all that can be known of it with truth and certainty, I ſhall now lay before him an account of their converſion, by ſhewing at what time and in what manner the chriſtian faith was introduced. It is an opinion generally received among our later writers, that the firſt planting of chriſtianity was in the reign of Tiberius Caesar, about ſeven and thirty years after the birth of Christ. But whoſoever conſiders the circumſtances of thoſe times, and the few years that paſſed between the time of our Saviour's crucifixion and the death of that emperor, will ſee little cauſe to believe, that a chriſtian church was founded ſo very early, and in a place ſo remote as Britain. Not to inſiſt upon the teſtimony of an ancient tradition mentioned in Eusebius, "that our Saviour commanded his apo-"ſtles not to depart out of Jeruſalem within twelve years after "his aſcenſion;" nor on that of the alexandrian chronicle, "that they did not ſeparate 'till after the council at Jeruſa-"lem;" the point is fully proved from the account which the ſcripture gives, even if we ſuppoſe the diſperſion to have been within Tiberius's reign, "that they which were ſcattered "abroad upon the perſecution that aroſe about Stephen, "travelled as far as Phenice and Cyprus and Antioch, preach-"ing the word unto none but unto the Jews alone;" and therefore they were not likely to convert the gentile Britons. Beſides, if the goſpel was preached here ſo ſoon, how comes it to paſs, that ſix years after the death of the emperor Tiberius, it is ſaid in ſcripture, that Cornelius was the firſt fruits of the Gentiles? But what ſeems to have miſled our writers, is a miſtaken paſſage of Gildas, about the general liberty of preaching the goſpel throwout the world; which they have applied to the particular preaching of it in Britain. The introduction

troduction of chriſtianity was probably after the triumph of CLAUDIUS for his victory; when the Romans began to plant the iſland, to ſettle colonies, magiſtrates, and juriſdictions; when towns of trade were ſet up; and the Roman merchants furniſhed them with commodities for the convenience and the ſplendour of life: and this is the period which GILDAS fixes on for bringing in the goſpel; that is, between the time of PLAUTIUS's coming over in the reign of CLAUDIUS, and the battle between BOADICEA, and SUETONIUS PAULINUS.

To what particular apoſtle, or apoſtolical perſon, Britain was firſt obliged for this diſcovery, it is not an eaſy thing to determine; for there never were any records of the tranſactions of thoſe times. It was happineſs enough to the Britiſh chriſtians to enjoy the light of the goſpel, as long as the pagan Romans were their maſters; without rejoicing in it ſo openly, as to have had their public notaries regiſtring the acts of their councils, convocations, and ſynods, even amongſt ſuch of our anceſtors as had learned at once to write and to obey: and they that either in the north or weſt had avoided the Roman yoke, and enjoyed their liberty and traditional chriſtianity in the woods and mountains, are generally believed to be ſo much unacquainted with letters, as not to have been able to tranſmit their hiſtory to poſterity. Some few remains there are of thoſe ancient times and of the ſtate of chriſtianity in them, and there have been men of learning and induſtry who have employed themſelves in gathering up the ſcattered fragments; but theſe are ſo ſcanty, precarious, and obſcure, as to afford little light to be depended on in an authentic hiſtory. Tho it may be difficult to prove who the firſt apoſtle of the Britons was, yet there is no difficulty in making it appear, that it was not JAMES the ſon of ZEBEDEE, as ſome have fancied; for he was murthered by HEROD before the diſperſion of the apoſtles: it was not SIMON ZELOTES, as others have conjectured, who, they ſay, was crucified and buried in Britain; for he ſuffered martyrdom in Perſia: it was not St. PETER, as BARONIUS would inſinuate; for he was to be the apoſtle of the circumciſion; and in fact, he performed his office in thoſe eaſtern countries where the Jews were the moſt numerous, and confined himſelf to them, 'till he came to Rome a little before his martyrdom: neither was it JOSEPH of Arimathea who firſt undertook the converſion of the ancient Britons; tho this was the moſt current opinion

for ſome time, and was looked upon as indiſputable. This tradition therefore having met with much more credit than it deſerves, let us ſtay a little to examine its authority and the circumſtances which attend it.

William of Malmſbury, a writer of the thirteenth century, having a mind to ſet the antiquities of the church of Glaſſonbury as high as he could, the better to pay his court to Henry of Blois, to whom he addreſt them, gives an account to the following purpoſe: That upon the martyrdom of St. Stephen, the apoſtles diſperſing went off into ſeveral countries; amongſt theſe, that St. Philip, arriving in the territories of the Franks, converted a great number, and being deſirous to extend the chriſtian doctrine, ſent twelve of his diſciples, with Joseph of Arimathea at their head, to preach the goſpel in Britain, in the year of our Lord ſixty three. But the barbarous king, as well as his ſubjects, being ſomewhat alarmed at ſo unuſual an undertaking, and not reliſhing a perſuaſion ſo very different from his own, refuſed to become a proſelite. However, in conſideration of the length of their voyage, and being pleaſed with their peaceable good behaviour, he gave them a little ſpot of ground ſurrounded with thickets and fenns to dwell in. Not long after two other neighbouring kings having allowed them twelve hides of land for their ſubſiſtence, the angel Gabriel appeared from heaven, and commanded them to build a church to the honour of the virgin Mary, in a place which was then called by a word in the Britiſh language which ſignified the town of Glaſs. This is the ſubſtance of the account which William of Malmſbury gives, and which he pretends to give from a Britiſh hiſtory. But the truth of the matter is, as archbiſhop Usher, who peruſed it in the Cotton library, hath proved, it was not a Britiſh hiſtory but written by an Engliſh monk, who calls England his country and the Saxon his mother tongue: And after all, there is not a word of Joseph of Arimathea or his companions in it. All that is there ſaid, is, "that, in the weſtern parts of Britain, there is "a royal iſland called Glaſton, large and compaſſed about with "waters full of fiſh, and having other conveniencies of human "life; but which was moſt conſiderable, it was devoted to the "ſervice of God. Here the firſt diſciples of the catholic law "found an ancient church, not built as was reported by men's "hands, but prepared by God himſelf for the benefit of men, "and which by miracles was ſhewed to be conſecrated to him-

" ſelf and the bleſſed virgin: to which they adjoined another " oratory made of ſtone, which they dedicated to CHRIST and " to ST. PETER." Now the queſtion here is, who are meant by the firſt diſciples of the catholic law? Not JOSEPH of Arimathea and his companions, who are never mentioned by him; but ſome of the firſt Saxon Chriſtians in thoſe parts, who might probably find there ſuch a low wattled church as is deſcribed in Sir H. SPELMAN; a remainder of the Britiſh chriſtianity in that iſland. Thus this paſſage affords us a very good light into the true original of this tradition; which was afterwards ſo much heightened and improved, as the monks of Glaſſonbury thought convenient for the honour and privilege of their monaſtery. That which from hence ſeems moſt agreeable to truth, is, that in the latter times of the Britiſh churches, when they were ſo miſerably harraſſed and perſecuted by the pagan Saxons, they were forced to retire into places of difficult acceſs for their own ſecurity, and there they made them ſuch churches as were ſuitable to their preſent condition, and lived very retired lives; being in continual fear of their barbarous enemies. Such a place this iſland of Avalon was; that is, the iſland of ſpiritual men; which might be of far greater requeſt among the Britons, becauſe it was the place where ARTHUR their famous king lay buried, whoſe body was found there in the time of HENRY II. with an inſcription on a leaden croſs.

But to return to the tradition of JOSEPH and his companions, as the firſt apoſtles of the chriſtian churches in Britain. Beſides theſe fabulous mixtures of the monks to adorn the ſtory, there are ancient records produced to atteſt the truth of it. There is in the firſt place the charter of ST. PATRICK; wherein it is ſaid that Glaſton church was founded by twelve diſciples of the holy apoſtles PHILIP and JACOB, by the appointment of the archangel GABRIEL. But, beſides ſeveral apparent marks of forgery in this charter, with regard to the ſtyle, and the names contained in it, there is not a word ſaid of JOSEPH of Arimathea. In the next place, a manuſcript chronicle in the abbey of Glaſſonbury is produced, by which it appears, that the king's name who made the firſt preſent to JOSEPH, is ARVIRAGUS. It muſt be owned indeed that JUVENAL makes mention of a Britiſh king by that name, in the reign of DOMITIAN. But it is evident, that there could be no ſuch king as ARVIRAGUS at that time in thoſe parts of the iſland, over whom DOMITIAN could expect a triumph:

triumph: and ſuppoſe there were, it is nothing to the purpoſe, unleſs it can be proved that he lived in the time of Nero, when Joseph is pretended to have come hither, and Arviragus to be king in Britain. To theſe proofs another charter is brought in aid, from Ina king of the Weſt Saxons, who lived in the eighth century; wherein it is declared, that the church of Glaſton is the moſt ancient of all the Britiſh churches. But it ſeems ſtrange that ſuch a charter ſhould ever paſs for authentic, with any who compare the language of it with the hiſtory of king Ina, as it is delivered by the monkiſh writers. For by them it appears, what wars he had with his neighbouring princes, and how far he was to the laſt from commanding kings and princes and archbiſhops, whoſe kingdom was confined to the Weſt and South Saxons, and who had but three biſhops at the moſt, and not one archbiſhop in his dominions. How then could he call the ſeveral kings, archbiſhops, and biſhops together, to paſs this charter? There is no doubt, I think, that Ina founded a monaſtery there, where before had been an ancient church in the Britiſh times: but there is no ground to believe that either Joseph of Arimathea, or St. Patrick, had ever been there. But William of Malmſbury himſelf, tho when he writes the antiquities of Glaſſonbury, ſeems firmly to believe that the laſt was buried there, yet, when he ſpeaks of it in another place, adds that qualifying expreſſion, "if it is worthy of being believed," and takes not the leaſt notice whatever of Joseph and his companions: ſo much difference he thought there ought to be, between writing the legend of a monaſtery, and a true hiſtory. Indeed by the time of Henry II. the monks of Glaſſonbury had acquired ſuch an authority, that this tradition is inſerted in a charter from that king as a thing certain; but this confirmation being grounded only on the proofs which have been mentioned, gives it no credit at all. Were theſe teſtimonies however of greater authority than we have found, yet the ſtory itſelf is ſo improbable in its circumſtances, as would be a ſufficient reaſon to reject it. The Franks were unknown at the time when St. Philip is ſaid to come into their country; and it is affirmed by Eusebius and many others, that this apoſtle continued preaching in the eaſtern parts about Phrygia, and ſuffered martyrdom in Hierapolis. The building of the church by a viſion of the archangel, and devoting it to the virgin Mary, ſavours groſly of monkiſh fabulous ſuperſtition: and then for the hydes of land ſaid to be given to the twelve diſciples, the word hyde alone, which is a Saxon term unheard of

then in Britain, is a ſufficient refutation of the whole ſtory. It would not have been worth while to dwell ſo much upon this legend, if CRESSY, and other Roman catholic writers of church hiſtory, had not taken a great deal of learned pains to prove its authenticity; and that we might be cleared of the reproach of inexcuſable partiality, which they lay upon every one who calls the truth of it in queſtion.

Uncertain however as it is, at what preciſe time, and by what particular perſon, the goſpel was firſt made known in Britain, yet there ſeems to be good and ſufficient evidence, that a chriſtian church was planted here, and the inhabitants converted, by the apoſtles; an evidence which is built on the teſtimony of ancient and credible writers, with probable circumſtances concurring. Among theſe we find EUSEBIUS, a man of learning and abilities, and a favourite with CONSTANTINE the firſt chriſtian emperor, born and proclaimed in Britain. He had therefore an opportunity of learning from the emperor and his court, the ſtate of the Britiſh churches, of what continuance they were, and by whom planted: and, as he had a deſign of compiling an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory from the collections which he made, it is not to be imagined, that he would neglect to inform himſelf of the ſtate of religion in the Britiſh iſlands, which were well known then over all the Roman empire, and made a figure in the world which was not inconſiderable. The teſtimony therefore of ſuch a perſon thus qualified, muſt be of weight. Let us hear then what EUSEBIUS ſays. Having undertaken to prove, that the apoſtles of CHRIST, who preached the goſpel to the world, could be no impoſtors or deceivers; among other arguments, he ſuggeſts, "that it would have been madneſs for "ſuch illiterate men, who underſtood only their mother tongue, "to go about to deceive the world, by preaching this doctrine "in the remoteſt cities and countries; among the Romans, "Perſians, Armenians, &c. and in thoſe which are called the "Britiſh iſlands." THEODORET is another church hiſtorian of credit and character; who, in reckoning up the nations converted by the apoſtles, expreſly names the Britons: and in another part of his work, ſpeaking particularly of the ſucceſs and labours of ST. PAUL, he tells us, "that after his releaſe at Rome, "that apoſtle went into Spain, and from thence carried the "light of the goſpel to other nations, and to the iſlands which "lie in the ocean." To theſe might be added the teſtimonies

of other writers of antiquity, which not only ſhew that chriſtianity was known in Britain, in the time of the Romans, but that St. Paul himſelf was the preacher of it. Theſe teſtimonies are confirmed too, by circumſtances of great and undoubted probability. For inſtance; St. Paul had leiſure and opportunity to come hither; and it was the common and received opinion of all the fathers of the church, that, from the time of his being ſet at liberty, to his return to Rome, he went up and down, preaching the goſpel in the Weſtern countries, of which Britain was a part, and ſo denominated. There was likewiſe encouragement and invitation enough for St. Paul to come into Briain, to ſettle a Chriſtian church. Here were an infinite number of people to be converted, both of its own inhabitants, and of the Roman colonies; and from ſome of his converts among the latter, he might be eaſily enough informed of the ſtate of Britain, and encouraged thence to undertake a voyage thither. It is certain, that he made ſome conſiderable converts at his coming to Rome; and it is not improbable, that ſome of the Britiſh captives, carried over with Caractacus and his family, might be of the number; who would certainly promote the converſion of their countrymen by St. Paul. But, notwithſtanding the probability that St. Paul was the apoſtle of the Gentiles in Britain, yet there have been writers of our church hiſtory, who, for particular reaſons, have endeavoured to prove, that St. Peter was the apoſtle who came hither to convert the inhabitants to the faith. Their proofs, however, are ſlight and inconſiderable, compared with the evidence on the other ſide, founded chiefly on the authority of a few legendary writers, or monkiſh viſions, and plainly calculated to ſerve a turn. But the controverſy itſelf is of no other uſe than to make it credible, that the goſpel was taught in Britain ſoon after the death of Christ. The moſt likely period to be aſſigned for this, is where Gildas hath placed it, between the victory obtained by Claudius, and the defeat of Boadicea by Suetonius Paulinus, in the firſt years of Nero.

The goſpel being planted about this time in Britain, a Chriſtian church continued in it, tho not maintained with equal zeal, to the perſecution of Dioclesian: but even that was ſo far from deſtroying it, that it gained ſtrength and reputation, by the courage of confeſſors and martyrs; the heat of which oppoſition was no ſooner over, ſays Bede, than the Chriſtian church flouriſhed

riſhed again in great peace and unity, 'till the arian hereſy aroſe and gave it ſome diſturbance. Indeed this fact is not ſo clear, if we give credit to the tradition recorded by many writers, that a Britiſh king, called LUCIUS, ſent ambaſſadors to ELEUTHERUS, the twelfth biſhop of Rome, to deſire him to ſend over ſome miſſionaries, to inſtruct him in the chriſtian faith, and that he ſettled the churches here after his converſion. To paſs by the many different accounts which are given by our hiſtorians of this tradition, as to the time, the means, and manner of the converſion, and the perſons employed therein, which are very ſufficient to deſtroy the credit of it, it ſeems inconſiſtent with the ſtate of the Britiſh affairs at that time. A king over all Britain, with ſeveral kings under him, changing the affairs of religion as he thought fit, were privileges not allowed to titular princes. The Romans, it is true, did often ſuffer kings to govern provinces under them; but then they were provinces wholly ſubdued and compaſſed about with Roman forces; and there is no inſtance to be given of their permitting an hereditary king of the ſame country, to enjoy full power over his ſubjects, whilſt a great part of that country was in arms againſt them. Such a perſon indeed as LUCIUS, who was a king and a Chriſtian, and converted to chriſtianity about that time, it has been proved there was. He had royal authority too under the Roman power in ſome part of Britain, and hearing of the chriſtian doctrine by the old Britiſh Chriſtians, or by ſome of the Roman forces, perhaps he might be deſirous to inform himſelf of this religion more perfectly, by ſending two proper perſons to the biſhop of Rome. Accordingly we are told, in the old book of Landaff, that, by the advice of the preſbyters of the city of Rome, whom ELEUTHERUS their biſhop conſulted, the ambaſſadors were baptized, and being well inſtructed were ordained; then returning to Britain they baptized king LUCIUS, and the chief men of his court; who, according to the pope's inſtructions, ſettled the eccleſiaſtical order, cauſed biſhops to be ordained, and the chriſtian religion to be taught and propagated. There is no improbability in all this, it muſt be owned; but the writers of this tradition have made LUCIUS found and endow ſo many churches, which it is not likely the Romans would permit, to travel into and convert ſo many nations, and to ſuffer martyrdom among the Griſons, with ſuch fabulous circumſtances, as hath brought it to be queſtioned by many people, whether there ever was ſuch a king at that time in Britain: it happening in this, as in all other caſes,

that where more is ſaid than is true, it makes what is really true become doubtful and ſuſpicious.

After this time, 'till the perſecution of the Chriſtians by Dioclesian, in which the Britiſh churches had their ſhare, there is but little of their hiſtory known. It is probable however, that during this interval of eighty years, the chriſtian religion made great progreſs here. We may conclude this, I think, from the great number of Britiſh martyrs, who ſuffered under this perſecution: for tho the names only of three or four are handed down, yet the hiſtorians all agree that many more ſuffered martyrdom then in Britain, with the utmoſt firmneſs and reſolution. Gildas particularly recites, that many other Chriſtians were diſpatched with diverſity of torture, and torn limb from limb, in a moſt unheard of and cruel manner; that thoſe who eſcaped the fury of their perſecutors, rerired to woods and deſarts, and hid themſelves in caves, where they continued confeſſors, 'till it pleaſed God to revenge their uſage upon their perſecutors, and afford better times to the church. The firſt martyr was St. Alban, who lived in the town of Verulam, which had a Roman colony; and who had been converted from paganiſm, by a prieſt whom he had generouſly harboured in his houſe on account of the perſecution. Many miracles are recorded by Bede, and other ancient writers, which are ſaid to have happened at the martyrdom of this convert; ſuch as the drying up a part of the river for the people to paſs over at his execution; a fountain breaking out at his feet, on a neighbouring hill, whilſt he prayed for water; and the eyes of the executioner dropping out of his head, immediately after he had made the ſtroke to behead the ſaint. But the reader will, perhaps, expect a better authority for the truth of theſe miracles, before he gives credit to them, than the zeal and ignorance of thoſe times; which is all the authority I believe they have.

Dioclesian, and his cruel furious collegue Maximian, having the government of the Roman empire in their hands, they ſtuck at nothing that would ſatiate their malice againſt the Chriſtians. So that how great an inclination ſoever Constantius had to favour them, whilſt he was governour of Britain, yet it was not in his power to diſpenſe with the edicts of the emperors: and tho thoſe edicts againſt the Chriſtians were ſent without his conſent, yet he ſo far complied as to pull down their churches.

This, however, was forgiven him for his kindneſs afterwards, in putting an end to the perſecution, as ſoon as he came to the empire, and, tho he died a Pagan, in giving the Chriſtians the liberty of their religion, and protecting them from injury and abuſe. There is a remarkable paſſage of this emperor, recited by EUSEBIUS, who wrote his life: and as it is one of thoſe which anſwers the beſt deſign of writing or reading hiſtory, it will not be impertinent to recite it. "For, to teach and in-"culcate the general principles of virtue, and the general rules "of wiſdom and good policy, which reſult from ſuch details of "actions and characters, comes for the moſt part," ſays my lord BOLINGBROKE, "and always ſhould come expreſly and di-"rectly into the deſign of thoſe who are capable of giving ſuch "details." CONSTANTIUS, having a mind to diſtinguiſh his courtiers who were Chriſtians and to try their probity, pretended an enmity to their religion, and ordered them all to ſacrifice to the Gods, under pain of his diſpleaſure, and the being diſcharged his ſervice. The men of principle, who were in earneſt, and made a conſcience of their religion, told him plainly, that they muſt retire then and reſign their offices; the favour of GOD being much more to be valued than any favour from their prince: but the gay and licentious part of his court, who had taken up their religion as they did a faſhion, and which ſate as looſe about them, when they found it diſcountenanced and oppoſed by the emperor, were very ready, they ſaid, to ſacrifice to pagan deities, rather than to give him any offence. CONSTANTIUS, having made the diſcovery that he deſired, reprimanding theſe very ſeverely, diſmiſſed them from their employments: telling them plainly, that he could have no opinion of men of ſuch a mercenary diſpoſition, as were wholly governed by their intereſt, and that thoſe who had thus ſhewn themſelves to be falſe to their GOD, would not be faithful to their prince. As for the others, who were prepared to leave him rather than deſert their principles and religion, he commended them highly for their integrity, eſteemed them ever after among the number of his friends, and gave them a ſhare in the adminiſtration. This is not only a leſſon of wiſdom to princes, in their choice of thoſe about them, but it is alſo a leſſon of policy to every private man; and will teach him, that if he gives up his honour and his conſcience to flatter his ſuperiors, and to ſerve a turn, thoſe ſuperiors themſelves will treat him with infamy and contempt. But I go on with the hiſtory.

Constantius, upon ſome commotion in the northern parts of Britain, being arrived at York, and finding his end to be drawing near, did all that lay in his power to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the empire to his eldeſt ſon Constantine, by recommending him to the legions which were with him; knowing well that, without the conſent and inclinations of the army, the plea of inheritance and ſucceſſion would avail but little. The army favoured his pretenſions; and Constantine being firmly ſeated in the throne, the purple robe was ſent to him from Rome. Inveſted thus with the ſupreme command, before all other things, he took care of the tranquility of this iſland, where he was firſt proclaimed emperor, by ſecuring full liberty to the Chriſtians. This happy change of the times, is mentioned by Gildas in the following terms: "after the ten years ſeverity was over, and the "authors of the perſecution taken off by remarkable judgments, "the Chriſtians were brought back to a ſtate of eaſe, the victo-"rious croſs was diſplayed, the churches were rebuilt, and the "holy ſolemnities kept without any diſturbance." From this time, we may date the flouriſhing condition of the chriſtian religion here, which before muſt have lain under great diſcouragements; the governors of provinces, 'till Constantius, and the generality of the people, being ſet againſt the Chriſtians. At this period, a church was erected at Verulam in honour of St. Alban, and the town has from thence changed its name.

But the firſt evidence we meet with of the ſettled condition of the Britiſh churches, is the number of biſhops which went from Britain to the council of Arles, in the year three hundred and fourteen, where three biſhops ſubſcribed it; Eborius biſhop of York, Restitutus biſhop of London, and Adelfius the biſhop of the third province, into which Britain was then divided, and which was ſometimes called Britannia ſecunda. We are not to conclude however from hence, that there were no more than three biſhops at that time in Britain, becauſe no greater number was at Arles upon this occaſion; it being the cuſtom to ſend but one or two out of a province, even where there were moſt prelates. Indeed we have no reaſon to queſtion a ſucceſſion of biſhops here from the firſt eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity; it being very improbable that the church ſhould be under any regulations in this iſland, which were not to be met with any where elſe: and it is to be preſumed that there was no other

church in the chriſtian world, derived from the apoſtles, which had not at that time, a ſucceſſion of biſhops likewiſe from them; becauſe we cannot trace the hiſtory of other churches farther than we can do that of their biſhops. We find TERTULIAN puts the proof of apoſtolical churches upon the ſucceſſion of biſhops from the apoſtles; which would be a weak inconcluſive way of reaſoning, unleſs it had been generally underſtood in thoſe days, that where the apoſtles planted churches they appointed biſhops to take care of them. There is all the reaſon in the world therefore to believe, that the Chriſtians in Britain were from the beginning under an epiſcopal adminiſtration, and that the church in this iſland, was governed in conformity to the reſt of Chriſtendom. For tho length of time, perſecutions, and the ravages of war, have deprived us of the records of the Britiſh churches, and ſo we cannot draw down the ſucceſſion of our biſhops from the times of the apoſtles, yet ſuch a ſucceſſion, as I ſaid, there probably was; becauſe when the emperor CONSTANTINE firſt ſummoned a council, a number of biſhops proportionable with other provinces appeared from Britain; whoſe ſucceſſion was not diſputed, their authority queſtioned, nor their ſubſcriptions refuſed at Arles: an argument clear enough, that their character was well authenticated, and that they could make out their titles as well as the reſt.

The Britiſh biſhops having had ſuch an intereſt in this council, it will not be foreign to the ſubject, to make an obſervation on the proceedings of that aſſembly. By the ſynodical epiſtle which they ſent to the biſhop of Rome, it appears that this council paſſed ſeveral canons by their own authority, which they ſent to that prelate; not as BARONIUS ſays, becauſe it was neceſſary that he ſhould confirm them, but that he might publiſh them to others: for their words are, "that they had already decreed "them by common conſent, and tranſmitted them to him to be "divulged;" as the emperors ſent their edicts to their prefects or viceroys, which was not to give any new force to the ſanction, or perfect the authority, but only to certify them to the ſubject, and provide for the execution of them. It muſt be owned, that they tell the pope in this epiſtle that he had a larger dioceſe: but if theſe words had implied ſo much as a patriarchial power over the biſhops there aſſembled, how could they aſſume to themſelves an authority of making canons? How could they have defended this legiſlative language, this independent way of treating the biſhop

biſhop of Rome; in which they do nothing more than acquaint him with what they have done, and deſire him to communicate and publiſh it to others? Would ſuch a familiar freedom as this have been allowed of in a council ſince the papal ſupremacy hath been claimed in the chriſtian church? Nay, would it not have been looked upon as a great want of reſpect in a provincial council within the patriarchate of the eaſt? But the biſhops at Arles, it ſeems, knew no other ſtile of ceremony to the ſee of Rome, but that of "your love;" ſignifying to the pope, not what they had prepared, but what they had already decreed for him to confirm. They are ſo far indeed from owning his authority in calling them together, that they tell him they were aſſembled at the emperor's command; and inſtead of expecting directions from him, that they had a divine authority preſent with them, and a certain tradition and rule of faith. They wiſhed indeed he had been of the ſynod, and to have judged together with them. They would have been glad of the company of their dear brother of Rome, as they familiarly call him, but ſince his occaſions would not permit his abſence from home, they tell him what they had done, and ſend him an abſtract of their canons. Now was it poſſible for this council, who declared to the pope the compleatneſs of their authority, and treated him in terms of ſuch equality, to look upon him as their ſupreme head, and to believe that he had a power to confirm or diſannull their acts? The ſupremacy of the pope, which has ſince been founded ſo very high in the catholic church, was a thing unknown, it is very plain, to the Britiſh biſhops and their brethren, in this firſt general council of the weſtern church.

About eleven years after this, the chriſtian church was much diſquieted with the tumults and ſeditions occaſioned by Arius, who affirmed that "time was when the Son of God was not, "tho he was the firſt of all creatures;" in which opinion many biſhops joined him, cauſing violent diſputes and animoſities, to the ſcandal of chriſtianity. The emperor endeavoured firſt to heal theſe diviſions, by his own exhortations, and letters written to Arius himſelf, and to the biſhop of Alexandria, who had reprehended, and upon his obſtinacy, excommunicated Arius for his hereſy: But finding theſe means were ineffectual to compoſe their differences, he convened a council of the whole church at Nice, in the year three hundred and twenty five: And tho the ſubſcriptions of that ſynod now remaining, confuſed and

imperfect even in the beſt copies, make no mention of any Britiſh biſhops, yet there are many good reaſons to believe that ſome of them were ſummoned, and did appear. For EUSEBIUS tells us, that it was CONSTANTINE's deſign to have as great an appearance of biſhops at this ſynod from all parts as he could, and to that end he ſent forth an univerſal ſummons, throwout all the provinces of the empire; ordering public carriages to be got ready, and all expences to be defrayed for them. Moreover it is ſaid, in the emperor's epiſtle to the churches, "that it was then "neceſſary, to the ſettlement of the chriſtian faith, that all bi-"ſhops ſhould meet together, or at leaſt the greateſt part, and "therefore he had aſſembled as many as he could." But how could ſuch expreſſions be made uſe of if the weſtern provinces were not ſummoned; in which, if we look back to the council of Arles juſt now mentioned, we ſhall find the prelates were very numerous? There being great reaſon therefore, as I ſaid, to believe, that ſome of the Britiſh biſhops were preſent at the council of Nice, we ought to look a little into the conſtitution of the eccleſiaſtical government there ſettled, in order to form an idea of the juſt rights and privileges of the Britiſh churches.

The canons relating to the points of faith, and the determination of the time of Eaſter, in which thoſe of the council of Arles were partly reinforced and partly added to, I ſhall not ſtay to relate. They are recited at full length by many eccleſiaſtical writers ancient and modern, and cannot be thought to fall preciſely within my deſign. But among the canons which relate to the eſtabliſhment and the polity of the church, there are two which I think ſhould be taken notice of; becauſe the ancient practice of the Britiſh churches may be gathered from hence, as it is reaſonable to preſume, that they were conformable in this reſpect to the decrees of the council of Nice.

The firſt relates to the election and conſecration of biſhops, and the canon is this: "that a biſhop ought chiefly to be con-"ſtituted by all the biſhops in the province; but if this be too "difficult either thro urgent occaſions, or the length of the "way, yet three muſt be preſent for that purpoſe, and have the "conſent of the abſent under their hands, and ſo to make the "conſecration. But the confirmation of all things done in the "province, muſt be reſerved to the metropolitan." By this canon the government of the church came now to be ſettled un-

der Constantine, and with his approbation. Every province, we find, had a number of biſhops within itſelf, who were to take care of the eccleſiaſtical government of it, but in ſuch a manner as that the conſent of the metropolitan was obtained; whoſe rights are hereby ſecured. For the laſt clauſe doth not merely refer to the conſecration of biſhops, but takes in all the eccleſiaſtical affairs of the province. The only difficulty lies in the firſt clauſe; what is meant by the biſhops of the province conſtituting a new biſhop; whether the right of election is hereby devolved to them, or whether it be only the right of conſecration upon the election of the people? Some of the Greek writers are of opinion, that the right of election was taken from the people by this canon, and given to the biſhops of the province. The right of election was moſt certainly in the biſhops, and the people had no more than a nomination. But would thoſe who contend for popular elections of biſhops or paſtors among us, approve them on theſe terms? It is one thing for the people to propoſe or nominate perſons to be choſen, and another for them to have the right of election: it is one thing for a perſon choſen to have the conſent of the people, and another for the people to have the power to reject him if he does not pleaſe them. Moreover; it is one thing for the people to be allowed to enjoy ſome privileges, 'till the inconveniences of them have cauſed their being taken away by juſt and neceſſary laws; and another for them to challenge ſuch a right as inherent in themſelves, and without which there lies no obligation on them to ſubmit. If theſe things were more conſidered and better underſtood than we have reaſon to think they are, the heats and animoſities of many ſerious people, even in our own benevolent moderate times, would be abated. Suppoſe, at the council of Nice, the people had the liberty to propoſe their biſhops and paſtors, or to object againſt the perſons to be choſen, and their conſent were generally deſired, yet all this does not give them the right of election; becauſe whatever of this kind was done, it ſignified nothing without the conſent of the biſhops and metropolitan of the province; and none are properly ſaid to chuſe, but thoſe upon whoſe judgment the determination depends; the others only propoſe and offer candidates to be choſen. The moſt therefore which the people could have by this canon, was the right of nomination, which upon ſeditions and tumults was for good reaſons altered: and there can be no plea for reſuming this right, unleſs it can be proved to be unalienable and divine; which is not ſo much as pretended

pretended by thoſe who plead for popular elections of miniſters from the precedents of former times.

The other canon which I referred to, is about the frequency of provincial ſynods. In the fifth canon it is provided that no perſon excommunicated by one biſhop, ſhould be received into communion by another, according to the council of Arles: But, then no proviſion was made for the caſe of appeals, if any perſon complained that he was unjuſtly dealt by, as it is natural for men to do. The Nicene council therefore decreed, "that "provincial ſynods be held twice a year, in lent and autumn;" which was confirmed by many other canons. At theſe ſynods, all ſuch cauſes were to be heard and determined; and perſons excommunicated were to be held ſo by all, unleſs the provincial ſynod repealed the ſentence. Had any other ſuperior authority then been known, it was the proper place to have inſerted it, where the right of appeal was determined to lie; as that is the beſt pretence for removing cauſes to a ſuperior court. It is impoſſible that the Nicene fathers ſhould have ſtopped at provincial ſynods, if they had known or believed, that CHRIST had appointed a vicar upon earth, who was to be the ſupreme judge in all eccleſiaſtical matters. It would have been juſt ſuch an abſurdity, as if our judges ſhould declare, that all cauſes are to be determined in the county courts, when they know that there are ſuperior courts of juſtice appointed in Weſtminſter-hall. In matters of faith or upon extraordinary occaſions, by the ſummons of an emperor or a general concurrence of Chriſtian princes, a general council is the higheſt court: but in the ſtanding and ordinary method of proceeding, a provincial ſynod was the laſt court of appeal, according to the council of Nice. All foreign juriſdiction is therefore excluded by this canon; and the Britiſh churches had a full power within themſelves to end all cauſes which aroſe within their own provinces. Thus it was mere uſurpation in any foreign biſhop to interpoſe in any differences in the churches of this iſland; becauſe the council of Nice had confined the liberty of appeals to provincial ſynods. Here then we fix our right as to the Britiſh churches, that they were not under any patriarchal juriſdiction of the biſhop of Rome at this time: that is, that he never had the authority to conſecrate the metropolitans or biſhops of theſe provinces; that he never called them to his councils at Rome; that he had no appeals from hence; that the Britiſh biſhops never owned his juriſdiction over

them, and therefore that our churches were ſtill to enjoy their former privileges of being governed by their own provincial ſynods. If no inſtance can be produced of the biſhop of Rome's patriarchal juriſdiction over the Britiſh churches, why ſhould not we claim the ſame benefit from the Nicene canons as pope Leo urges vehemently in a parallel caſe? It cannot be ſaid, that afterwards, ſubjection and conſent makes a juſt patriarchal power; tho that would not hold as to the Britiſh churches, whoſe biſhops refuſed abſolutely to ſubmit to Austin the monk. "Tho "the number of biſhops, ſays Leo, be never ſo great who give "their conſent to any alterations in the Nicene canons, they ſig-"nify nothing, and cannot bind." What can be more to the purpoſe for ſecuring the privilege of our churches than this aſſertion, in caſe no patriarchal power over them can be proved before the council of Nice? and there is all the reaſon in the world that thoſe who claim a juriſdiction ſhould prove it; eſpecially when the acts of it are ſo notorious that they cannot be concealed, as the conſecrations of metropolitans and matters of appeals confeſſedly are. But of this we need ſay no more than what the ſame Leo hath ſaid before us: "the privileges of "churches, which were begun by the canons of the holy fathers, "and confirmed by the council of Nice, can neither be deſtroyed "by wicked uſurpation, nor diſſolved by the humour of change "and novelty."

The ſucceſſion of the Britiſh churches, being thus deduced from their original to the times of the chriſtian emperors, and they being in no circumſtances of ſubjection to the biſhops of Rome 'till long after, as will be farther ſhewn in the progreſs of this hiſtory, it may be neceſſary now to give ſome account of the faith and ſervice which were then eſtabliſhed in them. It is not to my preſent purpoſe, tho it might help to confute the report that arianiſm was then the common opinion of the Britiſh churches, to give a detail of that hereſy from the council of Nice, to the council of Ariminium, where the Britiſh biſhops were preſent: and indeed theſe deciſions of councils againſt councils, in terms of the moſt inveterate rancour and abuſe, upon a point of doctrine which was never intended by God's providence for debate and controverſy, perverted the great deſign of chriſtianity to make men holy and inoffenſive, and almoſt totally deſtroyed it. Had this controverſy therefore been agitated in Britain, which is the ſcene of this hiſtory, I ſhould apprehend that

that the reciting all the particular tranſactions of it, of biſhops excommunicating biſhops, their ſubſcriptions and recantations, their cruelties and perſecutions, their pride and ſecular arts, and all theſe on each ſide for the ſake of a point of ſpeculation which GOD did not think fit to explain, and which none of them underſtood; I ſay to recite theſe particularly which were ſo oppoſite to the ſpirit of true religion, I ſhould think would anſwer no other end than to ſerve the cauſe of vice and infidelity. Let it ſuffice then for carrying on the thread of this hiſtory, to obſerve that theſe oppoſite decrees of councils in this controverſy, not only overthrow the pretended infallibility of general councils, but alſo the abſolute obligatory authority of any that are ſo called, 'till after a due examination of the reaſons and motives of their proceedings. As to the council of Ariminium, at which the Britiſh biſhops were preſent, it is plain that the definitions there ſubſcribed in favour of arianiſm, were extorted from them by the emperor thro fear: and therefore the biſhops being returned, upon the death of CONSTANTIUS not long after, they ſettled the Nicene faith in the weſtern churches by leſſer aſſemblies of the ſeveral biſhops. This is expreſly ſaid by HILARY of the Gallican biſhops, who meeting at Paris, renounced the council of Ariminium, and embraced the creed of Nice. The ſame we have reaſon to believe was done in the churches of Britain; becauſe in the time of JOVIAN, ATHANASIUS particularly takes notice "of the Britannic churches as adhering to the Nicene faith." At this council of Ariminium, the emperor took care to provide lodging and entertainment for the biſhops out of the public charge, which they refuſed to accept; only three out of Britain, according to SEVERUS SULPICIUS, not being able to maintain themſelves, made uſe of the public allowance rather than be chargeable to their brethren. From the many endowments of the churches and the oblations of the people, which at that time were very conſiderable, it may ſeem ſtrange that the biſhops in Britain ſhould be ſo poor, and not that the others ſhould refuſe the public allowance. To account for this, it muſt be obſerved, that CONSTANTINE had drawn all the wealth and trade of the empire eaſtward, for the greater advancement of his new city, and that this country had been long harraſſed with wars, and ſcarce recovered from the effects of them. The Scots and Picts had been very troubleſome to them, both in the times of CONSTANS, and CONSTANTIUS: the former came himſelf over into Britain to ſuppreſs them, and the latter ſent

Lupicinus his general, who arrived at London about the time the council of Ariminium was diſſolved: and therefore in a time of ſuch confuſion, it is no wonder that theſe churches ſhould not be in ſo plentiful a condition as thoſe that were the ſeat of trade and government. The churches however, ſays Gildas, held a perfect good correſpondence with each other; 'till the Arian diſtemper croſſed the ocean and was brought in upon them; by which infection the Britons were more eaſily ſeized thro the curioſity of their temper, and their inclination for change and novelty.

But arianiſm was not the only hereſy the Britiſh churches were charged with: Bede inſinuates, that Pelagius being a Briton, and ſpreading his doctrine far and near, corrupted theſe churches with it. Another writer charges the vices of Pelagius on the Britiſh nation; and tho he owns he had a great natural ſharpneſs of wit, he ſays it was fierce and contentious after the faſhion of his country, and which he could not ſhake off by his long converſations at Rome. He grants that his exhortations to piety were vehement and earneſt, but written in an uncouth imperious ſtyle, according to the humour of his nation. There is a vanity and a folly in this reflexion not to be paſſed over; which tho extremely pernicious and abſurd, is common to the people of every country, and which ariſes from making their own cuſtoms, manners, and opinions, the ſtandard of right and wrong. This reproach on a whole nation for the particular failings of one of its authors, and attributing his vices or follies to his country, is a much ſeverer reproach upon this writer than on the Britons; and ſhews that his mind had not been purged of thoſe prejudices and partialities contracted in our education, by looking abroad into that vaſt map of the world which hiſtory ſpreads before us. Pelagius would probably have had the ſame temper of mind, if he had been born in another country; nor does his way of writing, I conceive, affect the Britiſh churches; the people of which might be wiſe and humble, notwithſtanding this character of them, or notwithſtanding Pelagius himſelf was not ſo. The reflexion is unbecoming a Chriſtian and a philoſopher.

Whatever was the peculiar temper of this author, he had in all probability been too many for no leſs than a ſucceſſion of three popes, if the African fathers had not interpoſed and freely told them what was the true doctrine of the church. But tho pelagianiſm

gianiſm was thus very near being propagated with the approbation of the ſee of Rome, yet it was at laſt condemned there, and imperial conſtitutions were publiſhed againſt his hereſy. PELAGIUS himſelf, it is very certain, never returned to Britain; but ſeveral biſhops here were ſeduced by AGRICOLA, one of his diſciples, and probably by ſome others. For PROSPER, ſpeaking of the care of CAELESTINE to root it out of Britain, hath theſe words: "it had taken poſſeſſion here by the enemies of GOD's "grace, returning to the ſoil from whence they ſprang." But whoever they were that brought pelagianiſm hither, it appears from hence, that they were natives of this country, who being infected with that hereſy returned hither to ſpread it; and they ſpred it with ſucceſs. PELAGIUS having undoubtedly been a Briton, and having made ſo great a noiſe with his opinions here, it may be proper to give the reader ſome idea of his hereſy, as we find it charged upon his diſciples by the church of Carthage, in theſe particulars. I. That ADAM had mortality in his nature, and whether he had ſinned, or not ſinned, would moſt certainly have died. II. That the conſequences of ADAM's ſin were confined to his perſon, and the reſt of mankind received no diſadvantage from it. III. That the law qualified for the kingdom of heaven, and was founded upon equal promiſes with the goſpel. IV. That before the coming of our Saviour, ſome men lived without ſin. V. That new born infants are in the ſame condition with ADAM before his fall. VI. That the death and diſobedience of ADAM, is not the neceſſary cauſe of death to all mankind, neither does the general reſurrection of the dead follow in virtue of our Saviour's reſurrection. VII. That if a man will make the moſt of himſelf, he may keep the commands of GOD without difficulty, and preſerve himſelf in a perfect ſtate of innocence. VIII. That rich men, notwithſtanding the advantage of their baptiſm, unleſs they parted with all their eſtate, all other inſtances of virtue would be inſignificant to them; neither could they be qualified for the kingdom of heaven. IX. That the grace and aſſiſtance of GOD is not granted for the performance of every moral act; the liberty of the will and information in the points of duty, being ſufficient for this purpoſe. X. That the grace of GOD is given in proportion to our merit. XI. That none can be called the ſons of GOD, unleſs they are perfectly without ſin. XII. That our victory over temptation is not gained by GOD's aſſiſtance, but by the liberty of the will. Theſe

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are the principles aſcribed to Pelagius, which it is ſaid he recanted in the council of Dioſpolis; but relapſing, and diſcovering the inſincerity of his recantation, he was condemned in ſeveral councils. A very ſmall acquaintance with the ſcriptures, and human nature, will ſerve to confute theſe erroneous notions; a few of which are imbibed in theſe more enlightened ages, thro ignorance and enthuſiaſm, by ſome of our modern ſectaries.

There were ſeveral biſhops it is ſaid at this time in Britain of great piety and learning, who oppoſed themſelves againſt this hereſy; but finding the evil to increaſe, and diſtruſting their own ſufficiency to deal with ſuch ſubtle adverſaries, they ſent over to Gaul to deſire ſome aſſiſtance from their brethren. The Gallican prelates called a council, and unanimouſly deputed Lupus and Germanus, biſhops of great abilities and reputation, to go over into Britain and ſuppreſs the hereſy. They came accordingly; and in a conference at Verulam with the Pelagians, they defended the truth in ſo ſtrong and plain a manner, that they brought off ſeveral from their errors, and left the Britons well ſettled, as they ſuppoſed, in the ancient faith. But they were no ſooner returned to Gaul than ſome of the Pelagians got ground again; which occaſioned another meſſage to Germanus, and another voyage from him to Britain in company with Severus. Deſpairing then to convince them any more by arguments, becauſe of their obſtinacy and perverſeneſs, he procured their baniſhment, according to the edict of Valentinian; and from thence forwards, ſays Bede, the Britiſh churches continued ſound and orthodox. This was a method of proceeding that might ſuit the zeal of thoſe times, which in many inſtances, it appears, was not according to knowledge: but to ſilence an adverſary by baniſhment for mere opinions, and opinions which depend for their truth or error upon the ſcriptures, as it is not a practice to be juſtified upon chriſtian principles, ſo neither is it conſonant, I believe, to real policy. For liberty of conſcience is one of the rights of human nature, antecedent to ſociety, which no man can give up, becauſe it is not in his power: and our Saviour's rule of doing as we would be done unto, ſeems an expreſs deciſion to all men ---- to uſe an expreſſion of biſhop Burnet's ----, who would lay the matter home to their own hearts, and judge as they would willingly be judged by others. But to turn again to the hiſtory.

It has been a queſtion among the writers of our antiquities, whether London or York was the metropolis of Britain at this time. The learned USHER with ſome others gives it in favour of the latter; not only becauſe it was a Roman colony, but alſo becauſe the prætorium and emperor's palace was there. But theſe arguments are not ſufficient, in the judgment of biſhop STILLINGFLEET, to overthrow the opinion that London was the chief metropolis of the Roman times: for every province had its metropolis, and the ſuperiority of one metropolis above another depended on the reſidence of the Roman governor, the "vicarius Britanniarum." He allows that in the time of the conteſt with the northern Britons, York was the chief ſeat of the emperor when he was here; as in the days of SEVERUS and CONSTANTIUS; which was for the convenience of attending the wars, and being near to give directions and ſend ſupplies. But the pre-eminence of places in the Roman account, depended more upon the civil than the military officers, theſe being more uncertain than the other: and where the ſupreme court of judicature was, that was the chief metropolis, and the reſidence of the ſupreme governor of thoſe provinces. Thus every province had a preſident in the metropolis; but where there was a ſuperior officer over theſe preſidents, as the vicarius Britanniarum was over the five provinces, the place of his reſidence was the higheſt metropolis, becauſe the preſident's courts were ſubordinate to his, whether conſular or preſidial; and therefore the ſolemn aſſembly out of the provinces was appointed there. Beſides, the ſituation of London for trade and commerce, and the opportunity of ſending into, or receiving diſpatches from the foreign provinces, and the emperor's court wherever it was, are given for further reaſons by the biſhop, why London was the chief metropolis among the Romans. It was a colony before York, and of a higher nature, when it was called "auguſta," which ſhews that it was then the imperial city: and ſince by the general rule of the church, the eccleſiaſtical government always followed the civil, there is no room to queſtion that the biſhop of London was at that time the chief metropolitan over Britain.

Beſides confuting pelagianiſm, our hiſtorians tell us, that the biſhops from Gaul gave other aſſiſtance to their brethren; in the inſtitution of ſchools of learning, and in the introduction of the Gallic liturgy into the uſe of the Britiſh churches. As to ſchools

of learning, there were none of more reputation than thoſe of Dubricius and Iltutus, who are both of them ſaid to have been the diſciples of Germanus. It ſeems he and his companion Lupus, having rooted out pelagianiſm, as they ſuppoſed, conſecrated ſome biſhops in ſeveral parts of Britain; amongſt the reſt they placed a cathedral at Landaff, and made Dubricius archbiſhop, who diſpoſed of his diſciples to ſeveral churches: He made Daniel biſhop of Bangor, and ſent Iltutus to a place called from him Lan Iltut, or the church of Iltutus. Camden ſays, it was in his days called Lantuit, where the foundations of many houſes were ſtill to be ſeen. It is very uncertain, from the accounts we have, what ſort of juriſdiction Dubricius was poſſeſſed of: his power was archiepiſcopal, but whether it extended to North, or South-Wales, or to both; whether it took in Cheſter, Hereford, and Worceſter; and whether the ſeat of the ſee was at Landaff or St. Davids, it is impoſſible to determine. Before Dubricius was ſo much advanced, the authors of his life ſpeak of the great number of ſcholars which flocked to him from all parts of Britain; not the rude and vulgar only, but children out of families of the beſt rank and character. They mention two places where he received and inſtructed his diſciples; the one at Mock-ros, and the other at Hentlan on the river Wye, where it is ſaid that he had no leſs than a thouſand ſtudents, whom he brought up in divine and human learning. In the ſchool of Iltutus the ſons of many noblemen were educated; and it flouriſhed, ſays Leland, like an univerſity among the Britons. It is conjectured by ſome hiſtorians, and I think with ſufficient reaſon, that when Germanus came here and found the decay of learning had occaſioned the ſpreading of pelagianiſm ſo much, he appointed theſe two, who were men of great abilities and ſcholars, to undertake the education of the Britiſh clergy; by which means their churches afterwards continued pure and undiſturbed.

Beſides theſe nurſeries of learning then in Britain, there is a famous inſtance of the good condition it was in at that time, in the monaſtery of Banchor; which Bede ſays was furniſhed with learned men at the coming of Austin into Britain. This place was diſtant about ten miles from Cheſter, and is deſcribed by Leland as ſtanding in a valley, and having the compaſs of a walled town, and two gates remaining half a mile from one another. It is to be obſerved of this monaſtery, that the members

of

of it were brought up to learning and devotion together, and ſo more reſembling our colleges than the Egyptian monaſteries, in which labour and ignorance prevailed as much as devotion. This method of education being ſo much in vogue in other churches, as in Gaul particularly, GERMANUS might probably be the firſt inſtrument of ſetting up this way in Britain. To confirm this it may be obſerved, that ST. PATRICK, who carried over this monaſtic education into Ireland, ſpent many years under the diſcipline of GERMANUS; who, it is plain, took care to advance religion and learning in the churches of this iſland wherever he came.

Having given the reader the beſt account that I can meet with of the faith and learning of the Britiſh Chriſtians, the next thing to be conſidered is the public ſervice of their churches. In an ancient manuſcript in the Cotton library, about the original of divine offices, GERMANUS and LUPUS are ſaid to have introduced into the Britiſh churches, "curſûs ordinem Gallorum;" by which the moſt learned archbiſhop USHER underſtands the Gallican liturgy, derived from ST. JOHN, according to ſome writers, by POLYCARP and IRENAEUS. This obliges us to enquire what the Gallican liturgy was at this time, and how far different from the Roman; tho, from the jarring and obſcure accounts that are handed down to us, it may not perhaps be eaſily underſtood. When pope GREGORY, called the great, ſent AUSTIN the monk hither to ſettle the Saxon churches, one of the queſtions the monk propoſed was, that ſince there was ſuch difference in the offices of the Roman and Gallican churches, which he ſhould follow? To this the pope replied, as we ſhall ſee more at large when we come to that part of the hiſtory, that he ſhould chooſe what he thought moſt proper for the Engliſh church: and from this reply it is evident, that there was a difference ſtill between them, and that GREGORY, notwithſtanding his natural warmth, did not oblige him to follow the example of the Roman church. Neither the infallibility, nor the ſupremacy, of the ſee of Rome, appear in this tranſaction, but a plain ſubmiſſion to the cuſtom which had taken place; probably in complaiſance to the Saxon queen, who being a Chriſtian before, having a biſhop of the Gallican church about her, and uſing that liturgy in her public ſervice, might have been diſpleaſed to have had it taken away; as well as all the Britiſh churches which had been accuſtomed to it.

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In the church of Rome for above four hundred years, they had nothing before the ſacrifice---the name that the church ſervice was then called by---as the old ritualiſts agree, beſides the epiſtle and goſpel, and then pſalms were uſed, or verſes taken out of them and ſung alternately. But in proceſs of time, other leſſons were taken out of the old and new teſtament agreeable to the time; which, as other enlargements of their offices were, might be borrowed from the Gallican church. After the leſſons, followed the proper hymns or anthems, one verſe being ſung by a ſingle perſon, and the whole choir anſwering in another. Beſides the leſſons and hymns, the pſalms were likewiſe methodiſed, ſo as to be red agreeably to the times and leſſons, and not in the order wherein they ſtand; which ſeems to have been peculiar to the Gallican church. The morning ſervice then of this church, conſiſted chiefly in leſſons, hymns and pſalms of Jerome's tranſlation, with gloria patri at the end of every pſalm; the Latin tongue being yet the common language of all the Roman provinces. Beſides theſe they had two ſorts of prayers in their aſſemblies; the private prayers of each particular perſon by himſelf, and the concluding collect, which was the common prayer in which every body was to join. Of theſe collects in the ancient churches the number was very ſmall, and yet the Chriſtians ſpent a great deal of time in the public ſervice; not in the multitude of tedious ceremonies introduced by the Roman breviary and miſſal, but in their private devotions. A remainder of this uſage is ſtill preſerved in the office of ordination of prieſts in our church, where ſilence is commanded to be kept for a time, for the people's ſecret prayers. The ſame cuſtom was meant by the bidding of prayers, which was a direction for the people what to pray for in their private devotions; after which followed the Lord's prayer as the concluding collect: Either that or ſome other was always uſed after the ſilent prayers, which gave it anciently the name of collect; the prieſt therein ſumming up, as in a brief compendium, the neceſſary petitions of all the people.

Cardinal Bona confeſſes, there is undoubted evidence that the old Gallican liturgy differed from the Roman: and Charles the great, not only affirms there was this difference, in the celebration of divine offices, but alſo that the Gallican churches were very unwilling to change. In the communion ſervice, the creed was not ſaid, nor ſung, at Rome, after the goſpel; no prophetical

tical leſſons, but only the epiſtle and goſpel were red, and in the old offices which they uſed, there is no mention made of any ſermon to the people, which was conſtantly the practice of all other churches. In the Gallican eſpecially it was ſo much the practice, that the biſhops called their office, "praedicationis "officium," the office of preaching; and ST. AUSTIN ſays he accounted it the proper office of a biſhop to preach. There were ſome parts of the communion ſervice wherein all the ancient offices agreed; and there are plain teſtimonies of their uſe before the Roman offices were impoſed upon other churches. Theſe are all retained in our own liturgy, from the conſent of all the ancient churches in the uſe of them; which it hath likewiſe followed in putting them in a language underſtood by all the people. Beſides theſe, the prayer for the church militant, for kings and princes, and all ranks and orders of men; the commemoration of ſaints departed; the reading the words of the inſtitution, and the LORD's prayer, were in all the ancient liturgies as parts of the communion ſervice; and therefore are not to be looked upon as appropriated to the canon of the maſs in the church of Rome.

There are other differences in this ſervice than have yet been mentioned, between the Gallican and Roman churches. In the office of the former they began with a peculiar confeſſion of ſins made by the prieſt; a form of which hath been publiſhed by cardinal BONA, out of a very ancient manuſcript in the queen of Sweden's library, and which he proves to be the old Gallican office. Three or four other forms are given us out of ancient miſſals, but that preſcribed in the Roman miſſal is in none of them; "I confeſs to GOD almighty, to the bleſſed virgin MARY, "to ST. MICHAEL the archangel, and to all ſaints, &c; There- "fore I pray the bleſſed virgin MARY, &c. pray for me to the "LORD." For all the ancient forms of confeſſion were only to GOD himſelf, and ſo they continued for a thouſand years after CHRIST; and therefore this part of the Roman miſſal was neither in the Gregorian nor Gallican offices, being of a much later date. In the prayers of conſecration, or the canon of the maſs as it is called in the church of Rome, there is a conſiderable difference between the Roman and the old Gallican church; the form of it in the latter being wholly inconſiſtent with the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. Indeed it was no part of the faith of the church at that time; and therefore it is no wonder to meet with ex-

preſſions diſagreeing with it in their ſolemn forms of devotion. But to ſhut up the account of this whole matter, there was a conſiderable difference between the two churches in their muſic; in which the Roman ſo much excelled all other weſtern churches, as that it proved the occaſion of introducing all their offices into the public ſervice. We are told by Charles the great, that his father Pepin brought the Roman way of ſinging into the Gallican churches, and their offices along with it; ſo great a power had muſic, and the authority of the prince, in changing the ancient divine ſervice. This is a juſt and true account of the public forms of worſhip then uſed in Britain, after the manner of the Gallican church: and it ſeemed neceſſary to be thus particular, on one hand to ſhew the catholics, that our reformers have omitted none of thoſe offices, in which all the ancient churches of Chriſtians were agreed; and on the other to ſhew the diſſenters, "qui tales ſunt utinam eſſent noſtri," that we have not taken our offices, as many of them have charged us, from the church of Rome. There is more goes however, ſays Joseph Mede, to perſuaſion, than reaſons or demonſtrations, and that is not in my power.

But I turn now more directly to the hiſtory, and to give an account of the fatal declenſion of the Britiſh churches; for the cauſe of which we muſt look back to the time when their miſeries firſt began. If it was not foreign to the purpoſe of this hiſtory, to give an account of the antiquities of the Picts and Scots, the mortal enemies of the Britons, yet their original is ſo fabulous, obſcure, and confuſed, that it would be impoſſible to make it credible or ſatisfactory. The learned Camden was of opinion, that the Picts, from whence ſoever they had their original, were now no other than the ancient Britons; partly ſettled in the remoter parts beyond the Roman wall before their invaſion, and partly retiring thither out of impatience at the Roman yoke, who by degrees grew up into a conſiderable number of people. The reaſon why the latter writers ſo expreſly and diſtinctly mention the Picts, tho they were no other than the ancient ſavage Britons, may be perhaps, becauſe in time the name of Picts became more appropriate and fixed than it was in former ages; when either all or the greateſt part of the inhabitants of Britain painted their ſkins. They were now become a diſtinct people, and eſtranged from each other by vaſtly different cuſtoms, ſince the poliſhing of Britain by the Roman learning and civility. Whether the Scots came firſt from Ireland, or whether they

were the ancient Caledonians mentioned by TACITUS beyond the wall of SEVERUS, we will leave to thoſe to determine, who diſpute without annals, and write without materials. It is ſufficient for the purpoſe of this hiſtory to obſerve, that the Romans having never made an entire conqueſt of this whole iſland, and having at laſt quite abandoned the remoter parts of it, the inhabitants became an eaſy prey to the Picts and Scots: At what particular time they joined their forces firſt together to give diſturbance to the Britons, it is impoſſible to ſay with any certainty, further than that they did ſo about the middle of the fourth century.

After ſuffering many ravages and incurſions from theſe cruel deadly foes, and ſupplicating aid in vain from their old friends the Romans; after enduring the calamities of a plague and famine, added to theſe frequent devaſtations from the Scots and Picts, the ſpirits of the Britons were ſo broken, that every thing was ſuffered to run into anarchy and confuſion. "Thoſe who "ſhould have given the beſt examples," ſays GILDAS, "their "prieſts and teachers, were as bad as others: exceſſive drinking, "heats and animoſities, contentions and diviſions, envy and "oppreſſion, were at that time ſo prevailing, that they ſeemed "to have loſt all ſenſe of good and evil; and there was an uni-"verſal degeneracy of manners in all ſorts of men." This being then the ſtate of the religion and morals of that people, it is not to be wondered at, if peace and agreement were not found amongſt themſelves, nor courage, reſolution, nor conduct againſt their enemies. For whatever may be the ſentiments of the men of rank and power in our days ---- and from their abominable licentiouſneſs it is not difficult to gueſs at them ---- it was a maxim of the ancient heathens, famous for political wiſdom and the knowlege of human nature, and which has been confirmed by every ſtate and every nation under the ſun, that the righteouſneſs of a people is their trueſt policy, and will lay the ſureſt foundation for their grandeur and proſperity. The Britons at this period had thrown off all appearances of decorum, and were in the condition of a rude and lawleſs multitude abandoned to all manner of wickedneſs. Their frequent wars with their enemies, which had devaſted their churches, their country, and their property, embroiled them in ſuch conteſts and overwhelmed them with ſuch confuſion, that they agreed to ſeek aſſiſtance from a people whom they dreaded worſe than death.

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The Saxons who inhabited the maritime coaſts of Germany, from the Rhine to Jutland, and were rather an aſſociation of ſeveral nations joined in one common intereſt than a diſtinct body of people, had been terrible ſome time before to the Britiſh nation for their piracies, and for joining with the Picts in one of their battles. Theſe however were the people, valiant, fierce, and wild, whom the enervated Britons, with Vortigern their king, agreed to call in to their aid. Bede imputes this ſtrange meaſure to the particular providence of God, to make them ſcourges of the people's wickedneſs; and Gildas, to ſottiſhneſs and infatuation. Whatever might be the cauſe of it, an amazing meaſure to be ſure it was, and proved the ruin of the king and his people. The Saxons knew enough of Britain, from their frequent incurſions, not to refuſe ſo favourable an opportunity of coming to ſettle in a land, where the air, ſituation, fruitfulneſs, and all ſorts of conveniences, were ſo much above thoſe of the country they were in. But they ſoon diſagreed, as we may well imagine; and after many fierce encounters on both ſides for the dominion, which taught the Britons the uſe of arms, the Saxons got the better: and to copy the account from Gildas, "all the cities and churches were burnt to the ground, from the eaſtern to the weſtern ocean; the inhabitants deſtroyed by the ſword, or buried in the ruins of houſes and altars, which were defiled with the blood of the ſlain; in which horrible devaſtation, the rulers of the church and the prieſts ſuffered together with the common people: many hid themſelves among mountains and rocks and woods, to eſcape the fury of their enemies, where they lived in continual fear, and others went over into foreign parts."

The Britons would now have totally been deſtroyed, if the Saxons, ſated it may be with ſo much blood, and that they might carry away their plunder from a country not abſolutely ſubdued, had not given them ſome reſpite, by returning home for a time. In this interval, the diſperſed deſolate remainder gathered together; and after earneſt ſupplications to God that they might not utterly be deſtroyed, they made choice of Ambrosius Aurelianus for their king. Under the conduct of this prince, who was of Roman deſcent, and whoſe parents had enjoyed the purple in this iſland, it pleaſed God to give them ſucceſs over their enemies for a time. In this quiet interval, Ambro-

SIUS called the nobles and great men together at York, and gave order for repairing the churches which the Saxons had deſtroyed, and for ſetting up divine worſhip in them; giving great encouragement to the clergy, to be punctual in performing the offices of their function, and to pray particularly for the proſperity of the church and kingdom. But even at this time their cities were far from being inhabited as formerly, and when their enemies gave them reſpite they quarrelled among themſelves. This is the only account to be given that may be depended on, ſtripped of fable, tradition, and conjecture, from the coming of the Saxons to the death of AMBROSIUS and the reign of ARTHUR.

Wherever the Saxons prevailed, which was chiefly then in the ſouthern and weſtern parts of Britain, the Chriſtians were perſecuted with the ſevereſt cruelties to their ſouls and bodies, and religion was obliged to fly every where before theſe barbarian conquerors. They had ſo many kingdoms or principalities here, before, and during the time of ARTHUR, who was weakened exceedingly by his own victories, that his dominions muſt be very narrow: perhaps Wales was all that fell to his ſhare. This appears the more probable, becauſe chriſtianity at this time ſeems to be almoſt totally confined to this corner. Here ſeveral of the biſhops and clergy, when they ſaw their churches demoliſhed or turned into pagan temples, retired for ſafety, and for the free and quiet exerciſe of their religion. Here flouriſhed the ſchools of learning ſet up by DUBRICIUS and ILTUTUS, and here were the perſons of greateſt reputation for letters and religion in the Britiſh churches; particularly ST. DAVID, whoſe name continues in honour there to this day, and was preſerved in the Saxon churches of Britain. His domeſtic education is ſaid to have been under PAULINUS, a diſciple of GERMANUS above mentioned, with whom he continued ten years. After this he went to Jeruſalem, where he was conſecrated biſhop by the patriarch; and ſoon after his return, was held the famous ſynod of Brevy at a place called Lhandewy, the church of ST. DAVID. Here was a general convention of all the biſhops and clergy of Britain, on account of the pelagian controverſy then revived. ST. DAVID was preſent at this ſynod; and by his authority and eloquence, the hiſtorian tells us, put an effectual ſtop to the pelagian hereſy. Before the end of this ſynod, he was choſen by general conſent archbiſhop of Caerlon, the ſee of which he removed to Menevia,

from him ever ſince called St. David's. The Britiſh churches, at that time, and in thoſe parts, having no moleſtation from their enemies, might be ſaid to be in a flouriſhing condition in compariſon with other parts of Britain; and there might be more Chriſtians thereabouts, becauſe they had been driven out from other places, whoſe afflictions had encreaſed their devotion. However, the remembrance of theſe afflictions, tho it did indeed keep up ſome kind of order and government among them, as Gildas tells us, yet it did not prevent their quarrelling among themſelves. Their kings and nobles, their biſhops and other churchmen, obſerved, he ſays, the duty of their ſeveral places: "but when the ſenſe of theſe calamities was worn out, and a "new generation riſen, they fell into ſuch a degeneracy as to "caſt off all the reins of truth and juſtice, that no remainder of "it appeared in any ſort of men, except a few, a very few, "whoſe number was ſo ſmall in compariſon with the reſt, that "the church could hardly diſcern its genuine children when "they lay in her boſom." Such being the diſſolute ſtate of the Britons at that time, it is no wonder that providence ſhould permit them to loſe a religion which they had corrupted, and to have the enjoyment of their country and poſſeſſions, which they were not worthy of, taken away by a foreign people. From this time the power of the Britons, except in Wales and Cornwall, ceaſed all over the iſland; and it being almoſt totally poſſeſſed by their enemies, it was from thenceforth called England. Thus I have here given the reader the beſt account that I could of the riſe and ſtate of the Britiſh church, 'till it was deſtroyed by the Saxons; and it is given by comparing with no little trouble all the authors that have treated of this period of time; rejecting the fabulous tales and legends and falſe miracles of ſome, the anachroniſm of others, and ſome miſtakes in all of them. The clergy were the only writers in theſe days; but the clergy had for the moſt part ſomething elſe to do than to write hiſtory: and therefore in this æra, it is impoſſible that the materials ſhould not be dark and fabulous.

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

NOtwithſtanding the miſeries of the Britiſh church upon the Saxon invaſion were ſo great, and their manners ſo corrupted, as we have ſeen in the former book, yet there is great reaſon to believe, that chriſtianity was not extinguiſhed totally at that time in Britain. Indeed it ſeems chiefly to have been confined to Wales and Cornwall; where the original inhabitants kept their footing a good while, and had the free exerciſe of their religion, 'till they were all entirely ſubdued by the Anglo-Saxons. Amidſt the heavy judgments which befell them, GOD reſerved to them in thoſe places the comforts of their religion; and what they loſt in the face and glory of a church, was repaid to them in the ardors of a holy zeal, and a juſt ſenſe of the calamity that was fallen upon them. Two Britiſh biſhops, we are told by BEDE, aſſiſted WINI biſhop of Wincheſter, at the conſecration of the archbiſhop of York; but whether they were biſhops of the Corniſh Britons tributary to the Weſt Saxons, and who on that account might be induced to join with the biſhop of that kingdom, or whether they were biſhops of South Wales, there is not light enough to determine; and much leſs to form a judgment of the true ſtate of chriſtianity at that time among the Corniſh Britons. Thus much is evident, that they were very numerous, and had for the moſt part maintained their rites and uſages, 'till the latter end of the ſeventh century. As for thoſe who inhabited Wales, they had their dioceſan biſhops under one metropolitan, as it has been mentioned above; and if their number and diſtricts cannot be aſcertained, yet it is evident that no leſs than ſeven of their biſhops appeared at the conference

with

with Austin; which will be ſhewn as we go along. Theſe Britons excepted, there were few natives remaining to keep up the doctrine or principles of chriſtianity; and much leſs to preſerve the diſcipline and eccleſiaſtical government that had prevailed. The goſpel being thus forced to give way to paganiſm, and the conquerors of this iſland remaining in their primitive ignorance for more than one entire age, and ſome of them for more than two, the hiſtory of the church affords nothing but a few traditionary events, without any order or connexion, 'till we come to the converſion of theſe barbarians, and to view it as the church of England.

To this event therefore I turn: and as the hiſtory of the ſeven kingdoms into which England was firſt divided by the Saxons was wrote by monks, there is little to be met with during that period but the converſion of their kings, the foundation of monaſteries, and the privileges granted to the clergy. As theſe kingdoms were not all converted at one and the ſame time, it will be neceſſary, in order to have a clear knowlege of their converſion, to conſider each kingdom apart, to relate how every one of them in particular received the goſpel, and what remarkable events with regard to religion happened in each; from the foundation of their churches, to the diſſolution of the heptarchy, in the reign of Egbert, the firſt ſole monarch of England.

I begin with the kingdom of Kent; which was the firſt founded by the Saxons, and the firſt converted. The young and warlike prince Ethelbert, ſucceeding his father in this kingdom, made all the Saxon monarchs, by the terrour of his arms, become tributary to him and acknowlege him as their head. That he might ſecure himſelf in this new dignity which he had aſſumed, and ſtrike a greater awe at home by his alliances abroad, he demanded in marriage Bertha, a daughter of France; in which he met with ſome obſtacles. The Franks, who were a northern nation, and had poſſeſſed themſelves of Gaul about the ſame time that the Saxons invaded Britain, had received the chriſtian faith. Chilperic, the king of the Franks, and who ſince his brother's death had been as a father to this princeſs, who was his niece, would not enter into treaty for her with the king of Kent, on account of his heatheniſm and idolatry. But Ethelbert being determined to make this alliance, if it was poſſible, propoſed to obviate this objection, by promiſing that the princeſs ſhould

ſhould have the free exercise of her religion, and her own prieſts about her. Upon theſe terms the king of France conſented, the marriage was concluded, and when the queen came over, beſides her other chaplains, ſhe brought, as it was obſerved before, a Gallican biſhop to attend her; and a church built in the time of the Britons, dedicated to ST. MARTIN, near the eaſt ſide of the city of Canterbury, was allotted for the place of her devotion. It was not unreaſonable for CHILPERIC to imagine, that a princeſs of ſo much beauty, as ſhe is ſaid to be, and thorowly grounded in her religion, would be ſo far from turning pagan, that ſhe might contribute to the converſion of the Engliſh monarch. In this he was not miſtaken: for, as ſoon as they were come together, ſhe inſinuated herſelf ſo much into the affections of her huſband, by her behaviour and her charms, that ETHELBERT had all the love for her ſhe could deſire. Encouraged thus in the hopes of making a convert of the king, the pious BERTHA took all opportunities that offered of inſtilling into him the principles of her religion, in a manner that ſhe thought moſt likely to make an impreſſion upon his mind; in which deſign ſhe was aſſiſted by the Gallican biſhop who came over with her. In a ſhort time therefore, the king was ſo wrought upon, that if he had not ſo much reſpect for the chriſtian religion as to embrace it, at leaſt he had no averſion to its doctrines or profeſſors.

In this favourable juncture pope GREGORY the firſt, ſirnamed the great, ſent miſſionaries into England to inſtruct the inhabitants in the chriſtian faith: and if the occaſion of this miſſion was what we are told by the writer of his life, we may obſerve what great events are ſometimes owing to trifling incidents; and that the deſigns of providence are brought about by means which in the eye of human wiſdom are of no conſideration. About twenty years before the arrival of theſe miſſionaries, the Engliſh who ſold their children at that time for ſlaves when they were overſtocked, having expoſed ſome youths in the public market at Rome of fine features and complexion, the children were obſerved amongſt others very attentively by GREGORY, then archdeacon of Rome; who finding from the place of their birth and their religion that they were born of idolatrous parents, reſolved upon going to preach the goſpel to that nation. Having obtained the pope's permiſſion, he began his journey; but the clergy and people of Rome, regretting the loſs of ſo uſeful and

ſo good a paſtor, beſought the pope that they might not be deprived of him; the pope complied, and Gregory's deſign remained unexecuted. The time appointed for the converſion of the Saxons was not come; and in all probability, ſuch were the circumſtances of the Engliſh nation at that time, continually diſturbed with wars and commotions throwout every part, that this undertaking would have met with very little ſucceſs. The king of Kent, for inſtance, was engaged in conteſts for the monarchy; he was not then married to Bertha; his mind was not diſpoſed to receive the truths of the goſpel; nor was he in a condition to promote the deſign of Gregory, if he had been inclined to it, when he was himſelf only then a ſubordinate prince, and had not attained to the monarchy of the ſeven kingdoms. But in proceſs of time, when the deſigns of providence were ripe for execution, every thing concurred to bring it about. Our hiſtorians have diſagreed ſo much in their chronology that it is not eaſy to fix the preciſe period of this event. It is however, on all ſides allowed, that about the latter end of the ſixth century, Gregory being then become biſhop of Rome, and recollecting his former deſign of converting the Engliſh, for this purpoſe ſent forty benedictin monks, with Austin in quality of abbot at their head. But there were other cauſes of this converſion. The Saxons themſelves, as it appears by two epiſtles of this pope, were in ſome meaſure ſenſible of their ignorance and error; and before he had any thoughts of ſending over Austin, had deſired to embrace the chriſtian faith. In an epiſtle to queen Bertha upon the converſion of the Saxons, Gregory owns that the impreſſions which ſhe had made upon her huſband, had long before the coming of Austin, diſpoſed that prince's mind to receive the goſpel. If we may rely on the chronology of the French hiſtorian Mezeray, there was an interval of twenty ſix or twenty ſeven years between the marriage of this prince, and the miſſion from Rome; a time ſufficient to give footing to ſo wiſe and good an inſtitution; eſpecially if we conſider it as puſhed on and illuſtrated by the zeal and example of ſo great and good a woman as queen Bertha. In his epiſtles to the king and queen of the Franks the pope has theſe words. "We are informed that the "Engliſh nation, are in a willing diſpoſition, thro God's mercy, "to receive the chriſtian faith; but that your Gallican clergy, "their neighbours, neglect to aſſiſt them with their exhortation "and advice; and therefore have we ſent Austin the bearer of "this, whoſe zeal is well known to us, together with other ſer-

"vants

" vants of GOD to go over to Britain; and have required him to " take ſome prieſts with them from the neighbourhood, who " may be interpreters to AUSTIN and his brethren, and aſſiſt " them with their labour and advice." He likewiſe beſeeches the king and queen of the Franks, to give his miſſionaries their countenance and direction, and not to let them ſuffer for want of neceſſaries. Now it is evident from theſe epiſtles, that the Engliſh were well diſpoſed to receive the chriſtian faith before the coming of AUSTIN, and had made an application to the Gallican clergy to inſtruct them in it; which the pope was probably made acquainted with thro the means of queen BERTHA. This is a fact which will appear ſtill clearer from the permiſſion which his holineſs ſends to AUSTIN, mentioned before; to uſe either the liturgy and rites of Rome or France, amongſt the Engliſh, as he ſhould ſee moſt convenient. If this does not ſhew that the queen of Kent was greatly inſtrumental in the converſion of the Engliſh to the faith and knowlege of CHRIST, and therefore was not to be diſobliged with ceremonies that were different from thoſe of the Gallican church, it ſhews however inconteſtibly, that many of the Engliſh had been converted and were in poſſeſſion of a liturgy before the coming of AUSTIN. The pomp of the Roman miſſion has made ſo much noiſe, and the charity of it has been founded ſo high by the catholic writers, challenging the glory and the conſequences of the converſion of the Saxons entirely to the ſee of Rome, that it was neceſſary to mention theſe circumſtances, that the affair might be ſet in a true light. That the Engliſh Saxons ſhould apply to the Gallican clergy for inſtruction, when they had a deſire to be admitted into the chriſtian church, and not to the Britiſh clergy, is not improbable nor ſurpriſing. It is ſurpriſing indeed, to find BEDE and GILDAS reproaching the Britons bitterly, for ſuffering their neighbours to live ſo long in paganiſm, without offering them their aſſiſtance to bring them out of their errors. The reproach is unjuſt and groundleſs. Could the natives, oppreſſed with all imaginable cruelties from the Saxons, have been fit inſtruments to inſtruct or convert their perſecutors? Had they undertaken a work of this kind, what ſucceſs could have been expected? But what were their opportunities, and how were they to engage the attention of men, who drove them like ſheep to the ſlaughter, or into the woods and mountains? The Britons, who had made their peace and ſubmitted, were the only people that could contribute to their converſion. In ſome few particular inſtances, this might probably

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be undertaken and ſucceed; tho they were upon no equal footing. But what opportunity had the Saxons themſelves of learning the principles of chriſtianity, who were perpetually engaged in wars, kingdom againſt kingdom, without any reſpite? However, when they came to be ſettled, aſſiſtance was not wanting; and tho it came from far, it was no leſs effectual than if it had come from their neighbours. After the account which has been given of the other cauſes which concurred to the converſion of the Saxons, which we are now to call the Engliſh, it is but juſt to give the praiſes which are due to pope Gregory for the ſhare which he had in this undertaking; and which is never to be thought of but with gratitude, nor mentioned without honour. This great biſhop, it muſt be owned, was not without his faults, for he was a man; but if we take his character altogether, there are ſo many marks of a true chriſtian ſpirit, as will wipe away the remembrance of a great many defects. It is hard to ſay, when he firſt formed the deſign of converting the Engliſh; or what was the true occaſion that gave riſe to the undertaking. All the motives that have been handed down, are laid before the reader, and they are left to his own judgment to determine.

Austin and his companions, being diſpatched to England with full inſtructions from the pope, they came thro France; and hearing a character there of the Engliſh which they did not like, they began to repent of their employment, and to ſhrink from the undertaking. They concluded it more adviſeable to return, than to go with great trouble and fatigue to a ſavage unpoliſhed infidel nation, where, beſides other diſadvantages, they did not ſo much as underſtand their language. Being thus diſcouraged, they ſent back Austin to the pope, to repreſent the hazard and uncomfortable views of their undertaking, and to entreat his leave to return home. But having proceeded ſo far, the wiſdom and honour of Gregory, and I think we may add his benevolence, were engaged in the proſecution of the attempt. Having therefore quieted or over-ruled the fears of Austin, and given him new courage from his own vigour and firmneſs, the pope ſent him back to France, with the following letter of encouragement to his brethren.

" GREGORY, the ſervant of thoſe that ſerve God greeting,
" &c. Since it were better not to enter upon a worthy deſign,
" than to break off that which is commendably begun; for this

" reaſon, my dear ſons, you ought to exert yourſelves to the ut-
" moſt to finiſh that great work, which by the grace of GOD
" you have engaged in. Do not permit the fatigue of the
" voyage, nor the cenſures of ill men to diſcourage ye, but preſs
" forward in your buſineſs with all the zeal and application
" imaginable; being well aſſured, that the troubleſomeneſs of
" the employment will be rewarded with eternal glory in heaven.
" I have ſent AUSTIN back to you, and made him your abbot,
" requiring you to ſubmit entirely to his directions; for I know
" he will enjoin you nothing but what is ſerviceable to your beſt
" intereſt. GOD almighty take you into his protection, and
" grant that I may ſee the ſucceſs of your labours, even after I
" am dead. For tho my circumſtances will not give me leave
" to go along with you and to bear a part in the fatigue, yet I
" hope to have a ſhare in the reward hereafter, becauſe I want
" no inclinations to engage with you in the work. GOD al-
" mighty have you in his good keeping. Dated the tenth of
" the calends of Auguſt, &c."

To give new life to the hopes of AUSTIN and his company, the pope wrote other letters to the kings, and queens, and ſeveral biſhops of France; deſiring they would give them a kind reception, and furniſh them with what was neceſſary for their undertaking. Thus countenanced and aſſiſted, and being provided with interpreters, they ſailed to England; and landing in the iſle of Thanet, AUSTIN ſent ſome of his brethren to king ETHELBERT, to give him notice of their arrival, and of the importance of their meſſage. Upon this information, the king commanded that they ſhould continue in the iſle till further orders; that in the mean time they ſhould be treated with gentleneſs and humanity, and he would appoint a day, he ſaid, to hear their meſſage. To this purpoſe ſhortly after, accompanied with the queen and ſome of his court, king ETHELBERT went into the iſland: and whether it was that the ſuperſtitions of the pagan worſhip had taught him to ſuſpect ſome faſcination, or whether any part of AUSTIN's conduct had given him a wrong idea of the chriſtian faith, he was apprehenſive of charms and ſpells; and conducting himſelf by a received notion --- as CRESSY ſays, from an ancient prophecy of their religion --- that they could have no power over him in the open air, he took his ſeat in the field, and commanded AUSTIN to attend him there. The abbot having received this command, put himſelf and his followers into the

form of a proceſſion; and erecting his ſilver croſs, and carrying in his banner the picture or image of our Saviour Christ, he and his company, ſinging their litany, came before the king. Being aſked what they had to propoſe, and an intimation from Ethelbert being given them to ſit down, Austin opened his commiſſion; preaching the goſpel in a forcible and zealous manner. The king having heard by the interpreter, an account of the nature and principles of chriſtianity, returned him an anſwer which Bede has given us in the following words. "Your propoſals "are noble and your promiſes inviting; but I can't reſolve upon "quitting the religion of my anceſtors for one that appears to "me ſupported only by the teſtimony of perſons that are entire "ſtrangers to me. However, ſince I perceive you have under-"taken ſo long a journey, on purpoſe to impart to us what you "eſteem of the moſt important valuable conſideration, you ſhall "not be ſent away without ſome ſatisfaction. I will take care "that you are treated civilly in my dominions, and ſupplied "with all things neceſſary and convenient: and if any of my "ſubjects, convinced by what you ſhall ſay to them, ſhould "deſire to embrace your faith, I will not be againſt it." When he was diſmiſſed from this audience, the king gave leave for the miſſionaries to ſettle at Canterbury, the capital of the kingdom of Kent; where proper houſes and neceſſaries were provided for them. But whether theſe favours were the effect of God's bleſſing upon the diſcourſe and deſign of Austin; whether they were the effect of the perſuaſions of the queen, and the ſollicitation of the Gallican king, the relation and ally of Ethelbert; or whether they were owing to the deſire and diſpoſition of the Engliſh themſelves to receive the goſpel; it is not poſſible for us at this diſtance of time, and would be invidious, to determine.

To whatever reaſons Austin owed his ſucceſs, having been thus favourably received by the king, he haſtened to Canterbury, to receive the benefit of the grant which had been made him: and whether it was that he hoped by charming the ſenſes to captivate the underſtanding, or by pomp and ſhew to ſupply their defect of language, it is certain that he entered Canterbury in the ſame manner that he had addreſſed the king in the iſle of Thanet, in the form of a proceſſion; and ſinging an office that Gregory had prepared juſt before on account of a great plague at Rome. The abbot and his coadjutors being ſettled at Canterbury, they joined

joined themſelves to the queen's chapel; and by the bleſſing of GOD, upon their endeavours, and the influence and example of that princeſs, ſo many of the principal Saxons embraced the chriſtian faith, that the king's curioſity was excited to be more particularly inſtructed in this religion; and he declared himſelf at length a Chriſtian, and was baptized. At what preciſe time it was that ETHELBERT was converted, it is impoſſible for us, from the different accounts which our hiſtorians give of this event, to ſay. Cardinal BARONIUS places it in the year five hundred ninety ſeven, the ſame year in which AUSTIN arrived, upon the authority of one of GREGORY's epiſtles to EULOGIUS, patriarch of Alexandria: but that epiſtle makes no mention of the baptiſm of the king; for which no reaſon can be given, when he was recounting AUSTIN's ſucceſs in England, if he had had the honour of ſuch a proſelite. The chronology of BEDE is ſilent as to this point: and the epiſtles of GREGORY to congratulate the converſion of the Engliſh monarch, and to the kings and queens and biſhops of France, to thank them for their favours and good offices to his miſſionaries, are all dated in the year ſix hundred and one; which ſeem no way to ſuit the zeal and concern of GREGORY in this affair, if ETHELBERT had been converted four years before.

But let the time of the king's baptiſm be when it will, it is certain that his converſion was followed by that of multitudes of his ſubjects; and the queen's chapel without the city being ſoon too little to hold them, they were obliged to turn one of the heathen temples into a church. Shortly after the goſpel making ſo great a progreſs, ſeveral other temples were ſerved in the ſame manner by the order of king ETHELBERT; and the foundations of the cathedral of Canterbury were then laid. A monaſtery was alſo began by AUSTIN, which he had not the ſatisfaction to ſee finiſhed, called by his name; and PETER one of his companions was the firſt abbot. In this manner begun the converſion of the Engliſh: it pleaſed GOD to make AUSTIN a great inſtrument of his glory; but it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he bore his honours with that decency which ſeemed eſſential to his character and undertaking. There are many inſtances to be met with in the hiſtory of providence, wherein it has pleaſed GOD to make uſe of inſtruments to the higheſt and moſt important purpoſes, which to human wiſdom ſeemed unequal and unfit to almoſt any; to teach us, it may be, that theſe

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ſecond cauſes are of no conſideration, and that we ought to look up to him as the ſole diſpoſer of all events. The new converted monarch was not wanting on his part to promote the converſion of all his ſubjects, as far as it could be attained by inſtruction and good example; declaring it ſeems, according to Bede, that the religion of Christ was to make its way by argument and perſuaſion, to be a matter of choice and not of force and violence. This is a ſentiment which does honour to the king's inſtructor; which ſhews that he was himſelf of a true chriſtian ſpirit; and which it would have been well for the world and for chriſtianity, if all the princes of chriſtendom and the inſtructors in this religion would univerſally have imbibed.

The Engliſh were in ſo much haſte to embrace the goſpel, that, if hiſtorians are to be credited, ten thouſand were baptized in one day by Austin and his followers. But all their relations of this tranſaction are to be doubted; and ſhould rather be applied to what Bede has told us, was done ſome years after at the river Swale in Yorkſhire by Paulinus. However, the ſurprizing progreſs of the goſpel in the kingdom of Kent, inclining Austin to believe that he ſhould meet every where with the ſame ſucceſs, he looked upon all England as already converted. Poſſeſſed with this notion, he haſtened away to Arles to get himſelf conſecrated archbiſhop of the Engliſh; according to the permiſſion which Gregory the pope had given him. Had he been contented with being made a biſhop, that he might be the better qualified for the regular eſtabliſhment of that church of which he had laid the foundations by his zeal and diligence, there would have been no room for cenſure. It was an honour which was neceſſary to be inveſted ſome where, and Austin may be ſuppoſed to have claimed it juſtly as his due. Thus far then all would have been well: but that he ſhould aſpire to the archiepiſcopal dignity, at a time when he had no biſhop under his juriſdiction, has laid him open to ſome reproach. It is true the pope had promiſed to make him an archbiſhop, in caſe his miſſion met with ſucceſs. But then by ſucceſs, in all appearance, he meant the converſion of the Engliſh nation in general, and not a part only of one of the leaſt kingdoms out of the ſeven. How great a progreſs ſoever the miſſionaries had made whilſt they were in England, for they all concurred in the undertaking, and Austin alone had not all the labour nor all the merit, yet it was nothing in compariſon of what ſtill remained to be done. Upon

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theſe conſiderations, his haſte to be made primate of all England, when there was but a ſingle dioceſe there, has been thought by ſome to be not much to his credit, and that he was more intent upon the dignity than upon the duties of his office. There is this however to be ſaid in his juſtification, that the rapid progreſs which the goſpel had made in Kent, might lead him perhaps to imagine that the converſion of all England was at hand. Soon after his return from Arles with the title of metropolitan, and the better probably to excuſe his taking that title upon him, he erected an epiſcopal ſee at Rocheſter; of which JUSTUS one of his companions was the firſt biſhop.

The ſucceſs of AUSTIN thus far having raiſed his hopes to the higheſt pitch, he diſpatched LAWRENCE and PETER two of his aſſiſtants to Rome; to give GREGORY an account of his amazing progreſs, in which he did not omit to magnify his pretended miracles; to deſire more aſſiſtance in carrying on the work, and ſome further and more particular directions from his holineſs for his future management in the affairs of the church which he was then about to eſtabliſh. The letters of AUSTIN, and the account of thoſe he ſent, which probably did not fall ſhort of the truth, inſpired GREGORY with ſo high a conceit of this miſſion, that looking upon the converſion of the Engliſh as a point accompliſhed, tho it was in fact but juſt began, he ſent the pall to AUSTIN *, as a mark of honour and diſtinction to this new apoſtle. To give the reader ſome idea of the genius and ſentiments, as well of the age as of the man, it may be proper to lay before him the queſtions which he ſent to be reſolved at Rome, and the anſwers which were made to them by the pope. The firſt queſtion, which conſiſted of three particulars, was, how are biſhops to behave to their clergy; into how many portions are the offerings at the altar to be divided; and how ought a biſhop to act in the church? For ſatisfaction in the firſt point, his holineſs refers him to the epiſtle of ST. PAUL to TIMOTHY: adviſing him farther to inſpect the lower orders of the clergy; to keep them

* The ancient pall was a rich robe of ſtate and an entire garment, intended to put the prelate in mind that his life ſhould be anſwerable to the dignity of his appearance. But the modern pall is only a piece of white woollen cloth, about the breadth of a border, made round and thrown over the ſhoulders; upon which there are two others of the ſame matter and form; one of which falls down upon the breaſt, and the other upon the back, with each of them a red croſs; ſeveral croſſes of the ſame colour being likewiſe upon the upper part of it about the ſhoulders. In the time of pope GREGORY it was uſual to gratify the metropolitans under his patriarchate with this ornamental diſtinction.

ſtrictly to their reſpective duties in the church; and to take care not only for their maintenance, but that they may be inoffenſive and exemplary in every part of their behaviour. To the ſecond he anſwers, that it was the cuſtom of the church to divide the offerings into four parts, one for the biſhop, to maintain his family and keep hoſpitality, another for the clergy, a third for the poor, and the remainder for the repair of the churches. As to the laſt particular, which would have been very obſcure if the anſwer had not explained it, he ſays that Austin being a monk ought not to live apart from the reſt of the clergy; but according to the practice of the primitive Chriſtians they ſhould have all things in common. If there were any clerks not admitted into holy orders, who could not live continently, he adds, they ought to marry, and receive their ſtipends at their own houſes, according to the directions of ſcripture; which ſays "that diſtribu-"tions were made to each of them according to their wants." The ſecond, which is almoſt the only queſtion of any moment, and which has been taken notice of before, relates to the different rites and uſages of the Gallican and Roman churches; and to this Gregory anſwers with the temper and wiſdom becoming his character, that his firſt care ſhould be for the edification of the church he was to eſtabliſh; and that without any regard to the ceremonies of Rome or France, he ſhould introduce only ſuch rites into the Engliſh church, as were moſt likely to redound to the honour of God and the peace and good ordering of the church. The third queſtion concerns the puniſhment that ſhould be inflicted on him that has ſtole any thing from the church. The motives of the theft, ſays the pope in anſwer, muſt be conſidered; whether it was committed out of covetouſneſs or neceſſity, and the puniſhment proportioned accordingly with charity and moderation; always taking care in the buſineſs of reſtitution, that the church ſhould not receive any more than ſhe has loſt. The two next queſtions are employed about what degrees of conſanguinity may be allowed in marriages? Having affirmed the right of two brothers to marry two ſiſters, his holineſs allows of the ſecond degree incluſively, and that all conſanguinity beyond that of couſin-germans ſhould be no hindrance. Whether a ſingle biſhop may ordain another without any aſſiſtance, when the length of the journey makes it inconvenient for them to meet, is the buſineſs of the next queſtion; and the pope's anſwer is this: that ſince Austin was now the only biſhop in England, he might conſecrate others without any aſſiſtance; but after the

Engliſh church was once furniſhed with a number of biſhops, who ought not to be at too great a diſtance from one another, then three or four of that order ſhould aſſiſt at a conſecration. The next queſtion put to the pope, was how AUSTIN ſhould conduct himſelf with regard to the biſhops of Gaul and Britain? As to the former, GREGORY tells him he allowed him to have no juriſdiction whatſoever, having no deſign to deprive the archbiſhop of Arles of any authority he was poſſeſſed of; but as to the latter, he committed them to his care entirely, that he might teach the unlearned, confirm the weak, and correct the obſtinate and perverſe. Of how little moment ſoever theſe queſtions may ſeem to the reader, yet what are behind are ſo impertinent and extremely frivolous, ſome of them bordering at leaſt upon indecency, that for the honour of AUSTIN, one would wiſh totally to ſuppreſs them. But I muſt remember that I am writing hiſtory, and that the truth is not to be concealed any more than it is to be falſified. The queſtions are in the works of GREGORY as well as BEDE, and there is no diſputing their authenticity. They were all then as follows. Whether a woman with child ought to be baptized? How long after her lying in ought a woman to come into the church? How long after the birth ought the baptizing of an infant to be deferred? How long after a lying in muſt it be before a man and his wife come together again? May a woman during ſome certain times come into the church? May a man that has lain with his wife come into the church or receive the ſacrament before he has waſhed himſelf? May a man after an impure dream receive the communion, or if he be a prieſt adminiſter it? As to the anſwers, let it ſuffice to ſay, that they are all as full and weighty as the queſtions deſerve they ſhould be; and tho the latter give no idea of the abilities of this great apoſtle, yet GREGORY, who ſaw his folly and vanity, thought fit to anſwer them very diſtinctly. He had the converſion of the Engliſh ſo much at heart, that inſtead of giving AUSTIN any diſcouragement in his miſſion, he praiſed him highly. Indeed in anſwer to the account which the primate had ſent to Rome, of the mighty works which GOD had wrought by him, with an air that leſſened the man by magnifying the miracles, the pope in a diſtinct epiſtle replied like one who took pleaſure in the ſucceſs, but pitied the vanity it had occaſioned; and therefore at the ſame time that he ſent him over all the inſtructions and aſſiſtance neceſſary, and made a juſt acknowledgment of his labours, he furniſhed him with ſome arguments which he ſaw

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that he ſtood in need of to cure his vanity. Read his own expreſſions. " Notwithſtanding, in that celeſtial gift there is ſome-
" thing which together with great joy ought likewiſe to cauſe in
" thee great fear; leſt among the wonders wrought by thee, thy
" mind naturally infirm ſhould be lifted up to a preſumption of
" its own worth, and by this means whilſt it is raiſed up by a
" view of things without, it ſhould within fall by vain glory and
" ſelf-eſteem. Theſe things I now ſay becauſe my deſire is that
" the mind of my diſciple ſhould be abaſed by humility," &c.

The few monks whom Austin had ſent, accompanied with Mellitus, Paulinus, Justus, and other miſſionaries, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves afterwards and had a great ſhare in the labour and the honour of this undertaking, brought back theſe replies from Gregory; together with ſacred veſſels and ornaments for the altars, habits and veſtments for the prieſts, relicks, books, and all other things neceſſary for celebrating divine ſervice. He gave them likewiſe letters of recommendation to the benignity and aſſiſtance of the king, queen and ſeveral biſhops of France, and to king Ethelbert and his queen, returning them his thanks for the kindneſs they ſhewed to Austin and his companions, and for their zeal and diligence in promoting the converſion of the Engliſh. In his letter to the king of Kent, he had adviſed him to demoliſh the places dedicated to idols, that no marks of former ſuperſtition might remain; but on ſecond thoughts he was of opinion that they might be uſeful to the chriſtians: and therefore among other inſtructions to Austin at this time, there is a direction forbidding him to deſtroy the temples uſed by the Engliſh for their pagan worſhip; and that having firſt caſt out the images of their deities, he ſhould with holy water ſprinkle the walls, erect proper altars, furniſh them with reliques, and thus ſet them apart for the ſervice of God. " Becauſe
" the Saxons, ſays he, having cleanſed their hearts from errour by
" the knowledge and worſhip of the true God, will more wil-
" ingly and familiarly reſort to the accuſtomed places which
" they ſee ſtanding." But what ſhall we ſay to his inſtructions about the religious rites and uſages of the pagans; which were, to treat them as they did the places of their worſhip, not to aboliſh them, but having firſt fitted them for it, by changing the end of thoſe inſtitutions, he ſhould then introduce them into the chriſtian worſhip? Amongſt others of this kind, the pope takes notice of an Engliſh feſtival which ſeems ſo contrary to the purity of

the goſpel as one would think could never have been reconciled to it. "Whereas, ſays he, they were wont to kill many oxen in their "ſacrifices to devils, you may perſuade them to make this change "in that ſolemnity; that on the anniverſary day of the dedica- "tion of their churches, in honour of the ſaints whoſe names "they bear, or whoſe relicks are depoſited in them, they may "raiſe tents or harbours about the ſame, and celebrate the ſolem- "nity with merry feaſting: at which time they muſt not im- "molate their beaſts to the devil, but kill them for meat to be "eaten to the praiſe of GOD the giver of them. By this means, "while we permit them a continuance of their former external "jollities, their minds will more eaſily be brought to entertain "ſpiritual joys. For it will be impoſſible at once to draw ſuch "rude untractable minds from all their former cuſtoms: they "will not be brought to perfection by ſudden leaps, but leiſurely "by ſteps and degrees." Whether the reaſons which GREGORY gives for this advice will convince the reader of its utility I am in doubt; but there is moſt certainly a danger in it that I think muſt be plain to every one: and in fact the ſucceſs was what might have been expected from ſuch a beginning. This unhap- py errour took ſuch root amongſt the Engliſh, that about forty years after, one of the kings of Kent was obliged to forbid by law what the pope had allowed to his anceſtors. Nay two hundred years after the miſſion of AUSTIN, the council of Calcuith takes notice of the relicks of paganiſm then remaining among the Eng- liſh: and perhaps without looking further than theſe reaſons and inſtructions of GREGORY, one may trace the original of thoſe ido- latrous practices from allowing images in their churches, which in time became a burden and reproach to the chriſtian worſhip in the weſtern parts of the world. His holineſs ſeems to have had nothing more in his thoughts as to this point, than to remove their prejudices againſt the chriſtian faith, and to induce them the more eaſily to ſubmit to it, by allowing the uſe of images, or ſome other ſymbol and viſible repreſentation; not conſidering that the continuance of this uſage would moſt certainly, on the other hand, make it much more difficult to raiſe their minds to a juſt idea of the divine Being, or to carry their adoration beyond the viſible object. The conduct of CHRIST's apoſtles and their immediate followers, when they began to convert the nations, was formed on a different plan. They were all extremely care- ful not only to give their converts a juſt idea of the goſpel revela- tion, and to regulate their devotions by it, but as far as poſſible to

leave no footſteps of the pagan worſhip; and for this reaſon the uſe of images, and the rites of the ancient gentile temples were entirely baniſhed. A plainneſs and ſimplicity conformable to the worſhip of God in ſpirit and in truth were generally introduced; and many marks of this primitive plainneſs appear in the Britiſh churches at the time of Austin's coming. Whereas in the worſhip which he introduced, there appears abundance of new rites, with ſuch pomp and ceremonies as the Britons were not acquainted with; and which perhaps occaſioned that great averſion which they had to the Engliſh ſervice, and to thoſe who came from Rome to introduce it. Their averſion to it was ſo general, and it was carried to that length about ſix and thirty years after the firſt converſions by Austin, that to this day, ſays Bede, "the "Britons continue ſuch averſion to the faith and worſhip of the "Engliſh, that they make no account of either, and will no "more communicate with them than they will with pagans."

Having taken this view of the pope's inſtructions to Austin about the pagan temples and uſages, I turn to conſider the model which he ſent him over for the government of the Engliſh church. We have ſeen that he had already honoured him with the character of an archbiſhop, and he now gives him a power to erect a metropolitical ſee at York, with ſubordination to him nevertheleſs as primate. The reaſon of this preference with regard to York, was becauſe formerly under the Romans it had been an archbiſhopric, as well as London, and Carleon in Wales. The laſt was at that time an archbiſhop's ſee in the hands of the Britons, and not under Gregory's juriſdiction, though he thought fit to give Austin authority over it. The two metropolitans were each of them to have twelve ſuffragan biſhops within their reſpective provinces; at the death of Austin the metropolitical ſee of Canterbury to be removed to London, and the primacy ſettled on him to ceaſe; and the two archbiſhops to take place according to the priority of their conſecration. One would imagine from theſe inſtructions, that the chriſtian religion had extended itſelf all over England, under the pope's direction, and that the churches were already founded. But there was nothing like it; theſe inſtructions were premature, and could ariſe from nothing but the ſanguine hopes which he had conceived by the letters and meſſengers of Austin, and from an eager deſire to exalt himſelf as the head of the church of England. Whoever compares theſe epiſtles of Gregory, with thoſe which he wrote

on his firſt advancement to the ſee of Rome, where he ſolemnly profeſſes that he received the faith and canons of the four firſt councils of the chriſtian church, with the ſame veneration that he received the four goſpels of the New Teſtament; and at the ſame time conſiders the zeal and warmth with which he oppoſed the pretenſions of his friend and confident the patriarch of Conſtantinople to the name and title of univerſal biſhop, aſſuming to himſelf the lowly character of ſervant only to the ſervants of GOD, will find it very difficult to reconcile his profeſſions and ſhew of humility and his zeal for thoſe canons, to that authority which he aſſumed and exerciſed in his inſtructions to AUSTIN, and in the model of the Engliſh church. It is not only evident however from theſe epiſtles, beyond all diſpute, that the pretence of an univerſal paſtorſhip over the churches, by a DIVINE RIGHT, was not ſo much as thought of at that time in Rome, but that the canons of the councils were then eſteemed the meaſure of the patriarchal power: ſo that it is very ſurprizing to ſee this great prelate, at one and the ſame time, aſſerting and oppoſing the authority of the canons. But if his holineſs's conduct in this point ſhould be thought excuſeable, it cannot be by the late pretence of an univerſal paſtorſhip, becauſe it was then unknown; nor can it be by that of his patriarchal power, becauſe it is certain that it had not extended itſelf to Britain. There is this indeed to be ſaid, that the caſe of the Engliſh church ſeems not to be provided for in thoſe canons: their care was confined to churches already eſtabliſhed, but churches unformed were plainly left to the prudence and charity of thoſe perſons who ſhould be the happy inſtruments in converting pagan nations. But then the natural courſe of things would in all probability have produced the regulation which the pope eſtabliſhed, without his intermeddling, as it had done once before on the converſion of the Britons; and whatever there may be in this, it is plain by what followed, that the Engliſh ſeemed acquainted with no other authority than what aroſe from the charity and the good ſenſe of GREGORY. If they were acquainted with any other; if they knew any thing of the univerſal paſtorſhip or patriarchal power which extended to this nation, they acted, it muſt be owned, like ſtrangers to all pretenſions of that nature; as will appear when we get farther into the hiſtory.

Archbiſhop AUSTIN having reeeived the above inſtructions and powers from the pope, applied himſelf with zeal to put them immediately into practice. The reader will perhaps imagine, that

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the firſt care of ſuch a miſſionary, ſhould have been the enlarging the kingdom of Christ, by carrying on the converſion of the Engliſh pagans; of which, from his paſt ſucceſs, he had all the reaſon in the world to form the higheſt expectations. But this great ſaint thought otherwiſe. His firſt care was to reduce the Britiſh biſhops to a conformity with the Roman church, and to induce them to ſubmit to the juriſdiction of the pope: and for this undertaking he had another motive beſides his zeal for the ſee of Rome, which was his claim to the primacy of all England by his holineſs's grant; which he could never make good as long as the Britiſh churches diſowned the pope's authority and juriſdiction. The great ambition and vanity of the man being conſidered, the laſt motive may perhaps be thought the moſt powerful of the two: they had both however a viſible intereſt in the zeal of this prelate; and inſtead of propagating the chriſtian faith among unbelievers, he applied all his endeavours to enlarge his own authority, and the power of his great maſter Gregory, by procuring the ſubmiſſion of the Britiſh churches. But this was no very eaſy matter to bring about. The Britons were ſatisfied with the rites and cuſtoms they had practiſed ever ſince their converſion, and thought that they were juſtified in adhering to them. Beſides, they did not conceive upon what grounds they were obliged to conform to the church of Rome which was at ſo great a diſtance, nor what advantage it would be of to them to own and ſubmit to the authority of its biſhop.

The goſpel, as it has been already related, was preached in Britain, either by ſome of Christ's apoſtles, or their immediate followers; and from that time the Britons had always obſerved the cuſtoms and rules preſcribed to them by thoſe teachers. But the prelates of Rome had made ſeveral innovations in celebrating divine ſervice, to which all other churches, they pretended, ought to conform. All other churches however almoſt oppoſed them; and yet this oppoſition could not induce them to drop their pretenſions. The difference, it muſt be owned indeed, was of no great conſequence; and yet toward the end of the ſecond century, it was the cauſe of a quarrel, ſcandalous to religion, between the churches of Aſia, and Victor the firſt, the pope of Rome; who for no other reaſon excommunicated them all. This affair had never legally been decided; yet the biſhops of Rome notwithſtanding adhered obſtinately to their claims, and exerted all their power to bring about their deſigns. The weſtern churches, as being the neareſt to Rome, came into them without

without any difficulty; and almoſt all except the churches of Gaul and Milan conformed at laſt to the Roman ritual. But Britain, being ſtill as it were out of the world, ſince the embaſſy of king LUCIUS, had held very little communication with the biſhops of Rome. The Britons conſidered them as biſhops only of a particular dioceſe; or at moſt but as patriarchs, on whom their own church had no dependance in the leaſt. Nay they were ſo far from acknowledging the pope's authority, that they did not ſo much as know, that his holineſs pretended to have any authority over them. But our AUSTIN, out of the abundance of his zeal for the ſee of Rome, whence he derived his own metropolitical juriſdiction, took upon him to make them acknowledge the pope as head of the whole church. It is not eaſy to know how far his deſigns extended; ſince it does not appear that he had any inſtructions about this from GREGORY; nor did that prelate aſpire to the exorbitant power attributed afterwards to thoſe who ſate in ST. PETER's chair. It muſt be owned indeed that GREGORY laid claim to the ſuperiority over the Britiſh churches; becauſe in his letter to AUSTIN he puts the whole iſland under his juriſdiction, and expreſſly gives him authority over the Britiſh biſhops.

Whatever were the deſigns of this ambitious primate, having procured the favour and intereſt of king ETHELBERT, he made uſe of them to obtain a conference with the Britiſh biſhops, upon the borders of the county of Worceſter. The ſynod being aſſembled, the archbiſhop propoſed firſt, that the Britons ſhould embrace the unity of the catholic church, and then join with him and his clergy in endeavouring to convert the Engliſh. How reaſonable ſoever this may appear at the firſt ſight, yet if what BEDE ſays of the Britons is true, that they did many things contrary to the unity of the church, beſides their not obſerving the feaſt of Eaſter in a proper manner, this muſt be allowed to be a very artful and comprehenſive, if not an enſnaring article; which muſt neceſſarily draw after it ſome conſequences of the higheſt moment to the Britiſh church: and therefore, after all the arts and perſuaſions, after all the menaces and reproaches of the archbiſhop, he could not prevail with them to admit of the leaſt change in their ancient cuſtoms. The hiſtorians who deal in miracles, add moreover, that finding no good was to be done by arguments, he cauſed a blind man to be brought into the aſſembly, and when the Britons had tried in vain to reſtore his ſight,

he cured him by his prayers. But whether the miracle might not admit of ſome diſpute; or whether the hiſtorians, who lived not 'till long after, might not be impoſed upon, as in the caſe of miracles we know they almoſt always were, the Britons ſtood out againſt this evidence; and all that Austin could obtain, was, that they would adviſe on what was paſt, and meet again and determine the matter in another ſynod.

The Britons being returned, and conſidering the importance of the debate with great attention, they ſaw that the honour and intereſt of king Ethelbert were concerned in its ſucceſs; and that their refuſal might poſſibly draw upon them the reſentment of that prince. This was an affair, together with the guilt of ſchiſm, which the arguments of Austin in their conſequence charged upon them, that deſerved their conſideration; and they were not wanting in it. But however, not being able to determine it among themſelves, they applied to an anachorete of great reputation among them for holineſs and wiſdom, and deſired to know his opinion, whether they ought to quit the cuſtoms and uſages of their anceſtors, and ſubmit to Austin? His anſwer was, that he ſaw no reaſon there was to admit of any alterations in their divine ſervice upon the bare requeſt of a ſtranger; but however, as the eſſence of religion conſiſted in love and union, if he was a holy man and one ſent of God they ſhould follow him. This brought another queſtion from them, how they ſhould know whether he was a man of God or not? To which the anachorete replied, they ſhould judge of this character by the conduct and diſpoſition of the man who ſupported it: if he was meek and humble in heart, he was the diſciple of him who had taught men to know his yoke, by the meekneſs and humility of thoſe who bore it: but if he was haughty and diſcourteous, it was certain that he could not then come from God, whatever he might pretend, neither were his words to be regarded by them. The Britons were ſtill unſatisfied, and deſired to know the marks of gentleneſs and condeſcenſion, by which they might judge of and diſcern his ſpirit: his ſpirit, ſaid the old man, you will ſoon diſcern in this; let him and his companions come firſt to the ſynod, and if when you approach he riſes up in condeſcenſion and in love to greet you, look upon him as a ſervant of Christ, and ſubmit to what he ſhall ordain. But if in contempt he ſhall refuſe to riſe up to you, who are the greater number, let him ſee that you deſpiſe his inſolence and authority.

After ſome time ſpent in theſe deliberations, the Britiſh biſhops, allowed generally to be ſeven, with DINOTH, abbot of Banchor, and many other learned men, came at a time and place appointed, to give AUSTIN a ſecond meeting. The archbiſhop and his companions were ſeated in the room before the others entered; and not riſing from his ſeat to receive them with any civility, the Britons, in conformity to the advice of their holy hermit, being exaſperated at his pride, oppoſed all his arguments with great ſpirit and firmneſs. After a vain and violent conteſt for ſome time, the archbiſhop addreſſed himſelf to them in the following words. "In many things you act contrary to our "cuſtoms, and indeed to the uſages of the univerſal church; "notwithſtanding, if ye will ſubmit to my authority in theſe "three things, namely in obſerving the eaſter feſtival after our "manner, in uſing the ſame rites and ceremonies in baptiſm "which are uſed by the holy Roman and apoſtolic church, and "join with us in preaching to the Engliſh, in other things "which ye do contrary to our cuſtoms we will bear with you." To this the Britiſh biſhops made anſwer, "that they would not "comply with him in any one of theſe particulars; nor would "they own him for their archbiſhop." The zealous primate, fired with indignation at this contemptuous reſolution, replied to them with threats, "that if they would not accept of peace from "their brethren, they muſt expect war from their enemies; and "if they would not preach the word of life to the Engliſh, they "ſhould ſuffer death by their hands." This is the account which we have of this ſynod from BEDE, who is obſerved to be very ſhort in what concerns the Britons. For their own writers, as we learn from LELAND, give a more ample relation of this affair than what is extant in the Saxon writer. He tells us particularly, that DINOTH diſputed very largely with great gravity and abilities againſt ſubmitting to the authority of the pope or the archbiſhop; defending the power of their own archbiſhop of CARLEON or St. David's, in the following words. "You pro-"poſe to us obedience to the church of Rome; are you igno-"rant that we already owe a deference of love and charity to the "church of GOD, to the biſhop of Rome, and to all Chriſtians, "which obliges us to endeavour by all poſſible means to aſſiſt and "to do them all the good we can? Other obedience than this "to him you call pope we know not of; and this we are always "ready to pay. But for a ſuperior, what need have we to go

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" ſo far as Rome, when we are governed under God by the " archbiſhop of Carleon, who hath authority to take care of " our churches and church affairs?" The abbot of Banchor went ſo far in his reply to the archbiſhop, according to Leland, as to find fault with the pope " for not admoniſhing the Engliſh " of their groſs uſurpations againſt their ſolemn oaths; adding, " it was their duty if they would be good Chriſtians to reſtore " their unjuſt and tyrannical power to thoſe from whom they had " taken it." The abbot, it ſeems, was a man of learning; and he knew, that under a pretence of bringing in the true religion, the pope could not confirm them in their unjuſt encroachments; for if that ſhould be admitted no princes could be ſafe in their dominions. The Britiſh biſhops looked therefore on this attempt of Austin's upon them, to be adding one uſurpation to another; which made them ſo averſe no doubt to any communication with him and his companions. They were bound to preſerve their own rights by the decree of the council of Epheſus; and conſequently to oppoſe that foreign juriſdiction which the primate endeavoured to ſet up over them. Accordingly it muſt be obſerved, that Bede hath no where mentioned any ſubmiſſion of the Britiſh churches to Austin, or his ſucceſſors; tho conſtituted metropolitans over them by the biſhops of Rome; but has given ſuch proof and ſo well aſcertained by matters of fact, that the Britiſh church was for ſeveral ages, after the coming of Austin, governed by its own archbiſhops, without ſo much as owning the primacy of Canterbury, that there is no room to doubt but that it continued its freedom and independence all along; 'till a change in the affairs of the Britiſh nation brought their church and ſtate in after-ages, as we ſhall ſee, to ſubmit to the eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh.

Thus fell to the ground this ſcheme of Austin's, which had coſt him ſo much pains and trouble, and on which he had ſet his heart ſo much. In all appearance, had he ſhewn that humility and lowlineſs of mind to his brethren at their entrance, which was eſſential to his character as a miſſionary of the goſpel, and a biſhop of the church of Christ; had he afterwards made uſe of gentleneſs and perſuaſion inſtead of inſolence and threats, he would have gained the compliance of the Britiſh biſhops and clergy with all his meaſures, and they might have been won over from their ſcruples: But when he would not riſe up to receive them at their coming into the ſynod, which their anachorete had

expreſly mentioned as a denotation of his pride and ſtatelineſs, they looked upon it as an effect of the ſuperiority which he challenged over them; and concluded that if he behaved to them in that ſupercilious manner when he came to court them into his meaſures, they had much more haughty treatment to expect from him when he ſhould be in authority over them. Reaſoning thus from this impreſſion which his rudeneſs at their entrance had made upon them, they aggravated rather than endeavoured to remove their ſcruples; and this oppoſition, rather increaſed, than ſuppreſſed, the pride and arrogance of the primate. This being the ſtate of the caſe on both ſides, it is no wonder that the council ſhould end in nothing but a fruitleſs and a paſſionate conteſt. It is a leſſon however to churchmen, that the ſacred character is leſſened and not ſupported by the airs of ſtate and grandeur; and that there is nothing more unbecoming a chriſtian biſhop, which more falſifies his pretenſions to that obedience which is due to his holy office, than pride and haughtineſs. It is moreover a leſſon to every one concerned in great affairs, that he cannot be too careful in circumſtances of the ſmalleſt moment; an errour in which alone has often proved the deſtruction of the moſt important undertakings. But I turn again to the hiſtory.

Some of the writers of the life of AUSTIN, have told us that after this conference with the Britons, he and his followers went away to York, and on Chriſtmas day following baptized ten thouſand converts in the river Swale, covering all the road as he went along with miracles. But if we may rely on BEDE's authority, who ſeems to have a particular paſſion for the honour of this apoſtle, the ſtory and the miracles have the ſame original, and not the leaſt appearance of truth. ELFLED, the daughter of EDWIN king of the Northumbrians, was the firſt perſon of that country, ſays BEDE, that was baptized; and ſhe was not born nor her mother married 'till ſome years after AUSTIN's death. What they ſay therefore of his baptizing in the river Swale is only a confuſion of the account which hiſtorians give of his baptizing the inhabitants of the county of Kent, mentioned above, with what BEDE and others mention of PAULINUS's baptizing the Northumbrians in that river ſome years after. Of the ſame credit and authority is another ſtory which is told us of his baptizing near the place where the abbey of Cernelle was afterwards built in Dorſetſhire; where by the efficacy of his prayers he miraculouſly gave beginning to the fountain wherein the office of baptiſm was performed. BEDE is not only ſilent in this affair, but ſays that the Weſt Saxons were not converted 'till the coming of BIRINUS; who did not come into England 'till long after AUSTIN's death. The ſame ſpirit of vanity and of confidence poſſeſt the monks of Ely; who to magnify the antiquity of that foundation, endeavoured to make the world believe that the firſt founder of their monaſtery was

this firſt Engliſh primate: and yet it is very evident from all other hiſtory, that the whole kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles, of which the iſle of Ely was a part, continued in paganiſm after Austin was no more.

The whole that we know of this archbiſhop with any certainty, after this unſucceſsful conference with the Britons, is that he returned into Kent, and contained himſelf within the true bounds of his miſſion; cauſing the goſpel to be preached to the Eaſt Saxons by Mellitus, one of the aſſiſtants ſent him from Rome, whom he conſecrated biſhop of London. Justus had been conſecrated by him biſhop of Rocheſter a little before; and apprehending, ſays Bede, leſt after his death, the ſtate of the church as yet tender, being deſtitute of a paſtor tho but for a moment, ſhould begin to faulter, he now ordained Laurentius another of his companions to ſucceed him in the ſee of Canterbury. A great part of the kingdom of Kent had received the chriſtian faith: the cathedrals of Canterbury and Rocheſter were begun, and ſome other churches, founded by the Britons and gone to decay, were put into repair: ſome proviſion was likewiſe made for the ſubſiſtance and education of the clergy; and all theſe things were chiefly owing to the piety and magnificence of king Ethelbert, and to the zeal and labours of the primate and his companions. As to the reſt of the Engliſh nation, there does not appear to be the leaſt ſtep taken towards their converſion before this time; unleſs the conſecration of Mellitus and ſending him to the Eaſt Saxons ought to be ſo accounted.

Thus ſtood the affairs of the Engliſh church, and at this time died Austin, commonly called the apoſtle of the Engliſh; after living, according to the general received opinion, about eight years in this country, propagating the goſpel and the authority of the ſee of Rome with great zeal. He was buried at Canterbury near the cathedral, which was not then finiſhed, with the following inſcription on his tomb. "Here lies Augustin the firſt archbiſhop of Dorobern, who "having been ſent hither by Gregory pontiff of Rome, and ſup-"ported by the co-operation of God with miracles, converted king "Ethelbert and his nation to the faith; and having accompliſhed "the days of his miniſtry, departed this life the ſeventh of the ca-"lends of June, in the reign of the ſaid king." It is no eaſy matter to give the reader an exact and impartial character of this famous ancient prelate; even if we confine it, as I think we ſhould, to make it pertinent to our hiſtory, within the time of his reſidence here in England on this miſſion from Rome. Should we take our accounts only from thoſe who have wrote his life, we ſhall ſee nothing but learning, piety, zeal, mortification, aſſiduity, and the power of working miracles. But if we look into the ſcenes in which he was the chief actor, and which will certainly characterize him with more truth

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and accuracy than the ignorant and ſuperſtitious writers of his life, we ſhall find enough to be ſet againſt theſe illuſtrious tales, that will fully juſtify our taking him out of the niche of ſaints in which they have placed him with great devotion. By the queſtions which he ſent to GREGORY for his inſtructions we can form no great idea of his abilities or underſtanding: but in the letters of recommendation from his holineſs to the king and queen of Kent, we are told that he was eminent for his learning, and particularly for his knowlege in the holy ſcriptures; which, according to the ſtate of learning at that time, might be true. Perhaps there was not a man in the world however, of a more well meaning heart than AUSTIN; he was engaged in a glorious undertaking, was bleſſed with wonderful ſucceſs, and we may ſay that he was ſtamped in the very mould of zeal: Yet theſe did not hinder him from entertaining the ſecular views of grandeur and the vices of ambition; as is evident from the haſte he made to get himſelf conſecrated archbiſhop of the Engliſh, when there was no other church but that of Canterbury, and before the chriſtian religion had made any progreſs in the nation further than in the county of Kent. Theſe views, which certainly were not over humble nor over modeſt, together with a ſtrong tincture of enthuſiaſm in his compoſition, were perhaps the chief cauſes of his acting with ſo much zeal in the buſineſs of his miſſion. But I dare ſay that he thought, nay that he would have ſworn, he was led in all this by no other motive, than the glory of GOD and the good of his church and people: ſo true is the obſervation that I have ſomewhere met with, that nothing is more ſubject to deluſion than piety, which takes for ſacred all her imaginations of what ſort ſoever; and the beſt intention in the world is not enough to keep it in that reſpect free from irregularity. How little indulgence ſoever he might exerciſe towards the fleſh by his abſtinence and aſſiduity, yet it does not appear that his ſpirit was at all mortified to the purpoſes of religion. His whole behaviour to the Britiſh biſhops, and in particular his threatning them that ſince they would not agree with him they ſhould ſuffer death at the hands of the Engliſh, will make this cenſure of him appear, I hope, neither uncharitable nor ſevere. From the great ſucceſs which he had in propagating the goſpel, a great deal of his hiſtory is employed by the monkiſh writers, who delight in fiction and ſurprize, with the miracles that he performed in different places: and even in his own epiſtle to pope GREGORY, as we have ſeen, he takes care to magnify this gift extremely. He might poſſibly be ſo blinded by his enthuſiaſm and his vanity, as to believe the ſtories propagated by his followers thro intereſt or ſuperſtition; contrived chiefly to advance the honour of monkery, the worſhip of ſaints, and the divine effects of holy water. But there is great reaſon to be convinced, that all theſe pretended miracles, were not only in general and for the greateſt part, but entirely and univerſally the effects of fraud and of impoſture.

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Upon the whole it may be ſaid of him, that he had a great deal of vanity, a great deal of enthuſiaſm, and as much zeal and devotion perhaps as either; and as his faults may be more imputed to human frailty than a bad heart, ſo tho we cannot canonize him for a ſaint, as the Romiſh writers have done, yet his name deſerves to be mentioned with ſome degree of praiſe and honour.

Immediately after the account of the conference with the Britiſh biſhops, Bede has added that Edelfride, a king of the Engliſh, fell upon the Britons with a great army near to Caerlon; and not only routed and made great ſlaughter of their forces, but alſo fell upon their monks; who, after three days faſting and devotion, were in a field at ſome diſtance from the army praying for their ſucceſs, where above twelve hundred of them were put to the ſword: and this, ſays Bede, came to paſs juſt as Austin had foretold. This expreſſion, and the account of the maſſacre of the poor unarmed eccleſiaſticks being immediately ſubjoined to that of the conference, have led ſome people to imagine, that Austin, having miſcarried in the hopes he had conceived of reducing the Britiſh biſhops under his own juriſdiction and the authority of the ſee of Rome, had laid it ſo to heart, as to form the deſign which ended in this terrible ſlaughter of the Britons, and in particular of the monks of Banchor; whoſe abbot had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the oppoſition to him. But ſurely to believe him capable of ſuch enormous wickedneſs, is carrying our cenſure of him to a length, which neither his menaces, his natural haughtineſs, this circumſtance in Bede, nor indeed any thing but the plaineſt and moſt flagrant proof can juſtify. His threatning the Britiſh clergy with war and death at the hands of their enemies, was language very unbecoming his character as a Chriſtian and a biſhop; for which, the natural warmth of his temper enflamed by his diſappointment, is not an excuſe that can be thought ſufficient. But according to the poſture of affairs at that time, the country being embroiled and the Britons ſurrounded by their enemies, it did not require the ſpirit of prophecy to foreſee, nor the reſentment of Austin to procure and puſh on, their ruin. Had they made his convert Ethelbert their ally, by ſubmitting to the juriſdiction of his archbiſhop, this deſtruction perhaps might have been prevented; and ſo far the primate might have it in his thoughts. More than this, I think, we cannot make of his expreſſion: it was otherwiſe inconſiſtent with the leſſon which he taught himſelf at firſt to the king of Kent, that in the cauſe of religion there ſhould be no force or violence: but the threatning dropped from him in the heat of paſſion, as it often happens to men of a haſty fiery temper, without any ill intention and without any other meaning; and Bede, who would give him the ſpirit of prophecy as well as the power of working miracles, conſiders it as an accompliſhment of the archbiſhop's

biſhop's prediction. But if this execution, as it may be called, of the poor monks of Banchor did not fall out till after the death of AUSTIN, as ſome writers contend and as it ſeems probable it did not, yet it is certain that EDELFRIDE, who cauſed them to be put to death, was a pagan prince; who did no homage to ETHELBERT, whoſe dominions were beyond the Humber, and to whom probably the primate therefore was not known. All theſe things being conſidered we ought to yield to the ſide of charity, and to leave the ſlaughter of theſe unhappy defenceleſs people, among the ſecrets of his providence, whoſe judgments are unſearchable and whoſe ways are paſt finding out.

Having ſeen how the affairs of the Engliſh church ſtood at the death of AUSTIN, let us turn to the progreſs of the goſpel under LAWRENCE, who ſucceeded him in the ſee of Canterbury, and whom he himſelf had conſecrated for that end a little before. In the model which GREGORY had ſent over, he directed the primacy at AUSTIN's death to be removed to London, which he then appointed, as in the times of the Britons, to be an archbiſhopric; and MELLITUS as we have ſeen was conſecrated to that ſee. But GREGORY's model was impracticable, and his authority was diſavowed. At the time of AUSTIN's death the city of London was not converted, and ſo could not be the ſeat of an archbiſhop. ETHELBERT was likewiſe ſtill the king of Kent, and he would not permit the metropolitical power to be removed out of his kingdom, nor his biſhops to ſubmit to the authority of a metropolitan whoſe ſee was in the dominions of another prince. As LAWRENCE therefore ſucceded his friend AUSTIN in the archbiſhopric, ſo he imitated him in his zeal. He carried on the progreſs of chriſtianity with great vigour and ſucceſs, and ſupported his character to advantage both by his preaching and example. Nor was he ſollicitous only for the Engliſh. He was no ſooner inveſted with his dignity and his power, than he reſumed the attempt of his predeceſſor, in reducing the Britons to the pope's obedience, and a conformity to the church of Rome in the celebration of Eaſter. He wrote very preſſing letters to the biſhops and abbots, but they proved of no effect. However, the intereſt of ETHELBERT, and the bleſſing of GOD on the labours of MELLITUS, made the miſſionaries more ſucceſsful in an affair that more deſerved their care, their zeal, and their devotion; and this was the converſion of the Eaſt-Saxons, inhabiting the counties of Middleſex and Eſſex. SEBERT, ſon of ETHELBERT's ſiſter, was at that time their king, and tributary to his uncle. His ſubjects were ſo diſpoſed to receive the chriſtian religion by his influence and example, that MELLITUS, being conſecrated biſhop of London as before mentioned, was ſent with the advantage of that character to the court of the Eaſt-Saxons; where the prince, accompanied by multitudes of his ſubjects, received the chriſtian religion, and was baptized. About this time, as appears by king EDGAR's charter,

the abbey church of Weſtminſter was built by Sebert, in the place of an heathen temple dedicated to Apollo, on the perſuaſion of Ethelbert the firſt Engliſh chriſtian king, and conſecrated by the new biſhop of London to the honour of God and St. Peter. Indeed, if we give credit to many monkiſh writers, and to two of our kings and a pope who have copied from them, we are to believe that the ſaint himſelf, on the evening before the day intended for the conſecration, went into the church, attended with a numerous heavenly hoſt, and performed the ceremony; that he was carried over the Thames by a fiſherman in his boat, to whom he declared this, who ſaw the light, heard the muſic, and ſmelt the odours, accompanying the conſecration; that he ordered the fiſherman to acquaint the biſhop with what had paſſed, that he might lay aſide the deſign of conſecration, and only adminiſter the ſacrament and inſtruct the people. Many other ridiculous circumſtances are recorded of this tranſaction in an age open to ſuch fictions; and the belief of this miraculous ſtory was the reaſon why this church was greatly enriched in following times, by weak and credulous princes, and choſen for the place of their inauguration. By the appointment of king Ethelbert in conjunction with his nephew, a biſhopric was founded at this time, and the ſeat of it fixed at London: and as St. Peter's church at Weſtminſter was erected on the ruins of the pagan temple of Apollo, ſo another noble church intended for the cathedral was erected in the midſt of the city on the ruins of a temple dedicated to Diana, in honour of St. Paul. About this church however, we have no miraculous tales. To the charity and munificence of the two princes above mentioned its foundation was chiefly owing. King Ethelbert particularly, of whoſe dominions the city of London, we are told by Polidore Virgil, was then become a part, aſſigned many territories and poſſeſſions to the biſhops and chapter, which were afterwards confirmed by William the conqueror.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in England, Gregory the great died at Rome. He never pretended to a juriſdiction over the Britiſh churches, as univerſal biſhop; and was ſo far from aſſuming, that he declaimed againſt that title with great diſlike. Nevertheleſs he believed, in all appearance, that as patriarch of the Weſt, he might claim the obedience of the Britiſh as well as Engliſh biſhops to his ſpiritual juriſdiction. But Boniface the fourth, who not long after Gregory was promoted to the ſee of Rome, by the favour of the emperor Phocas, took upon him the title of univerſal biſhop. This was a freſh motive for the miſſionaries in England to renew their endeavours to bring the Britons under his authority; but all would not do. Mellitus, who one would think had a much better cauſe in hand, to propagate the goſpel thro his dioceſe and to convert his people, was therefore ſent to Rome for new inſtructions from the pope. The pope wrote

letters by him to ETHELBERT on the ſubject, commending his zeal and the regularity of his behaviour; but notwithſtanding the zeal and vigour with which this prince and his nephew SEBERT aſſiſted the miſſionaries, the chriſtian intereſt was carried on but ſlowly. If it made any further progreſs before the death of thoſe princes, BEDE has paſſed it over in ſilence: which I think he would not have done: and we hear no more of the growth of chriſtianity among the Eaſt-Saxons, or in the kingdom of Kent, 'till a dark cloud overſpread it, and before its enemies bid fair for the entire extirpation of the new planted churches, and the goſpel of CHRIST together.

In the year ſix hundred and thirteen or thereabout, died ETHELBERT king of Kent, and was buried in the porch of St. Martin's near Canterbury with BERTHA his queen, who had been interred ſome time before. Upon the death of this king, who had been the great ſupport of the chriſtian intereſt, every thing ran into confuſion; paganiſm revived again and made ſo bold an effort as at once overwhelmed the chriſtian church, and the zeal and courage of thoſe who ſhould have ſupported it. EADBALD the ſon and ſucceſſor of ETHELBERT, either had not been converted to the chriſtian faith, which I think very improbable in outward appearance at leaſt, or upon his coming to the crown renounced it. A man of his licentious turn of mind, would certainly ſtrive to rid himſelf of the reſtraints which he was laid under by the ſublime and heavenly-minded precepts of the goſpel. He added to his apoſtacy, and it was perhaps the chief occaſion of it, the inceſtuous fornication of having his father's wife. The archbiſhop is ſaid to have exerted his character upon this occaſion, and reproved him with a becoming freedom, but could not prevail. The king being thus a libertine in his principles and his practice, and having given a liberty to his ſubjects to reſtore the pagan worſhip, it is no wonder that thoſe whom the fear of his father had brought to profeſs the goſpel, ſhould now willingly renounce it, after the example of their prince. Notwithſtanding therefore all the zeal and addreſs of the primate, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and their clergy, the revolt of the people to the worſhip and diſorder of paganiſm was extremely great; and the chriſtian intereſt in the kingdom of Kent, reduced to very deplorable and amazing circumſtances. But this was not all. The calamity of the church encreaſed upon the progreſs, and the ſtorm began to blow higher upon the death of SEBERT king of the Eaſt-Saxons, which happened at this time. He had been converted lately by MELLITUS, as we have ſeen; but his three ſons, who jointly ſucceded him in that kingdom, had not renounced their idolatry. It is true they gave their father hopes of their converſion, and kept their idolatry private during his life; but he was no ſooner dead than they pulled off the maſk; they declared themſelves pagans, and gave their ſubjects the liberty of

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as much idolatry as they pleaſed. As they ſaw the biſhop one day performing divine ſervice and giving the ſacrament to the people, they aſked him why he would not give them ſome of that fine bread which their father uſed to receive from him, and which he then diſtributed among the people. Mellitus told them, "that if they would be "baptized, as their father was, they might partake of the ſame holy "bread; but if they ſlighted that initiating ſacrament, he could not "admit them to the privilege of the other." They ſaid, "they had "no need of baptiſm, and therefore would not be obliged to that ce-"remony," and nevertheleſs inſiſted on the conſecrated bread. Being ſtill denied by the biſhop they were much enraged; and telling him, "if he would not gratify them in ſo eaſy a matter, he ſhould ſtay "no longer in their dominions," ordered him immediately to be gone.

The condition of the church of Kent, tho very deplorable, yet was not ſo bad as that of the Eaſt-Saxons. Chriſtianity was there of a longer ſtanding, had taken deeper root, and was not ſo eaſily diſpoſſeſſed. Hither therefore fled Mellitus the good biſhop of London: and after a conſultation with the archbiſhop, to whom the biſhop of Rochester was alſo gone, it was concluded among them by joint conſent, that it was in vain to ſtruggle againſt the apoſtacy that was broke in every where upon the church of Christ with an irreſiſtible force, and therefore that they ſhould all return again to Rome. Upon this reſolution Mellitus and Justus immediately withdrew, and got over to France as ſoon as they could; leaving the Engliſh renegadoes to their former paganiſm. To deſert ſo very haſtily the cauſe of God which they were engaged in, without endeavouring to bring the people whom they had converted back again to the faith, eſpecially when their own perſons were in no apparent danger, or without ſo much as trying what was to be done in the other kingdoms of the iſland; whether they could not find as kind and ſucceſsful a reception among ſome of them as they had done before in the kingdoms of Kent and Eſſex, was an amazing conduct in theſe prelates, which nothing appears to juſtify. They muſt certainly be men of little vigour and firmneſs, whatever zeal they might have for the buſineſs of their miſſion. The inhabitants, at the worſt, were but in the ſame condition which they found them in at their firſt coming over; and if there was a ſufficient reaſon to bring them here from Rome when they were monks, it was certainly much ſtronger for their continuance when they were biſhops. Beſides we cannot ſuppoſe that all the people had revolted from the faith: there were probably ſome good men who adhered to the principles they had imbibed, and who would give them countenance and protection; and therefore their flight ſeems cowardly and indefenſible.

The archbiſhop we find had a little more courage and reſolution, tho not ſo much as his character and his cauſe required; for tho he ſtaid behind them, it is true, yet having been determined to follow them, it ſeems only that he might prepare the better for his departure. The night before he intended to withdraw, he took leave of his church after a very new and ſurprizing manner. He cauſed his bed to be brought into the cathedral, and laid himſelf down to ſleep, intending to take up his lodgings in it for that night. But ST. PETER, ſays BEDE, appeared to him; and having reproached him for his cowardice ſo ſcourged the ſhoulders of the archbiſhop, as to leave the marks of his laſhes upon his grace's body. The next day, ſays the ſame hiſtorian, LAWRENCE went to the king with an account of this miracle; and having ſhewed him what he had ſuffered in the preceding night in his cathedral, the king was ſo wrought upon, that he preſently changed his faith and morals, and became at once a chriſtian and a new man. It muſt be obſerved that the converſion of our Engliſh anceſtors happened at a time when learning run very low; and when a general credulity and want of thought gave opportunity to the eccleſiaſticks of coining their fables and obtruding them upon the world for facts. If there was any truth in this ſtory, that the prelate had had a ſcourging in the cathedral, it was a ſtratagem no doubt concerted between him and one of his monks, and whoſe name too might be PETER, in order to practiſe on the king's credulity, and to ſee what effect a miracle would have upon him. The archbiſhop might have zeal enough to undergo this penance, and might think too, as I believe the reader will, that for the deſign of quitting his ſtation, he deſerved it; and tho it was a fallacy intended to impoſe upon king EADBALD, yet they were common in thoſe days among good men, when the end of them was, as in this caſe, to promote the chriſtian intereſt. A man muſt be wilfully blind not to ſee this, and abominably partial not to own it. Thus far however is certain, that the artifice ſucceeded; all hiſtorians agree, that the king renounced his idolatry and inceſtuous marriage, and turning chriſtian gave a check to the growth of paganiſm, and lent new zeal and courage to the deſpairing primate, and new life to the chriſtian cauſe. EADBALD being converted by this pious ſtratagem, ſent over to France to recall MELLITUS and JUSTUS to their duty and their honours. Theſe ſhameful deſerters, about a year after their flight, returned again to England; and the biſhop of ROCHESTER was reſtored to his ſee by the king of Kent. Either London was not at that time within his dominions, as it was before obſerved from POLIDORE VIRGIL, it was his father's, or elſe he had not intereſt enough with the inhabitants, who were returned to their old idolatry, to reſtore MELLITUS. It is certain that they would not admit their biſhop, and that the Kentiſh monarch had not power enough to force him upon them without their own conſent. In this low condition the Engliſh church continued 'till

the death of Lawrence: of whom nothing remarkable is recorded more than the artifice of the ſcourging, and of whom therefore nothing farther need be ſaid. The inhabitants of London refuſing to admit Mellitus, king Eadbald had afforded him an honourable retreat in Kent; and on the death of the archbiſhop appointed him to the ſee of Canterbury. He continued in this dignity about five years without doing any thing, that we read of, for the intereſt of the church or of chriſtianity; and then dying was ſucceded by Justus biſhop of Rocheſter, the companion of his flight, and the only remaining prelate of thoſe who were conſecrated by Austin. An application was therefore made to pope Boniface, by the king and the primate, for more aſſiſtance; there being none here ſufficient for ſo high an office in the church. The pope commended their zeal and diligence, and exhorting them to perſevere in propagating the goſpel in Kent and other provinces, ſent the pall to the archbiſhop, to be made uſe of only in celebrating the divine myſteries, and gave him power to ordain biſhops in all commodious places. Upon the receit of theſe letters and this commiſſion from Rome, the primate ordained Romanus biſhop of Rocheſter, who for ſome time aſſiſted him in propagating the chriſtian faith. But ſhortly after being obliged to croſs the ſea upon ſome occaſion, he was unfortunately drowned, and the ſee of Rocheſter became once more vacant.

The Engliſh church had all this time been confined to the kingdom of Kent: but it was now beginning to extend its pale beyond the Humber, by a marriage between Edwin and Ethelburga. We ſhall take leave of the church of Kent at preſent, and turn to the kingdom of Northumberland, whoſe prince this Edwin was. At that time he was the moſt powerful of all the Engliſh kings; and conſequently his alliance was a thing to be wiſhed, and not rejected, by the king of Kent, to whom he made propoſals of marriage with his ſiſter Ethelburga. But as Edwin was yet a pagan, and Eadbald was now become ſtedfaſt in the chriſtian faith, the latter inſiſted in his anſwer to the propoſals, that it was not lawful for his ſiſter, who from her infancy had been a chriſtian, to marry a pagan; and that ſuch an alliance could not be entered into without diſhonour to God and prophaning their religion. The king of Northumberland, having a great inclination for the lady, would not be thus repulſed. He promiſed not to oppoſe the religion which the princeſs had embraced; that no body ſhould be moleſted upon that account; that ſhe and all her retinue both prieſts and ſervants ſhould have the liberty of ſerving God as they thought fit: nay more than this, he added, that if her faith upon enquiry ſhould be found to be a holier inſtitution, and more ſuitable to the worſhip of the ſupreme Being than his own, he ſhould probably be himſelf of the ſame religion. This ſatisfaction being given, the princeſs was contracted to king Edwin, and before ſhe left her brother's court, Paulinus, one of the miſſionaries ſent over by Gregory the ſecond time,

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was conſecrated a biſhop by JUSTUS the metropolitan, in the year ſix hundred and twenty-five. There were at this time no Chriſtians nor any church in the kingdom of Northumberland; and therefore PAULINUS ſeems promoted to the rank of prelate, only to qualify him the better for the ſervice of the queen; that he might have more authority and influence in her family to prevent their relapſe to paganiſm; to which probably they might be tempted by the faſhion and ill example of a pagan court. At his coming among the Northumbrians the biſhop endeavoured to convert them to the chriſtian faith, but with little ſucceſs. In the year following, the queen was brought to bed of a daughter, and the king was dangerouſly wounded in an attempt to take away his life by an aſſaſſin. Theſe circumſtances concurred to bring his majeſty's inclinations nearer to chriſtianity. He was perſuaded to believe that the prayers of PAULINUS had been of uſe to the queen in her recovery; and conſidering from the accident of the aſſaſſin the uncertainty of life, he was brought to have ſome favourable diſpoſitions to the chriſtian faith. As an earneſt of this, he conſented that his daughter named ELFLED or ANFLEDA ſhould be baptized by the biſhop, together with twelve perſons of his court and family: and tho the queen had hitherto ſollicited him in vain to become a chriſtian, yet he was ſo enraged at this attempt upon his life by the king of Weſſex, that he promiſed at the ſame time he would renounce idolatry, if the GOD of the Chriſtians would revenge him of his enemy.

As ſoon as EDWIN was recovered again from his wounds, he marched with a great army into the dominions of the king of Weſſex; and tho he returned home with victory according to his deſire, yet he deferred the performance of his promiſe. Indeed he performed it ſo far that he diſengaged himſelf from idolatry; and when the queen and PAULINUS preſſed him upon that head, he told them, with the good ſenſe that became his character and ſtation, that the embracing a new religion different from that of his anceſtors in which he had been educated, ſeemed to him a thing of that importance, that he could not reſolve upon it without a ſolemn and mature deliberation; that he was not willing to reſign his belief in too implicit a manner, nor take things of that conſequence upon truſt. The king being inclined by his natural temper to move ſlowly, and to take wary ſteps, made a ſtand for ſome time; and continued as it were in a ſtate of neutrality. In this ſtate of affairs, pope BONIFACE wrote him a letter, to ſhew him the folly of the pagan worſhip, to raiſe his mind to a juſt ſenſe of the ſupreme Being, and to give him a true idea of the nature and the beauty of religion. He ſent another letter to the queen to exhort her to make uſe of all her intereſt with her huſband for his converſion; to reaſon with him upon religion; to ſet the advantages of chriſtianity before

him in their proper light; and never to give over praying for the ſucceſs of her endeavours. The queen however, had not been wanting on her part to engage Edwin to declare himſelf on the chriſtian ſide; nor did Paulinus neglect to lay out all his authority and all his eloquence in ſupport of it. But neither the epiſtles of Boniface, the entreaties of Ethelburga, nor the inſtructions of the biſhop, had for a time any ſucceſs. The king was not to be won from the religion of his anceſtors by any motives but reaſon: and therefore he conferred often with Paulinus about the grounds and reaſons of chriſtianity, that he might revolve the arguments on both ſides in his mind, and examine the ſtrength of the cauſe with candour and impartiality.

After weighing the matter well and being fully ſatisfied of the truth of the chriſtian doctrine, Edwin declared his readineſs to embrace it. Bede, according to his cuſtom of making miracles, has given us a long ſtory of a viſion, that the king had formerly ſeen in the garden of Redowald, where he was concealed from his enemies; in which ſucceſs and proſperity were promiſed to him on condition, that when theſe things were accompliſhed, and he was reminded of it by the token of a hand being laid upon his head, he ſhould reſign himſelf to that perſon's conduct, and perform what he required. Now Paulinus, ſays the ſame hiſtorian, perceiving that the king deferred declaring himſelf a Chriſtian, that he was debating the matter within himſelf without being able to come to a reſolution, and having had the circumſtances of the viſion revealed to him, he came up to his majeſty one day as he was ſitting alone in a thinking poſture, and laying his hand upon the king's head, aſked him whether he underſtood the meaning of that token? The king being ſenſibly ſurprized at the queſtion, and recollecting the divine oracle, would have proſtrated himſelf at the biſhop's feet: but Paulinus preventing him, put him in mind with an air of ſome authority, that ſince God had reſcued him from his enemies and made him a great king, it was his duty now to make good his promiſe; and that this was to be done by ſubmitting to the inſtitution, and obeying the commands of that ſovereign Being, that had done ſo great things for him already. Upon hearing this, it is ſaid, that Edwin told the biſhop he was now fully ſatisfied, and ready to receive the chriſtian faith.

Whether this miraculous appearance and diſcovery were owing to the care of God or the credulity of the age, I ſhall leave the reader to judge; and turn to what is more authentic, the manner in which Edwin procured the converſion of all his ſubjects. He had frequently conferred with Coisi the pagan high-prieſt, upon the reaſons alledged in favour of chriſtianity; and perceiving from theſe converſations that the king was upon the point of turning chriſtian, Coisi reſolved like a man

man of the world, that his religion ſhould not ſtand in his way, whenever it was convenient for him to part with it. As ſoon therefore as the king had ſummoned a council to enquire into their ſentiments of this new religion, and had put the queſtion firſt to the high-prieſt, from whom he was moſt likely to meet with the greateſt oppoſition, he was agreeably ſurprized to find, that inſtead of oppoſing he was ready to comply with his deſire. There is ſomething in COISI's anſwer ſo much in the ſtile of a good courtier, that it deſerves to be copied from BEDE. "I have for a good while, my lord, been ſeriouſly "reflecting on our religion, and on the nature of our Gods, and muſt "own that I am not at all ſatisfied in theſe points; neither can I for-"bear calling in queſtion their juſtice, goodneſs, or power. Never "perhaps did any one ſerve them with greater zeal, aſſiduity or re-"ſpect than I have done. You are a witneſs, Sir, with what care and "devotion I have all along performed the functions of my office, and "yet I never got any thing by it; neither is there any man in your "court but what has a greater intereſt with your majeſty, and is bet-"ter preferred than I am. Now I cannot help concluding, that "ſince our Gods take ſo little care of their beſt and ſincereſt worſhip-"pers, that they muſt either be weak or unjuſt, or rather no Gods "at all."

The king being greatly pleaſed with this anſwer of the high-prieſt, had a mind to know the ſentiments of another next in dignity at his court; who, encouraged by what COISI had ſaid juſt before, made EDWIN a reply which the ſame hiſtorian gives in the following words. "The more we reflect, Sir, on the nature of our ſoul, the leſs we "know of it; it is with that, as with the little bird which came in "the other day at one of the windows of the room in which you ſate "at dinner, and flew out immediately at the other. Whilſt it was in "the room we knew ſomething about it; but as ſoon as it was gone, "we could not ſay whence it came nor whither it was flown. Thus "our ſoul whilſt it animates our body may diſcover to us ſome of its "properties; but when once it is ſeparated, we know not whither it "goes nor from whence it came. Since then PAULINUS pretends to "give us clearer notions in theſe matters, it is my opinion that we "ſhould give him the hearing, and laying aſide all paſſion and preju-"dice, follow that which ſhall appear moſt conformable to right rea-"ſon." The king approving of this advice, PAULINUS was ſent for to explain himſelf on the ſubject of religion in the preſence of the pontiff and other prieſts and courtiers then aſſembled. When the biſhop had enlarged upon the chief heads of the chriſtian faith, COISI declared aloud that he could ſee no manner of reaſon to doubt of the truth of what he ſaid; that for his own part as he was before convinced of the folly of their own worſhip, ſo now the other world was opened to

him, as it were, and he had good ground for the expectation of future happineſs. Then turning to the king, he ſaid, that it was his humble advice that the temples and altars which had been treated with reſpect and expence to no purpoſe, might immediately be ſet on fire with all the marks of defiance and contempt. The king having thus debated the matter in council, made an open renunciation of idolatry, and declared himſelf a Chriſtian. Coisi, according to the common zeal of converts, in order to give a proof of the ſincerity of his converſion, was one of the forwardeſt to attack the pagan worſhip, and putting himſelf at the head of the other prieſts, armed with a ſword and lance, and mounted on the king's charging horſe, all which was very irregular, he marched to the heathen temple, tilted with his lance againſt the idol which the king had ordered to be broke in pieces, and burnt the temple down to the ground.

The ſame day king Edwin having thus declared his converſion, was baptized at York with his two ſons by a former wife, and with Hilda his niece; all the nobility and the courtiers and a great part of the common people imitating his example. Paulinus, who till then had lain idle in this country, found his hands full of work on a ſudden by the prodigious crowds that came daily to be taught and baptized: and if it be true as ſome affirm that he baptized ten thouſand in one day in the river Swale, which is likewiſe ſaid of Austin, as we have ſeen, it is to be preſumed that he could not be very particular in his inſtructions. Theſe haſty converſions accompliſhed thus without inſtructions, upon no grounds of reaſon, upon no principle but a ſort of faſhion, or cuſtom, or enthuſiaſm, without examination, and even without underſtanding the grounds of their belief, does little honour to the religion under whoſe banner ſuch converts liſt: and upon a change of times it is no wonder that we ſee them as haſtily running back by thouſands to their old religion; as was the caſe in Kent and London, and as we ſhall preſently ſee was the caſe of theſe very people here, after the great ſucceſs of Paulinus which we are now about to recount.

A church of wood at York was haſtily run up on purpoſe for the new converts who were extremely numerous. The king ſoon after laid the foundations of a church of free-ſtone round the former, which ſtood 'till the other was built. At the ſame time that he began the cathedral he founded an epiſcopal ſee at York, and made ſuch haſte to do honor to it, that he ſent to Honorius then pope of Rome, to deſire the pall, and the title of metropolitan for Paulinus. This haſty zeal, in applying the title of metropolitan to a biſhop who had no ſuffragan whatever, was a practice which the church had never known, 'till Austin's ambition made him preſs for the archiepiſcopal dignity ſo irregularly. Nor was it now excuſable, any otherwiſe than by

by the obligation which it laid upon the king to haſten the general converſion of his ſubjects, and by founding new biſhopricks to make things anſwer the ſcheme which he ſeems to have had in view.

It is certain that EDWIN after his converſion, which in him was undoubtedly a thing of choice and principle, was very zealous for the intereſt of chriſtianity, and that he endeavoured to propagate it beyond his own dominions. By his perſuaſions, CARPUALD king of the Eaſt-Angles with many of his ſubjects became Chriſtians. But the king being killed ſoon after, his people generally returned again to their idolatry. Some parts of the kingdom of Mercia likewiſe taſted of EDWIN's zeal; for by his favour and influence PAULINUS was brought to preach the goſpel in that part of Lincolnſhire which borders upon the Trent and Humber; and amongſt others BLECCA, the governour of the city of Lincoln, with his whole houſe were converted by him. So great encouragement was given him here, that a church of free-ſtone was erected for the uſe of the Chriſtians in this city; which ſeems chiefly owing to the zeal of king EDWIN, whoſe good conduct hath taught us, what great things may be done by princes, that apply themſelves to promote the intereſts of religion. It muſt be ſaid of this king, that he had always been very proſperous, and governed his ſubjects very much to their ſatisfaction. But the great ruler of all things ſees not with the eyes of men, nor ſuffers his providence to be conducted by the meaſures of human hopes or wiſhes. Whilſt the glorious actions of this prince, led all the friends of the chriſtian faith to hope that GOD would cover his head in the day of battle, and continue long his ſucceſs for the intereſts of the goſpel, on a ſudden, for reaſons which his wiſdom alone can penetrate, it pleaſed GOD to put an end to the life of EDWIN, to his glory, and undertakings; and to ſuffer paganiſm to break in upon and overſpread his kingdom. Of thoſe who were converted ſome fell with EDWIN in the field, others relapſed, and thoſe who continued in their religion were for the moſt part cut off by PENDA king of the Mercians, and CEDWALLA a king of the Britons; who having killed EDWIN in battle and routed his whole army, over-run his dominions with their forces, ſpared neither ſex nor age, and ſhewed no more regard to the Chriſtians than the pagan Engliſh. In ſhort, the family and the church of the poor king of Northumberland, were reduced to ſuch circumſtances, that the queen and her children and PAULINUS, were forced to fly into Kent to ſave their lives. During theſe calamities, neither prieſt nor monk had the courage to endeavour the reſtoring the Northumbrians to the faith; nor in that rage of relapſe would it at all have ſignified any thing if they had. JAMES the deacon, who was aſſiſtant to PAULINUS, and whom he left at York, was not able we may be ſure alone to ſtop a revolt that was ſo general and carried all before it.

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The affairs of the church in this kingdom remained in this condition 'till Oswald aſcended the throne, who, as ſoon as he had reſtored peace and tranquility, exerted all his power to make religion flouriſh. But inſtead of recalling Paulinus, who was now made biſhop of Rocheſter, he deſired the king of Scotland, in whoſe court he had lived and been converted, to ſend him a biſhop to inſtruct the people in the chriſtian faith. The Scottiſh king ſo far complied with his deſire as to ſend a monk into Northumberland to inſtruct his people and bring them back to their religion. But his temper and addreſs being no way ſuited to the Engliſh people, he returned to his monaſtery unſucceſsful: and giving an account of his miſſion in full chapter, "that the Engliſh were an untractable ſort of people, bigotted to paganiſm, and "that it was impoſſible to do them any good;" Aidan one of his brethren, perceiving by what he ſaid that he had not uſed that condeſcenſion to the Engliſh which was neceſſary, ſpoke to him thus. "It is "my opinion, brother, that you have dealt a little too roughly with "thoſe you deſign to convert; not remembring that the chriſtian reli-"gion ought to be infuſed into the mind, not by violent, but by "mild and gentle methods." Upon theſe words the monks unanimouſly declared, that Aidan was the fitteſt perſon to be ſent to teach chriſtianity to the Engliſh; and being conſecrated biſhop, he undertook the work, and began his journey. At the ſame time that Bede gives a great character of this prelate, as a man of wonderful humility, great zeal, and probity, and goodneſs, he adds that his zeal was without knowlege, becauſe he kept Eaſter not as the church of Rome did. But as much a ſchiſmatic as he was, nothing can be added to the commendations which he has given him for holineſs of life. He not only, ſays Bede, inſtructed Chriſtians in their duty, but alſo gave them an example of a good life and fervent charity, which charmed the very heathens and brought them over to the faith. His ſucceſs was ſo great among the Northumbrians, that the king at his deſire, without any regard to the appointment of Gregory or his ſucceſſors, who had fixed the ſee of that kingdom at York, removed it to a little iſland at the mouth of the river Lindis, known afterwards by the name of Holy Iſland. Here Aidan diſcharged the functions of a wiſe and a good prelate: and inſtead of the pomp and ſhew of the Roman miſſionaries, by conſtant and diligent preaching of the word of God, accompanied with devotion and the primitive ſimplicity, brought over infinite numbers to the faith of Christ. As for Oswald, nothing could be more commendable than this prince's zeal; he not only finiſhed the building of York cathedral, but he built ſeveral churches in many parts of his kingdom; and being exceedingly deſirous of the converſion of his ſubjects, did all that lay in his power to help forward the work, even to the becoming Aidan's interpreter, who had not

not the full command of the Engliſh language, to his own court and family. If it ſhould ſeem odd to the reader, that this zealous king ſhould not recall PAULINUS who was ſtill biſhop of Rocheſter, or elſe make uſe of JAMES the deacon his coadjutor, who had been left at York; it muſt be remembred that OSWALD, having been inſtructed himſelf in Scotland, had no inclination to the Roman miſſionaries; on account of the difference between the Scots and them, about the feaſt of Eaſter and the eccleſiaſtical tonſure.

Whilſt the king laid the foundation of a new epiſcopal ſee at Holy Iſland, the ſee of York lay neglected for many years; neither this prince nor his ſucceſſors taking any notice of GREGORY's regulation, 'till reaſons and conveniencies of ſtate induced them to found a biſhopric there: and indeed thro the whole ſettlement of all the churches which they founded, it is very evident that they regulated their polity and diſcipline without any manner of regard to the biſhops or the church of Rome. Notwithſtanding the model of GREGORY, by which York was to be made the ſeat of an archbiſhop, and his conſecration was to be had from the biſhop of London; and notwithſtanding the pall which was ſent to PAULINUS to advance him to the ſtate of an archbiſhop; yet the ſee of York, we have ſeen, was removed to a little iſland, the biſhops reduced to the common ſtate of dioceſan biſhops, and ſent into Scotland to receive their conſecration.

At this time the buſineſs of religion went on apace; many other Scotch clergy came to the aſſiſtance of AIDAN, and preached with great application all over the country north of the Humber, during the reign of OSWALD: the audiences were numerous, many ſchools were erected for the inſtruction of men and children in learning and religion, and lands were granted by the king for the ſupport of monaſteries. This way of living might probably be recommended to the Engliſh by the Scotch miſſionaries, who were moſt of them monks; AIDAN himſelf being of that order, and belonging to the monaſtery of IONA. According to all the hiſtorians of that time, the practice and ſweet temper of this man was admirable. He lived up to his doctrine; and made his example in the higheſt manner ſignificant of the goodneſs of his religion: he had no attachments to ſecular intereſt, no vices of ambition, and was in a manner dead to the blandiſhments of life. Whatever preſents he received from the king, or from the people of rank and fortune, he generally diſtributed them among the poor; and whoever he met with he applied himſelf to them, if pagans to inſtruct them in the principles of chriſtianity, or if Chriſtians to confirm them in their belief, and to preſs upon them a behaviour correſponding with it. He obliged all his retinue whether clergy or laity to ſpend a great part of their time in ſtudying the holy ſcripture: and among many

other qualifications becoming his rank and character, he had a ſtrength and firmneſs of mind which would never ſuffer him to ſpare the vices of the great on account of their wealth or quality; but he would always reprove with freedom where he thought reproof was neceſſary. As he had no dependance on the people of figure, and truſted to the character he was inveſted with, and his own behaviour in it to give him weight and influence, ſo he preſented them with nothing but a hoſpitable entertainment when they came to ſee him; and whatever money he was poſſeſſed of, it went all in common charity, or for the redemption of ſlaves and captives. In ſhort, he had no other pleaſure than in offices of tenderneſs and humanity, and often, when he had nothing elſe to give, he gave tears to the diſtreſſed. It is no wonder when the chriſtian faith was taught by ſuch a prelate, ſo ſweet in his temper, ſo benevolent in his diſpoſition, and ſo upright in his practice, that he ſhould be ſo ſucceſsful as we find him in converting the Engliſh people. But for the ſame reaſon that we put to the account of this excellent prelate, a great converſion to chriſtianity in theſe early times, I am afraid that a great defection from it lamented in later times, muſt be put to the account of ſome prelates of a very different caſt. The reflexions which naturally offer themſelves in this place, may be thought invidious and improper to fall from me; let the reader therefore ſupply the reſt. The inſtructions of Aidan enforced by his great example, had an extraordinary influence upon Oswy the brother and ſucceſſor of king Oswald; and who was very eminent for his piety and ſucceſs. His dominions were much larger than any of his predeceſſors, having re-united the two kingdoms of Northumberland in himſelf; and he received ſome kind of homage or acknowledgment of ſuperiority from all the other princes, except the king of Kent, in the Engliſh nation. Notwithſtanding this advancement and acquiſition of grandeur, he was remarkable for his humility and compaſſion to the poor; and even ſent them the meat from his own table ſometimes before he had taſted any himſelf. He was the moſt knowing, as well as the moſt pious prince of his age; and after a glorious reign of about nine years he loſt his life in the field of battle. His ſtrict virtue, his prodigious humility, and his pious zeal for the advancement of chriſtianity, procured him ſo much the love and adoration of his ſubjects, that they reverenced him as a ſaint after his death.

Having brought down the hiſtory of the Northumbrians in church affairs thus far, I turn now to the Weſt-Saxons, who were at this time converted by the preaching of Birinus. He came into England with the epiſcopal character, out of his zeal for the chriſtian faith, by the advice and approbation of Honorius biſhop of Rome; to whom he promiſed to preach the goſpel in the inmoſt parts of the country where no teacher of it had been before. But happening to land in the

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territories of the king of Weſſex, and meeting with nothing but paganiſm; he thought it a folly he ſaid to go any further, to ſeek out ſick whom he ſhould cure, when in the place where he was already there were not any ſound. Here then he entered on his employment; for ought appears without applying to the metropolitan or the Roman miſſionaries, like one who had no commiſſion but what he owed to his zeal, and the integrity of his own mind, or what lay in common to every biſhop of the catholic church. But it pleaſed GOD to give him ſucceſs. About a year after he had begun to preach the goſpel to this people, OSWALD the king of Northumberland came into the weſt, to marry the daughter of KINEGIL the king of Weſſex. BIRINUS had before this addreſſed himſelf to the king, and explained the faith which he was come ſo far to preach for his ſalvation. But the royal teſtimony of OSWALD, to the truth of the doctrine which this good prelate taught, effectually ſubdued the underſtanding of KINEGIL, who was brought over to the chriſtian faith and baptized. The king being thus converted, the whole province of the Weſt-Saxons generally followed his example: for CAPGRAVE ſays, the people haſtened in great troops to hear the biſhop preach, and with their hearts embraced humbly the doctrines which he taught. The king of Weſſex was then a tributary to OSWALD, and therefore they both joined in a grant of the city of Dorcheſter near Oxford to BIRINUS; where they founded an epiſcopal ſee for him, where ſeveral churches were erected, and where he continued fourteen years to edify his new converts by his inſtructions and example 'till his death. About the ſame time died KINEGIL; and his ſon being yet unconverted was no great favourer of the Chriſtians. Beſides the king of the Mercians became maſter of his kingdom; he was in exile in Eaſt-Anglia for three years; and amidſt wars and commotions between the inhabitants and the uſurper, it is not likely that chriſtianity ſhould make any progreſs.

Leaving therefore the church of Weſſex at preſent in this condition, I proceed in the order of time to relate the affairs of the church in the kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles. It has been already mentioned, that thro the zeal and perſuaſions of king EDWIN, GARPUALD the king of this country, with ſome of his ſubjects, had embraced the chriſtian faith; but being ſoon after murdered on this account, the people had returned as uſual to their old religion. SIGIBERT the brother and ſucceſſor of CARPUALD, by a faction in the court during his father's reign, had been forced into France; where he lived for ſome time in exile. A prince of his endowments could not inhabit a country, where religion, learning, and politeneſs were ſo much cultivated, without improving his mind and enlarging his underſtanding. To be baniſhed from his country and his father's court, for no other reaſon than leſt his virtues and popularity ſhould be prejudicial to the heir apparent,

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one may eaſily gueſs, was a circumſtance that could not ſit very lightly: and the hiſtorian tells us, that in order to divert the pain of theſe reflexions, he gave himſelf up to ſtudy. His whole employment was converſation and correſpondence with men of learning, the fruits of which in ſome of his letters being then extant; and having thence convinced himſelf of the vanity and falſhood of idol worſhip, and that there could be but one eternal omnipreſent God, he ſoon admitted the light of the goſpel as a revelation worthy of him. One of his chief companions and inſtructors on this ſubject, was Felix a Burgundian biſhop, eminent for piety as well as learning, by whom he was baptized.

No ſooner had Sigibert taken poſſeſſion of his crown and kingdom, than he began to poliſh the rude illiterate manners of his ſubjects, by the politeneſs and learning which he had imbibed in France; and above all other things to introduce the chriſtian faith. Whether he ſent over for Felix, as ſome hiſtorians ſay; or whether moved by impulſe from above, this prelate came into England to offer his ſervice on this occaſion, as is affirmed by others; or whether he brought him with him, which has been likewiſe ſaid, it is not material that we ſhould determine. The firſt in my own opinion I think moſt probable; and that he was not conſecrated at Canterbury as ſome have affirmed, but had the epiſcopal character ſometime before he came out of France; for thus it is told us in his life. But let theſe things paſs. They all agree that on his firſt coming to England, he applied himſelf to Honorius then archbiſhop of Canterbury; for inſtructions, probably, how he ſhould proceed, or to receive his authority for the exerciſe of his function in the kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles. Whatever reaſon he had for going to him, the archbiſhop approved and forwarded his deſign. On his arrival at the court of Sigibert, he was received by that prince with great marks of honour, who aſſigned him the city of Dummock ſituated in Suffolk, now called Dunwich, for his epiſcopal ſee. Felix being thus eſtabliſhed biſhop of the Eaſt-Angles, and greatly countenanced and aſſiſted by the king, was ſo ſucceſsful in his endeavours to propagate the true religion, that the inhabitants came in very ſurprizing numbers to be baptized. Whilſt the biſhop was thus employed in reducing the province from paganiſm, the king, remembring the inconſtancy of his ſubjects, who had more than once relapſed to it, and knowing nothing would conduce more to their good than continual inſtructions and an education in the faith, was very diligent in erecting ſchools, after the manner of thoſe he had ſeen in France; in which the biſhop aſſiſted him, appointing teachers and maſters from thoſe which Austin had fixed in Kent. The king expected, and he was in the right, that as chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed upon doctrines ſo reaſonable and ſuch unqueſtionable matters of fact, that the more the

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people were qualified to examine its principles and evidence, the better they would like it. He therefore looked upon learning not only as an ornament to his kingdom, but as a proper expedient to recommend the goſpel; and in this he was not in the wrong.

Some of our late hiſtorians, and thoſe who have wrote the antiquities of the univerſity of Cambridge, give its original to the wiſdom and munificence of this prince, who they tell us was then the founder of this ſeminary of learning and religion. But this opinion is ill ſupported. The chriſtian faith indeed was ſpred univerſally thro the dominions of the king of the Eaſt-Angles, of which the county of Cambridge was a part; and he inſtituted ſchools for the inſtruction of youth in many places, after the model of France; that by little and little he might reform the barbariſm of his ſubjects, and introduce the politeneſs of human literature with the Latin tongue. But this will not prove that the univerſity of Cambridge muſt be underſtood by this inſtitution; and all the old hiſtorians ſay nothing of it. They all take notice of the king's encouragement of learning by ſetting up theſe ſchools; and their ſilence at the ſame time as to Cambridge is ſo unaccountable, had that great ſeminary been then founded, as makes the fact improbable in the higheſt degree. Nor do I ſee what occaſion there is to run up ſo high into antiquity, if the point was certain, in order to create an eſteem and veneration for that ſeat of learning. The eminent figure which the univerſity of Cambridge has always made in the world of letters, gives it a dignity beyond that of traditionary antiquity; and that dignity it will ſupport, tho perhaps not unenvied, as long as learning and religion ſhall continue in any eſteem. It is not therefore leſſening the veneration that is due to this univerſity to ſay, and for the ſake of truth I muſt ſay it, that it cannot be underſtood of theſe ſchools which king SIGIBERT founded, for which the maſters were furniſhed out of Kent. The ſchools erected there by AUSTIN and the other Roman miſſionaries, were intended for teaching Greek and Latin and church-muſic; and it is certain that SIGIBERT could bring no pattern from France for any other ſchools of learning. For there was no univerſity in that kingdom, as is plain from all their hiſtories, 'till that of Paris was founded by CHARLES the great; which was a hundred and fifty years after theſe ſchools were erected by king SIGIBERT. But I turn again to the hiſtory. Whilſt FELIX was employed very ſucceſsfully in the converſion of the Eaſt-Angles, he was joined and powerfully aſſiſted by one FURSEUS a monk from Ireland, who came voluntarily into this country to preach the goſpel; and he preached it with great ſucceſs. BEDE extolls him very highly; and SIGIBERT gave him ſuch a reception, as the zeal of the man and his cauſe required. He built a monaſtery in Suffolk, now called Burgh-caſtle, which was largely endowed at ſeveral times by the Eaſt-Anglian kings; and tho he came hither in ſearch of a retirement in a monaſtic

life, and erected this monaſtery by the favour of king Sigibert, yet he propagated the goſpel where he ſaw it wanted with great application: and by the bleſſing of God on his labours, joined to thoſe of biſhop Felix, the chriſtian religion was fully ſettled in the kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles.

Here then let us leave what relates farther to theſe people, to take a view of the ſtate of the chriſtian church in the country of the Eaſt-Saxons; among whom it began about this time to flouriſh. We have already ſeen in the hiſtory of the church of Kent, that ſome part of this kingdom, containing the counties of Middleſex and Eſſex, had received the chriſtian faith upon the preaching of Mellitus in the beginning of this century. But that in a few years after, on the death of Seber the king, Mellitus was driven from that ſee by the king's ſons; and the kingdom returned to paganiſm. There is no room to doubt, that this prelate, who was afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his ſucceſſors, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to recover thoſe people from their apoſtacy. Their endeavours however were ineffectual, and idolatry continued in full poſſeſſion of this kingdom about forty years after they had expelled their biſhop. It then pleaſed God to grant that ſucceſs to the Engliſh and Scotch clergy which had been denied to thoſe of Rome. The manner of it was thus. There had been a great intimacy and friendſhip between Oswy king of the Northumbrians, and Sigibert the third king of the Eaſt-Saxons; which occaſioned a conſtant correſpondence and frequent interviews between them. Oswy, that he might purſue the nobleſt ends of friendſhip, which are to inform and improve the mind, would often turn the converſation upon the errors of paganiſm, and how abſurd it was to ſuppoſe that wood and ſtone could produce a Deity, and that men ſhould make an object for themſelves to worſhip. He preſſed him frequently to enquire further into the grounds of his religion, and to get above the errors of education. He repreſented to him that the maker of the world and of mankind muſt be a ſpirit omnipotent and eternal; that the ſeat of his majeſty was in the higheſt heavens, and not in any mean contemptible figures of metal, wood, or ſtone, which were the work of man: and having thus raiſed his mind to a ſenſe of God as the creator and the governour of the world, he proceeded to ſhew the reaſonableneſs and the truth of his revelation. Nor were his arguments in vain. Sigibert, who ſaw the concern and kind affection of his friend, as well as the force and importance of his reaſoning, was convinced of the errors of paganiſm; and conſulting the retinue which he had with him at the court of Oswy, whom he found diſpoſed to embrace chriſtianity, he and they were baptized by Finan biſhop of the Northumbrians, ſucceſſor to Aidan, at a town where the king reſided. Sigibert having made a viſit to ſo good a purpoſe, and being about to return home, deſired his friend to go farther in the good work

work he had wrought, and to aſſiſt him with ſome of his clergy for the converſion of his people. To this OSWY conſented without any difficulty; and CHAD, an Engliſhman by birth, a Northumbrian prieſt, who was at this time employed in the midland counties, having given abundant evidence of his capacity for ſuch a work, was called home; and with another prieſt for his aſſiſtant, was ſent by OSWY to attend upon king SIGIBERT to his dominions. He was no ſooner arrived among his people, than CHAD and his fellow labourer began their work. They went from place to place throwout Middleſex and Eſſex, preaching the goſpel with great diligence: and having had admirable ſucceſs in three years time, in the general converſion of the Eaſt-Saxons, CHAD took a journey to Holy-iſland, to make a report to biſhop FINAN, under whoſe juriſdiction he had lived, and to take ſome directions from him. The biſhop being informed of the great progreſs of chriſtianity in theſe parts, and of CHAD's zeal and conduct, calling two other biſhops to aſſiſt him in the ſolemnity, he conſecrated CHAD a biſhop of this province; who went back to his charge and to his epiſcopal ſee of London, from which MELLITUS had been driven forty years before. Upon the enlargement of his authority he proceeded to finiſh and form the church of the Eaſt-Saxons, ordaining prieſts and deacons to aſſiſt in baptizing the people and preaching the goſpel. He built ſeveral churches, and began a monaſtery at Tilbury on the Thames.

The next account of church-affairs which offers itſelf at this time is the converſion of the kingdom of MERCIA; a very great and powerful part of England; but which had hitherto continued in idolatry, and for ought appears without any attempt of the miſſionaries to reclaim it. About this time however, a way was opened by providence for the converſion of this numerous people. We have already ſeen the name of PENDA joined to horrid acts of cruelty and devaſtation among the Northumbrians. He was thirty years king of Mercia, with a haughty turbulent ſpirit ill adapted to receive the meek and pacific precepts of the goſpel, of which he had been always a great oppoſer. But even this bloody tyrant was at laſt induced, tho not to profeſs, yet to tolerate the chriſtian religion within his kingdom. Mercileſs and inhuman as this wretch was himſelf, he was bleſſed with a ſon of an excellent diſpoſition, whom he had ſet over a part of his dominions: and this prince having a deſire to marry the daughter of OSWY the Northumbrian king, to whom his father had been a mortal enemy, was repulſed becauſe of his infidelity. OSWY, as we have ſeen, was a good chriſtian upon principles of truth and reaſon; he had educated his daughter in that religion, and he would not give her in marriage to the ſon of PENDA, how much ſoever it might be for his own intereſt, unleſs the prince renounced his paganiſm, and brought his ſubjects along with him into the chriſtian church. Whether the prince

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was apprehenſive that he ſhould meet with the ſame obſtructions to his marriage in all the other kingdoms which were at this time converted; whether his affection for the young lady would not admit of any repulſe; or whether he had in himſelf a favourable diſpoſition to the chriſtian doctrine which he muſt have heard of; it is certain that he gave ſuch attention to it whilſt he was in the court of Oswy, and was particularly ſo ſtruck with the proſpect of the reſurrection of the body and of a ſtate of immortality in the kingdom of heaven, that he declared his reſolution to become a chriſtian, tho the princeſs ſhould not become his wife. To this end, he, and his attendants, and their ſervants, were all baptized by biſhop Finan, in a village where the king reſided. The ſon of Penda being thus converted, and having ſucceeded in his marriage with Athfleda, he returned home; taking with him four prieſts out of Northumberland, men of learning and piety, who were recommended to him by his father Oswy, as proper perſons to teach and to baptize his nation. As ſoon as they arrived within his dominions, they laboured with great ſucceſs; and many of the nobility, and thoſe of low degree, came in daily to the church and renounced their paganiſm. Nor did his father Penda forbid it. In a little time therefore this whole kingdom of Mercia, as well that part of it which was under the government of the father, as that which the ſon was ſet over in his life time, which Bede calls the Middle-Angles, was brought over to the chriſtian faith.

The chief of the four prieſts, to whoſe labours the converſion of this great kingdom was wholly owing, was Chad, whom we have heard of among the Eaſt-Saxon Chriſtians; and who was employed in this country when Oswy called him out of it to attend upon king Sigibert into Eſſex. The order of time therefore may ſeem to require that the account of the Mercians ſhould have preceded the account of the Eaſt-Saxons; and ſo Bede and moſt of our hiſtorians place it. But tho a beginning was made in the converſion of the midland counties before the goſpel was preached in the reign of Sigibert, yet ſince it was not compleated till ſometime after the whole Eaſt-Saxon kingdom was become chriſtian, I choſe to lay the whole account together, rather than perplex the ſtory, as moſt of them have done, by a preciſe obſervance of the order of time. Beſides, there are ſome circumſtances not a little intricate, thro the quick revolutions that happened in this kingdom, about the time of its receiving the chriſtian faith. Penda was killed in battle by Oswy, tho there was a double marriage in their families; the year following his ſon was murdered, and Oswy poſſeſſed himſelf of that kingdom for three years, 'till Wulpher a younger ſon of Penda aſcended the throne. Theſe haſty changes and the commotions which occaſioned them, have made it difficult to fix the ſettlement of the firſt epiſcopal ſee in the kingdom of Mercia.

It is on all ſides however allowed, that the people inhabiting all the now midland counties of England were generally converted during the reign of PENDA and his ſon, and whilſt OSWY poſſeſſed that kingdom; that the converſion was carried on by the clergy from Northumberland, all of whom except DIUMA, who came from Ireland, had lived, if not been educated under AIDAN and FINAN biſhops of the Northern Engliſh, and therefore acquainted with the language and manners of the people to whom they were ſent. The advantages of this are ſo viſible, as one cannot help being ſurprized, that among the many miracles ſaid to be wrought in favour of the miſſionaries from Rome, we never hear that GOD gave to any of them a miraculous knowlege of the Engliſh language: and the want of this miracle is of itſelf enough to convince us that all which are recorded of them are fabulous and forced. The firſt general favour in a ſupernatural way which GOD vouchſafed to all the apoſtles whom he ſent out to preach the goſpel, was the knowlege of tongues; and if a defect in this ſkill was not one of the reaſons of the little ſucceſs of AUSTIN and his followers, as to be ſure it was, yet the knowlege of their language is ſo eſſential to the converſion of any people, that had it pleaſed GOD to interpoſe in any miraculous way at all, we muſt conclude that this gift of languages would have been the firſt, if not the chief, aſſiſtance he would have given. But the age of miracles was at an end, and chriſtianity was left to make its way, under the direction of heaven, in the natural courſe of things. But I reſume the thread of the ſtory. Whilſt theſe northern miſſionaries were carrying on thus ſucceſsfully the chriſtian cauſe, CHAD, as we have ſeen, was recalled by his ſovereign, and DIUMA, conſecrated by FINAN, was made biſhop of the Mercians and Middle-Angles, whom he governed proſperouſly for ſome years. The ſeat of his biſhopric was in the reign of WULPHER fixed at Litchfield, and his name has the firſt place in the ſucceſſions of the biſhops of that ſee. The king had been as ſavage in his nature, and as violent in his religion of paganiſm as his father PENDA; having put to death two of his children, whom his wife, a zealous Chriſtian, had educated in that faith, becauſe they would not renounce it at his command. But his conſcience being ſorely wounded with the guilt of ſuch an unnatural and horrid crime, he revolted from paganiſm; and he and his wife were ſo zealous in promoting the chriſtian faith, that by their perſuaſions and example they not only completed what remained to be done in the converſion of the fierce and rude nation of the Mercians, but they totally extirpated all idolatrous ſuperſtitions, and filled the kingdom with prieſts and churches.

Having ſeen how the goſpel was thus planted in all the other kingdoms, I now turn to the South-Saxons inhabiting the counties of Surry and Suſſex, the laſt of the heptarchy that was converted. That this

kingdom continued ſo long after the reſt in an idolatrous ſtate, was in a great meaſure owing to the ſubjection it was under to the king of Weſſex, who did not receive the chriſtian doctrine 'till above forty years after the arrival of Austin and his companions. That it was converted about the year ſix hundred eighty-ſix, was owing to the perſecution and diſgrace that Wilfrid biſhop of York was under, who fled hither for refuge. The inhabitants of this country had hitherto remained in a moſt deplorable ſtate of ignorance and idolatry, and tho the Weſt-Saxon nation to which it was ſubject had enjoyed the light of the goſpel above fifty years, yet it does not appear that any attempt had been ever made for the inſtruction of this people 'till about the time I ſpeak of. Even then it ſeems to be more owing to the ſpecial providence of God, than either the piety or the zeal of men; and tho Wilfrid had a ſhare in it, yet it was attended with ſuch circumſtances as give him rather the ſatisfaction than the glory of their converſion. For before he was driven to take ſhelter in this pagan kingdom, ſome Scotch Chriſtians came from Ireland, which was then their country, to ſeek out, according to the humour which then prevailed, for ſome place of retirement; and ſettling themſelves with the South-Saxons had a ſmall monaſtery which they occupied, where they cultivated a friendſhip and communication with the inhabitants round about. Add to this that king Ethelwalch, tho he had been bred a pagan, yet had married Ebba a chriſtian princeſs; and had at that time himſelf embraced the chriſtian religion and been baptized. The way being thus prepared for the converſion of the South-Saxons, no ſooner did Wilfrid appear at the court of Ethelwalch, than he was received by him with open arms, and encouraged as much as poſſible in diſcharging the offices of his function. If there was any thing to be found fault with in the conduct of that prince, and that there certainly was, it was not the want of zeal but of a ſpirit more conſiſtent with the gentleneſs of the goſpel; for he not only encouraged, but compelled ſome of his people to receive the chriſtian faith. Wilfrid however proceeded in baptizing great numbers, and in ſettling a chriſtian church among them; and by the intereſt he had in the king, a biſhopric was founded, a cathedral built and endowed, and the ſee fixed at Seoſly. Some of the old writers attribute the great ſucceſs of this prelate, to a remedy which he taught them againſt a famine that had been amongſt them three years for want of rain. Notwithſtanding the greateſt part of their country was bordered by the ſea, yet the ſkill of the inhabitants they tell us reached no further than the catching of eels, 'till they were inſtructed in the art of fiſhing by Wilfrid: and this improvement relieving them from the horrors of famine, as their ſea coaſt abounded with fiſh, it induced them to liſten with more attention to his inſtructions about their ſpiritual wants. But as Bede will let no converſion of a country paſs without a miracle, he adds to this account, that tho they had not had

had any rain for three years before, and the earth was quite burnt up, yet on the day that the inhabitants were firſt baptized by WILFRID, there was ſuch a plentiful ſupply of ſeaſonable and refreſhing ſhowers, that the fields brought forth fruits of all ſorts in great abundance: and this convinced them that WILFRID was a very extraordinary man and highly favoured by heaven. If they had ſo great an opinion of this prelate, and he was capable of doing ſo much good amongſt them, it ſeems an unpardonable piece of vanity and ambition in him, to leave this infant church his own hands had planted, without a biſhop reſiding in it, that he might accept of the invitation of CEDWAL king of the Weſt-Saxons to be his miniſter of ſtate, whilſt he ſtill retained his relation to the church he had founded.

Having ſeen, in what manner, and by what means, the chriſtian religion was taught and eſtabliſhed throwout every kingdom of the heptarchy, it will be proper now to look a little back, and to take things in the order of time in which they happened, whether in one kingdom or another. Whilſt the goſpel was ſpreading itſelf in other parts of England, and the miſſionaries in Kent made ſome faint unſucceſsful efforts towards bringing the Britons to ſubmit to the rites and the ſee of Rome, there is a total ſilence in BEDE and all the other writers of that period, as to any other attempts that were made in that country for the church of CHRIST; from the flight of PAULINUS out of the north, in ſix hundred thirty-three, 'till ſix hundred and forty. We have then an inſtance of the wiſdom and the zeal of ERCOMBERT, ſon and ſucceſſor of EADBALD king of Kent; which at the ſame time that it reflects honour and eſteem upon that prince, it calls in queſtion the zeal and underſtanding of thoſe who had gone before him. Could they be ſaid to have taken the proper meaſures for the converting this kingdom to chriſtianity, when above forty years after the coming of AUSTIN, king ERCOMBERT publiſhed an edict, requiring all his ſubjects to relinquiſh the worſhip of idols, and that all the idols ſhould be deſtroyed throwout the kingdom? The errour is viſible, and the ſource of it is not far to ſeek. If we recollect the directions which we have ſeen GREGORY give to AUSTIN, not to aboliſh the rites and uſages of the pagans, but to direct them to the honour of GOD, and to permit them, if they deſired it, to ſet up images in the places of public worſhip, we ſhall find too much ground to ſuſpect, that the firſt miſſionaries from Rome were the cauſes of this errour; in teaching abſurd notions of GOD; or permitting improper rites and forms of worſhip among their converts. Whether it was for theſe reaſons that they had not the ſucceſs they might have hoped for, and which their firſt ſetting out ſeemed to promiſe; or, whether it was that their zeal and numbers were diminiſhed, or for other reaſons which we cannot gueſs at, GOD only knows. Thus much however is certain, their labours in the cauſe of

chriſtianity were not very effectual: and whilſt it ſtood in need of the civil authority and the compulſion of a penal law in the kingdom of Kent, it was acquiring a voluntary ſubmiſſion to it in all other parts of the iſland.

But there was a great inconvenience in planting the goſpel in ſeveral parts of England, by men of different churches, and ſo of courſe of different uſages and rites. The caſe of the kingdom of Kent, which owed its chriſtianity to the miſſionaries of Rome and received the uſages of that church, was the caſe of the Weſt-Saxons converted by Birinus and Agilbert, and in a great meaſure, of the Eaſt-Angles, who had received their religion from Felix a Burgundian biſhop, aſſiſted by Furseus an Iriſh monk. But all the other parts of England ſubdued by the Saxons, containing in a manner the whole tract of ground from the friths of Edinburgh to the Thames, as they were generally brought to the chriſtian faith by the labours of the Scottiſh or Iriſh clergy, or ſuch Engliſh as had the advantage of an education under them, ſo they generally followed the uſages of the Scotch and Britiſh churches. However, this difference in rites and cuſtoms was the ground of thoſe factions and mutual heats which for a time occaſioned a great deal of wrangling and contention, and ended in a general change of the polity that was eſtabliſhed in the Saxon churches, on the firſt converſion of that people. Every prince in the heptarchy, at the firſt receiving the chriſtian faith, had ſettled ſuch an oeconomy as beſt ſuited the convenience of his own dominions; and Kent excepted, no kingdom at the firſt eſtabliſhment had more than one epiſcopal ſee, with an independant biſhop neither owning nor ſubmitting to a metropolitan. In ſhort every prince founded or removed ſees, or divided biſhopricks, with the advice and aſſiſtance of their clergy, as they were led by the intereſts of religion and the good of the church and people. This was not the caſe of thoſe kingdoms only who were converted by the Scottiſh and Iriſh clergy, but of thoſe alſo which had been inſtructed by the miſſionaries from Rome, or who agreed in the rites and uſages of that church. It was the caſe particularly of the Weſt-Saxons, tho they were firſt converted by Birinus a Romiſh biſhop; for whom by royal authority the epiſcopal ſee was firſt ſettled at Dorcheſter, without any communication with the metropolitan. Upon the death of this prelate, a French biſhop, named Agilbert, coming to the king's court and offering to preach to his ſubjects, the king, perceiving him to be a man of zeal and learning, made him an offer of the vacant biſhopric. The Frenchman accepted the offer, and ſat in the ſee of Dorcheſter ſeveral years; but at laſt the king, not underſtanding any other language than the Saxon, grew uneaſy at the foreign dialect of Agilbert; and dividing his kingdom into two biſhopricks, founded an epiſcopal ſee at Wincheſter, and made his own countryman Wina the firſt biſhop.

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There does not appear to have been any conſultation held with the primate on this partition: and to ſhew that the king knew of no metropolitan to whom it belonged to conſecrate his biſhops, he ſent WINA into France for that purpoſe. But to judge truly of this matter, it will be requiſite to conſider the ſubject and motions of that controverſy which about this time broke the peace of all the churches in England.

We have ſeen in the conference between the Britiſh biſhops and AUSTIN, that he promiſed in caſe they would ſubmit to him in obſerving the Eaſter feſtival, and in adminiſtring baptiſm after the manner of the church of Rome, that tho in many other things they acted contrary to the cuſtoms of that church, he would bear with them. What thoſe things were, and wherein he was to bear with them, the hiſtorian has not informed us. He talks in the ſame general manner of a ſynod held at Whitby in Yorkſhire in ſix hundred ſixty four; where ſeveral eccleſiaſtical affairs were the ſubject of diſpute, but mentions no other than the feaſt of Eaſter, and the eccleſiaſtical tonſure. But it appears that both the Britons and Scots had their liturgy diſtinct from that of Rome; the former uſing the liturgy of the Gallican church introduced as we have ſeen by the firſt chriſtian queen of Kent; the latter had another liturgy called the "Curſus Scotorum"; and there is no doubt but COLUMBAN, by whom the northern Picts were firſt converted, and who founded the monaſtery in the iſle of Huy, now called IONA, from whence AIDAN came, eſtabliſhed the liturgy of the Iriſh church in which he had been bred up. Now the northern and midland parts of England, having received their religion from the Scots or ſuch of them and the Engliſh as had had their education in Ireland, or in ſuch of the monaſteries as had been erected by the biſhops who had been bred there, it is probable that they all received the liturgy in uſe among the Iriſh Scots; which enlarged the ſubject of diſpute between the miſſionaries from Rome and the northern Engliſh clergy, and was one of the chief eccleſiaſtical affairs mentioned in general only by BEDE. Beſides, it ſeems very evident, that the Engliſh who had received their faith from other hands, had been ſo far from owning the authority of the church of Rome, that they had hitherto had no communion with her clergy; and therefore it is no wonder, that we ſhould ſee this controverſy again revived about this time. For about this time, the Engliſh, in general, were become Chriſtians in name and character; and if the miſſionaries could bring them over to the rites and uſages of the Roman church, they would at once mortify the Scottiſh and Engliſh clergy who had laboured in their converſion, and poſſeſs themſelves of the truth and honour which the others only had deſerved. This ſeems to have been a deſign, not a very righteous one indeed, that was laid ſome years before; but AIDAN had too much merit, and too much intereſt, for an

attempt of this kind to make any progreſs. His countryman and ſucceſſor FINAN had no more regard to the church of Rome than AIDAN, and was as tenacious of his opinion about the Eaſter feſtival; but the Roman miſſionaries had more hopes of his flexibility. They ſent therefore a prieſt of his own nation to him, educated in France, to lay before him the reaſons alledged by the church of Rome in the paſchal controverſy: but he was not a match for FINAN; who was, beſides his ſuperiority in point of learning, a man of warmth and ſpirit, who grew diſguſted with the diſpute and more confirmed in his own opinions. The diſpute indeed was carried on with great vehemence, not only by them and the clergy who liſted on each ſide under them, but as it uſually happens in religious quarrels among the moſt ignorant of the laity.

No ſooner therefore was FINAN dead in the reign of OSWY, and ſucceeded by COLEMAN a Scotch monk of leſs merit and character, than the zeal of the Romaniſts revived; and the diſpute was carried on with greater heat than ever. The whole iſland may be ſaid to be divided at that time into two ſects or parties; the Scotch clergy and all their converts on the one ſide, and the French and Italian eccleſiaſticks and their converts on the other. The church of Kent which was on the ſide of the latter, and the authority of their primate, it is eaſy to ſee, had the chief concern in this affair: and tho it ſeems at the firſt view to be a little trifling conteſt, and in fact was always ſo in itſelf, yet the conſequence was of the firſt importance to the Roman miſſionaries, and to the juriſdiction of the ſee from whence they came. For ſhould the ſtate of religion in England remain the ſame as it was then, it is evident that the churches which had been eſtabliſhed by the Scotch and the monks educated under them, as well as the Britiſh churches their old opponents, would be ſo far from ſubmitting to the archbiſhop of Canterbury as their metropolitan, or to the juriſdiction of the biſhops of Rome who inveſted him with that dignity, that they would not ſo much as join in communion with thoſe churches which had received their foundation from the Italian clergy. On the other hand, ſhould they be brought to ſubmit to the rites and cuſtoms, and to join in external communion with the church which AUSTIN and his companions had ſet up, they muſt then neceſſarily own the authority by which ſuch rites and uſages had been eſtabliſhed. In ſhort, there could be no external communion between the churches, without a ſubmiſſion on the one ſide to the other, or a mutual recognition of a due eſtabliſhment on the ſide of both. For joining in conſtant communion with a church, includes, in the very nature of it, an acknowledgment and belief that the church we ſo join with is duly eſtabliſhed: but this act becomes ſtill of greater notoriety and more valid, when one church gives up its ancient rites and cuſtoms to capacitate it for communion with another.

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Therefore the Britiſh and Scottiſh churches, and ſuch of the Engliſh as were eſtabliſhed on their model, could not poſſibly make more authentic acknowledgment of the authority of archbiſhops and biſhops fixed here from Rome, than by ſubmitting to terms of communion and uniting with them in one church. Let the terms be what they would, the act of ſubmiſſion was an acknowledgment of the authority; and conſequently ſuch an union, was at leaſt a virtual, if not an explicit, acknowledgment of the archbiſhop of Canterbury as metropolitan. Taking this reflection along with us, we ſhall be let into the real grounds and reaſons of this great and famous controverſy, the ſprings by which it was moved, and the motives which occaſioned all the zeal and paſſion with which it was conducted. But without this, it is hard to account for the vehement and uncharitable contention which this frivolous diſſention wrought in the minds of the Italian clergy; unjuſtifiable in thoſe diſputes even where the eſſence of religion is itſelf at ſtake. It is no wonder however that the hiſtorians who favour the cauſe of Rome, ſhould ſpeak of the zeal and conduct of its miſſionaries in theſe converſions to the catholic Eaſter, as they call it, and the eccleſiaſtical tonſure, in terms of ſo much pomp and importance; becauſe how little ſoever they appear at the firſt view, the conſequences they drew after them were ſo great to the holy ſee, that the miſſionaries had reaſon enough to value themſelves for theſe converſions, and that their hiſtorians judged not improperly of their importance. But the reaſons of this alteration, and how it came to paſs that the Britiſh, Scotch, and Engliſh churches, who had hitherto all along made ſuch a vigorous oppoſition to the miſſionaries from Rome, were prevailed upon to join in communion with them, is what muſt now be related.

The beginning of this alteration was among the northern Engliſh, whoſe country had been the nurſery and ſupport of thoſe eccleſiaſticks who had ſtood up the moſt of any for an independance on the ſee of Rome; and therefore we muſt look into the ſtate of that kingdom for an information on this ſubject. The reader remembers OSWY the zealous Northumbrian king, to whom all the Saxon monarchs, except the king of Kent, were tributary. He married therefore into his family; and the princeſs having been trained up according to the uſage of the church of Kent, had a chapel ſettled, and continued the public exerciſe of religion according to the rites of that church, when ſhe was queen of the Northumbrians. ALFRED, the natural ſon of OSWY, who was at this time a partner in his father's throne, had been brought over to the ſentiments of the Roman church by the king of the Weſt-Saxons, and was confirmed in them by WILFRID, who had been his preceptor; who tho born an Engliſhman, and educated at firſt among the northern Engliſh, yet having ſpent ſome time in Kent, and travelled thro France and Italy, was returned home a warm aſſertor of the

the catholic Eaſter and the eccleſiaſtical tonſure. The ſeeds of diſſenſion being thus prepared, an opportunity to mature them was not wanting. For the different parties following different cycles in finding Eaſter, as Bede obſerves, it ſometimes happened that whilſt the king was celebrating the Eaſter feſtival with joy, the queen was engaged in the humiliation and the auſterities of Lent: and as this made the difference in the two communions very apparent, and created confuſion in the court, ſo by the favour of the queen and Alfred, puſhed on by the zeal and pride of their ghoſtly fathers, this diſcord in the church in a little time created a faction in the ſtate. The party on the ſide of Rome were ſo much more zealous and active than the other, that they ſoon prevailed on Oswy to give way: and if we are to judge by the event, one can ſcarce forbear thinking, that the aſſembly which he called to conſider of this affair, was rather to cover and give reputation to his reſolutions than to determine them. The way being thus prepared for the change which not long after followed, a ſynod or conference between the contending parties, was appointed by Oswy to be held at the monaſtery of Whitby in the county of York. At the head of the northern Engliſh party were Oswy himſelf; Hilda abbeſs of the monaſtery; Coleman biſhop of the Northumbrians and ſucceſſor and countryman of Finan; and all the Scotch and Engliſh prieſts and monks who had received ordination from them. On the other ſide appeared Enfleda, Oswy's queen; Alfred his natural ſon and partner of his dominions; Wilfrid a prieſt who had been preceptor to the prince; Agilbert biſhop of the Weſt-Saxons, who was in Northumberland on a viſit to him with Agathon a prieſt in his retinue; Roman a Scotch prieſt from Kent, Enfleda's chaplain; and James the deacon, who had aſſiſted Paulinus, and was left by him at York to take care of the churches which he deſerted. The venerable biſhop Chad, of whom the reader has heard already, and who being educated by the Scottiſh biſhops was on their ſide of the queſtion, was allowed to be the interpreter to both parties.

The aſſembly being met and having taken their places, the king made a ſhort ſpeech before they entered on the debate; putting them in mind that ſince they all profeſſed to ſerve the ſame God, and to expect the ſame heavenly kingdom, they ought all to hold the ſame rule of living, and uniformly celebrate the ſame holy ſacraments. It was the buſineſs therefore of this aſſembly to enquire, which ſide had the trueſt tradition to direct them in theſe points, and to acquieſce in the evidence which ſhould be laid before them. Having ſaid this, he commanded his own biſhop Coleman to declare firſt the original of the rite he followed, and to defend it. The biſhop replied, that the manner in which he obſerved the feaſt of Eaſter, was the ſame which he had received from thoſe who had ſent him thither, and they from their fore-

fathers,

fathers, all men of great and unqueſtionable holineſs. This rite, ſays he, let every one take heed how they contemn or reprove, for it is the ſame, which, as we read in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, the bleſſed evangeliſt ST. JOHN, and all the churches which he governed, have celebrated from the beginning. When COLEMAN had enlarged upon this argument, the king then commanded AGILBERT to declare the manner of his obſervance, whence it ſprung, and upon what authority he conformed to it. But this prelate excuſed himſelf on account of his unſkillfulneſs in the Engliſh tongue, notwithſtanding there was an interpreter; and deſired his majeſty to permit WILFRID, who had been his diſciple, to ſpeak his ſenſe upon this queſtion. The king conſented to the biſhop's requeſt, and WILFRID ſpoke to this effect. The manner of celebrating Eaſter practiſed by us, we ourſelves ſaw generally practiſed at Rome, where the bleſſed apoſtles PETER, and PAUL, lived, taught, ſuffered, and were buried. The very ſame obſervance we ſaw in the reſt of Italy, and in France. Moreover we are informed, that in Africk, Aſia, Egypt, Greece, and all other parts of the world thro which the church is ſpred, how different ſoever the inhabitants are in language and manners, yet they all univerſally celebrate Eaſter at the ſame time with us. So that theſe Scots and their accomplices, the Picts and Britons inhabitants of two remote iſlands, are the only perſons which with a fooliſh obſtinacy contend againſt the whole world. It would be as tedious as it is unneceſſary, to give all the particulars of this conference in the manner which BEDE relates it. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that tho WILFRID had the more general uſage on the ſide he pleaded for, and that he ſaid all that the controverſy about Eaſter was capable of, yet his argument was grounded upon two miſtakes in matters of fact; firſt, by pretending to receive the paſchal computation from ST. PETER, and ſecondly that it was received in all the weſtern churches except Britain and Ireland; whereas it had not then prevailed in ſome of the churches of France.

As poor a controverſy as this muſt appear in theſe days to the reader, yet it is certain it had been the occaſion of a great deal of trouble in the preceding ages of the church. The reſurrection of our Saviour, as it confirmed the evidence of his being the MESSIAH, and conſequently proved the truth of the doctrines which he had delivered, ſo it had all the marks of veneration which the importance of it deſerved: it ſeems to have been received as a feſtival of the chriſtian church, from the day in which it was accompliſhed; and both the annual and the weekly commemoration of it was extended together with the pale of the church. But then as this feſtival was received by the conſent, rather than by any known command of CHRIST or his apoſtles, or any authoritative act of the church, ſo there was no preciſe time eſtabliſhed for the celebration of it. Hence the uſages of the church became

came very different. Some Chriſtians took their rule from the command of God to the Jews for the celebration of the paſſover; and obſerved their Eaſter from the fourteenth day of the firſt month inclusive, 'till the twentieth, without any regard to the day of the week on which it happened; and this was the general practice of the churches of leſſer Aſia. Theſe from hence acquired the title of Quarto-decimans; and the better to juſtify their practice pretended to follow the tradition and example of St. John. There were others, who, under the ſame pretence, obſerved their Eaſter only on the firſt day of the week; and this was the caſe of the Britiſh, and Scottiſh churches, and thoſe of their eſtabliſhment among the Engliſh. But the uſage which was at this time more generally received in the chriſtian world, was that contended for by Wilfrid, called the rule of St. Peter and St. Paul; and this was the firſt Sunday from the fourteenth day at evening 'till the one and twentieth of the moon following the vernal equinox. However, notwithſtanding all the zeal of Wilfrid and his party, to ſhelter their pretence under the authority of the apoſtles and the firſt ages of the Romiſh church, it is certain, that that church had deſerted the cycle of eighty-four years for finding Eaſter, and took a new one of nineteen long after the days of Peter. It was indeed better adjuſted to the purpoſe, but being new and unpractiſed in theſe north-weſtern parts, the Britiſh, Iriſh, and Scotch, had retained the old cycle that was in uſe at the time of their converſion. They might have retained it too in peace and charity, had the ſpirit as well as the uſages of the firſt chriſtians deſcended to that age. For Eusebius, and Socrates the hiſtorian, have both obſerved, that 'till the ſour and peeviſh zeal of Victor the firſt, biſhop of Rome, diſturbed the quiet and peace of chriſtendom, every church ſate undiſturbed in the enjoyment of its own obſervances; and when that fiery prelate interrupted it with a ſpirit which deſcendeth not from above, Irenaeus biſhop of Lyons, tho of the ſame opinion with him, reprimanded him very ſeverely, for a breach of charity on account of a thing of ſo little moment. The reader will aſk it may be, where the ſupremacy and infallibility of the ſee of Rome were, that an inferior biſhop ſhould preſume to call in queſtion the rectitude of his holineſs' meaſures, and much more to reprimand him for them. The anſwer is, that at that time they were not pretended to on the one ſide, nor acknowledged and ſubmitted to on the other. The words of Socrates the hiſtorian, which are very remarkable, ſhall conclude this digreſſion. "Neither Christ "nor his apoſtles have commanded any thing concerning the paſchal "feaſt, as Moses did the Jews; their deſign not being to determine "circumſtances about holydays, but to inſtruct Chriſtians in the pre-"cepts of piety and a good life. It is therefore my opinion, that as "certain cuſtoms have been introduced into different countries, this of "the paſchal ſolemnity was one of them, and not built upon the

" authority of the apoſtles. The Quarto-decimans tell us the keeping " the fourteenth day was inſtituted by ST. JOHN: the Romaniſts main- " tain that they had their practice from ST. PETER and ST. PAUL: " but neither of them has proved their aſſertion from authentic records; " and hence it is clear, that the Eaſter feſtival may be kept in every " country according to the cuſtom which was firſt introduced in it." I now go on with the conference.

As the aim of COLEMAN and his party was not for victory, or at leaſt, not ſo much to bring over the Romaniſts to their ancient cuſtoms, as to perſuade them that they themſelves might be permitted to obſerve them without diſturbance, they perſiſted in appealing to the authority of ST. JOHN and COLUMBA. But WILFRID, after juſtifying ST. JOHN, aſked COLEMAN with an air of triumph, whether he pretended to put COLUMBA in the balance againſt ST. PETER the prince of the apoſtles, to whom our Saviour ſaid, " Thou art PETER, and upon " this rock will I build my church." What anſwer the prelate made to this enſnaring queſtion the hiſtorians have not informed us; and the reader muſt obſerve that we know nothing of this council but what we have from the partiſans of Rome. They proceed however to tell us, that the king being ſtruck with this laſt obſervation of WILFRID's, commanded COLEMAN to inform him, whether theſe words were really ſpoken by CHRIST to PETER, and whether he could produce any proof of ſo great a power having been given to their COLUMBA. The biſhop having given the proper anſwer, and both ſides acknowledging that the words were ſpoken only to the apoſtle, and that the keys of the gates of heaven were given him by our LORD, the king, if BEDE's quotation of him is true, replied with an amazing ignorance equal to that of his queſtions; " I have no intention to contradict the porter of heaven, " but according to my knowledge and power I will beg his ordinances " in all things; for fear when I come to heaven gates, and he who " keeps the doors be diſpleaſed with me, there be none to open them " and let me in." This declaration, abſurd as it was, yet was it ſeems applauded in the flattering language of courtiers; and the majority concluded for the catholic Eaſter. But there was another point to be diſcuſſed at this famous conference, about which the parties differed as widely; the eccleſiaſtical tonſure. Had WILFRID obliged the world with the hiſtory and foundation of this important uſage, he would have gone beyond the charity of former times, which have ſaid nothing of it. ST. PAUL indeed had told us, " that if a man wear long hair it is " a ſhame to him;" alluding to the mark of effeminacy which it was thought in pagan Rome: and perhaps this conſideration, and the general precepts of the goſpel, had introduced a modeſty and decency of attire into the church, eſpecially amongſt thoſe who were to be the examples as well as the paſtors of the people. But beyond this, there

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are no footſteps, in ſcripture, or antiquity, to trace the tonſure of eccleſiaſticks. As minute as Bede has been in relating Wilfrid's harangue upon the feaſt of Eaſter, he has ſaid nothing more of this article of the controverſy, than that it was debated and decided in favour of the Romiſh manner. Even Bede himſelf, it is probable, was aſhamed of it; and indeed it muſt have been a curious thing, to ſee Wilfrid drawing out all his learning to ſupport the ſhaving of the head of an eccleſiaſtic, and the ſhaving it in a particular manner, to diſtinguiſh him from a layman, as an article of importance in the chriſtian church. To ſpeak ſeriouſly, if there was not a dark ſide in human nature, and if experience did not teach us, that the zeal of good men does not often bear a true proportion to the ſubject of it, one would wonder how an uſage of ſuch a ridiculous kind as this ſhould creep into the church at all; and much more that it ſhould ever be thought an article important enough to divide it. Who would believe if it was not certain, or who would relate it if hiſtorical truth did not oblige him, that there were men weak enough to raiſe and agitate a diſpute with great warmth and violence, whether the tonſure of St. Peter, or the tonſure of St. Paul, ſhould be obſerved by the clergy; whether the whole head of an eccleſiaſtic ſhould be ſhaved except a narrow circle in imitation of a crown of thorns, or whether only the top or crown of the head in a circular manner; when neither of theſe apoſtles had ſaid a word of either. But ſuch men there were, and the peace of the church was diſturbed about ſuch trifles.

Theſe affairs having been thus debated with great heat, and the king having declared himſelf in favour of the Romiſh uſages and rites, Coleman threw up his biſhopric in diſguſt; and the nobility and clergy of his party grew very uneaſy at a deciſion which they thought was not a juſt one. The biſhop, for his part, retired into Ireland which was his country, and by that means gave an advantage to his adverſaries which they deſired. Tuda, a man of learning and character, who had received his conſecration from the Scotch, but had deſerted their cuſtom of keeping Eaſter, ſucceeded him in his ſee; and living a few months only after, Wilfrid opponent to Coleman at the conference, tho not above thirty years of age, was by the prince's ſollicitation made biſhop of the Northumbrians in his room. Thus was the ſtorm which this diſpute had raiſed, appeaſed at length to the great ſatisfaction of the biſhop of Rome and his adherents; not doubting that their ſucceſs in this affair would contribute greatly towards eſtabliſhing the papal juriſdiction over the northern Engliſh; as in fact it did. Indeed Wilfrid did not ſo much as pretend, that the biſhop of Rome, or the archbiſhop of Canterbury by virtue of a delegation from him, had any authority over the church of the Northumbrians, or that the model of pope Gregory was of any force. On the contrary, he was no ſooner choſen biſhop, than he propoſed going into France for a conſecration;

cration; tho DEUS-DEDIT who ſucceded HONORIUS in the ſee of Canterbury, was then living. The king and his whole party conſented to this propoſal; and he was ſent over thither at the public charge, and conſecrated by AGILBERT archbiſhop of Paris. This prelate was at the conference held by OSWY, and had been biſhop of the Weſt-Saxons; but his king having divided the biſhopric without his conſent, and erected a new ſee at Wincheſter, AGILBERT quitted England in reſentment, and going over to France, which was his native country, was there made archbiſhop of Paris. In this ſituation he was when WILFRID went over to him; and tho the conſecration of the metropolitans of other provinces is the firſt and diſtinguiſhing right of the primate of a national church, and the conſecrating the biſhops of the province the common right of every metropolitan, yet we do not find that the archbiſhop complained of this contradiction to GREGORY's model, or that WILFRID was ever blamed for it. Whereas, if DEUS-DEDIT had been eſteemed as primate of all England, according to the appointment of pope GREGORY, his grace could not have overlooked the affront, nor WILFRID eſcaped uncenſured.

A way however had been opened to a communion between the Engliſh churches which followed the uſages of the Britons and Scotch, and thoſe eſtabliſhed by the miſſionaries from Rome; and a reſolution was made by the Northumbrians to ſubmit to the rites of the Roman church. This was a matter of great importance to the miſſionaries; and having ſucceded thus far, they did not doubt of carrying their point thro in a little time to their higheſt wiſhes. Indeed they met with a rub ſoon after, which retarded their progreſs for a while, and gave them ſome uneaſineſs. WILFRID ſtaid in France upon ſome pretence or other much longer than he had occaſion for; and his abſence prompted the Quartodecimans to try their intereſts again at the court of OSWY. Their remonſtrances prevailed, and CHAD, a Scot from Ireland, thought to be brother to him who was at that time biſhop of London, was elected to the ſee of Northumberland. He went at the king's appointment into Kent to be conſecrated by the archbiſhop; but before he could reach Canterbury DEUS-DEDIT died; and he therefore applied himſelf to WINA biſhop of Winceſter, who taking to his aſſiſtance two Britiſh biſhops conſecrated CHAD. In a ſhort time after, WILFRID returned to England, with many uſages of the French model along with him, and finding his biſhopric filled up remained ſome time at Canterbury, to take care of that dioceſe in ordaining prieſts and deacons during the vacancy; or rather it may be in hopes of ſucceding to it; for long before THEODORE was appointed he came into Northumberland, and not daring to remonſtrate againſt the fickleneſs of his pupil and friend prince ALFRED, retired into his monaſtery at Rippon. The taking this advantage of WILFRID's abſence, was certainly a great mortification

to him and his party; and yet it ſeems to be rather owing to the perſonal failings of the man, than to any change in the ſentiments of the king and his ſon. For if we take the character of this prelate from his conduct, and from the pomp and luxury he introduced afterwards into the church, he appears to be a man of a daring and vainglorious temper, who affected noiſe and magnificence; and it is probable that this laid him open to the practiſes of his enemies who were of a very different caſt, and were too conſiderable to be inſulted and overcome by him all at once. But however notwithſtanding this compliance with the party which had oppoſed him, both Oswy and his ſon remained ſteady in their reſolution to conform to the rites and uſages of the ſee of Rome, and to unite with that church which the miſſionaries from thence had planted here in England. This manifeſtly appeared in the choice of Chad and Tuda, who were both of thoſe principles, and by ſending Chad to Canterbury to be conſecrated by the archbiſhop: but if it was not plain enough from hence, an opportunity ſoon offered to put it out of doubt.

Not long after the aſſembly or ſynod at Whitby, Deus-dedit archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Ercombert king of Kent, both died of a plague which at that time raged very violently in many places. The king was ſucceded by his ſon Egbert, who no ſooner aſcended the throne than he conſulted Oswy his relation and the chief monarch of the heptarchy, about filling up the ſee, and making a further proviſion for the Engliſh church. Oswy having got over the prejudice of his education, by Wilfrid's flouriſh about the prerogative of St. Peter, joined readily in this deſign with the king of Kent. After ſome conſultation on the ſtate of religion over the heptarchy, they reſolved to appoint a perſon of the Engliſh nation to ſuccede to the ſee of Canterbury, whom they would ſend to Rome to be conſecrated according to the ceremonies of that church; and who might afterwards eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of the clergy, and the diſcipline of the Engliſh churches, on that model. Indeed the heats on both ſides were ſo violent and antichriſtian, that the friends and enemies of the tonſure, refuſed mutually to receive conſecration from one another: and this was not all; a diſpute agitated with ſuch malevolence kept the princes and people of the different communions at ſuch a diſtance, and created ſuch difficulties and uneaſineſs of converſation, that their common intereſt made it neceſſary to look out for a remedy to this contention. In purſuance of the reſolution entered into by the two kings, Wighard, an Engliſhman by birth, and a prieſt of the church of Kent, was by common conſent elected archbiſhop of Canterbury; and with letters from Oswy and Egbert ſent to Rome to receive his conſecration. The elected prelate was entertained there with great marks of kindneſs and reſpect; but whilſt the ceremonial was preparing for his conſecration, he died of

of a plague, which was likewiſe fatal to moſt of his retinue. This was a great diſappointment to the Engliſh princes; at the ſame time that it furniſhed VITALIAN, biſhop of Rome, with an advantagious opportunity to bring that about, which, his predeceſſors, and the miſſionaries from Rome, for above three-ſcore years had been labouring for in vain. Hitherto, the famous converſions of the Engliſh, like the modern ones of the Chineſe, had ſerved the ends of noiſe or oſtentation, but had done little towards enlarging the papal juriſdiction and the apoſtolic ſee. But having now a commiſſion from the two moſt potent of the Engliſh princes, to conſecrate their archbiſhop, who died before it could be performed, VITALIAN catches eagerly at this incident; and without ſending to England, to give the kings an opportunity of appointing, or ſo much as approving, a ſucceſſor to WIGHARD, he preſently caſts about to find one fit to be truſted with the intereſts of the ſee of Rome. At firſt he thought of ADRIAN, a Neopolitan monk; a man of much knowlege in eccleſiaſtical affairs, and well ſkilled in Greek and Latin: but the humble abbot did not aſpire to ſo high a ſtation, and deſired his holineſs would excuſe him. Being preſſed a ſecond time by the pope, after a monk whom he had recommended refuſed it likewiſe, he preſented another whoſe name was THEODORE; who, in point of age and learning, was much better qualified, he ſaid, for ſo ſublime a charge than himſelf. This monk was a native of Tarſus in Cicilia, well inſtructed in prophane and ſacred learning, ſkilled in the languages of Greece and Rome, and a man of a grave and religious converſation. The pope upon examination accepted THEODORE; on condition however that ADRIAN ſhould attend him into England, not only to aſſiſt him in preaching the chriſtian doctrine, but alſo that he ſhould be a check upon him, ſays BEDE, leſt he ſhould introduce any of the cuſtoms or opinions of the Greeks into the church of England, contrary to thoſe which had been taught and received there from Rome.

Beſides what has been already related, there were many accidents which favoured the union of the churches eſtabliſhed here in England by the Scottiſh and Romiſh clergy. The Eaſt-Saxons were at this time tributary to the Mercians, and king WULPHER, who thro his friendſhip with ALFRID was favourably inclined to his preceptor WILFRID, had by his means been brought over to the Roman uſages; and ſo readily joined in the project of the Kentiſh and Northumbrian kings to unite the Engliſh churches. The kingdoms of the Eaſt-Angles and Weſt-Saxons, had already received the ceremonies of the church of Kent, and the South-Saxons at that time were not converted. The way being thus prepared for the union when THEODORE came into England, there ſeems to be no obſtruction to it but that of his authority as metropolitan; for the authority of the ſee of Canterbury, notwithſtanding

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Gregory's model, had never yet extended beyond the kingdom of Kent. A ſmall acquaintance with mankind is enough to let us know, that the ſame men who part eaſily with ancient uſages which leave their intereſts ſafe and unimpaired, are brought with difficulty to ſubmit to changes which leſſen their intereſt and power. The whole courſe of the hiſtory makes it evident, that the Engliſh knew no authority the biſhop of Rome had to give them a metropolitan againſt their will: and indeed the independance of the ſeveral kingdoms ſeems to make the reaſons ineffectual upon which the authority of metropolitans was firſt eſtabliſhed. It is not unlikely that this was one of Wilfrid's motives, why at his advancement to the ſee of York or Holy-iſland, he choſe rather to go to France, than to Canterbury, for his conſecration: and tho our hiſtorians are ſilent as to this particular, yet one can ſcarce forbear thinking, that this was likewiſe the true reaſon why he afterwards declined appearing, as we ſhall ſee, at the firſt ſynod held by Theodore, and openly reſiſted the authority of the ſecond. But this is only conjecture.

Theodore, the greateſt man for learning and abilities that had hitherto poſſeſſed the ſee of Canterbury, wiſely conſidering how much it imported him to make a right uſe of the preſent juncture of affairs, was no ſooner arrived, than he applied himſelf to ſecure the favour and aſſiſtance of the ſeveral princes. To this purpoſe he travelled over the greateſt part of England, made a viſitation of the ſeveral churches, ſettled the catholic way of keeping Eaſter, and brought the people to a thorow conformity to the uſages of the church. The ſee of Rocheſter having been vacant a conſiderable time from the death of Damianus, he there conſecrated Putta biſhop of that ſee; a man more verſed in eccleſiaſtical affairs than exerciſed in ſecular buſineſs. This prelate, in ſhort, as Bede obſerves, was the only one that had hitherto exerciſed the archiepiſcopal functions, and was the firſt archbiſhop of Canterbury that was univerſally ſubmitted to by the Engliſh church. One of the firſt particular objects of his care in this viſitation, after the general concerns of religion and the church were regulated, ſeems to be the caſe of biſhop Wilfrid; who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the cauſe of Rome, and who after being elected biſhop of the northern Engliſh was not permitted to enjoy his biſhopric, but was then in a private character and retired to his own monaſtery of Rippon. Many circumſtances concurred to favour the hopes which Theodore had conceived of reſtoring Wilfrid to his dioceſe. Chad, who was ſettled in it in his room, and who was one of Aidan's diſciples, was an eminent inſtance of apoſtolic piety; and was almoſt always travelling for the inſtruction of the people. He was a very humble, good man, and had the true ſpirit of a chriſtian prelate; ſeriouſly conſidering the weight of the truſt which he had undertaken, and the duty,

more than the dignity of that holy office. When he was reprimanded therefore by THEODORE for uſurping the right of WILFRID, and for being conſecrated by the biſhop of Wincheſter and two Britiſh biſhops, he anſwered with an admirable and uncommon modeſty, that he always thought himſelf unworthy of the character of a biſhop, that he took it upon him not by choice but in obedience to his ſuperiors, and that if there was any defect in his title or conſecration he was very ready to part with his truſt and to retire. THEODORE, warm and overbearing as he was himſelf, was charmed with ſuch humility and ſubmiſſion; and diſſuading him from laying down his epiſcopal function, at the ſame time that he would not overlook his defect, he perfected his conſecration, after the catholic manner. The good man thus abaſed retired quietly to his monaſtery, that he might make room for WILFRID; whom the two kings of Northumberland, at the inſtance of THEODORE, had conſented to reſtore. But ſoon after this JARUMMAN biſhop of Litchfield dying, king WULPHER applied to the metropolitan to conſecrate a biſhop in his room: and THEODORE being unwilling, ſays BEDE, to conſecrate a new biſhop, or, as we will charitably ſuppoſe, being deſirous to do juſtice to the extraordinary merit of CHAD whom he had arbitrarily depoſed, recommended it to OSWY that CHAD might be appointed biſhop of that province. The king, who was convinced of the prelate's piety and the indignity that had been offered him, was eaſily prevailed upon to recommend him to the king of the Mercians: and CHAD was a ſecond time drawn out from a retired monaſtic life, which he much delighted in, to take upon him the epiſcopal character in a very large and extenſive dioceſe.

Whilſt advances were thus making apace towards the union of the Engliſh churches, and their ſubmiſſion to the power and juriſdiction of a metropolitan, the archbiſhop was not inſenſible that the impreſſions which are owing only to the arts of addreſs are ſeldom laſting, and that no ties are ſo ſtrong and binding as thoſe which are created by intereſt and advantage. He therefore publiſhed a reſolution equally ſuited to his character and deſign; and this was to inſtruct the youth in the Greek and Latin languages, in geometry, muſic, aſtronomy, arithmetic, and other uſeful parts of learning, in which he and ADRIAN his companion were at no ſmall trouble themſelves. Having ſtirred them up to the love of learning, by his inſtructions, example, and the books he brought over with him, he then ſent for maſters and ſet up ſchools with ſuch ſucceſs, that BEDE ſays there were ſome of their ſcholars in his time, ſo perfectly verſed in the learned languages as to be able to ſpeak them with the ſame fluency and correctneſs as they did their native tongue. A ſchool for teaching Greek was erected in a village which from thence was called Greeklade, and now corruptly Cricklade; the teachers of which repairing afterwards to Oxford about twenty miles

from it, are ſuppoſed by biſhop Godwin, to have laid the foundation of this famous univerſity. But this we ſhall ſee is a ſuppoſition not warranted by fact. It is not eaſy to determine whether the wiſdom or the charity of this undertaking was greateſt: but it is eaſy to ſee that the maſters brought from Rome, would not forget the uſages of that church, and that the Engliſh trained up under them would readily take the impreſſion made at ſuch a time. To eradicate therefore the prejudices of the other party, by ſetting up other ſchools, and of greater eminence than thoſe which the Scotch had inſtituted, was a ſtroke of policy worthy the genius of the archbiſhop; and the ſucceſs was anſwerable. Let us however not ſet it to the account of wiſdom only, but allow that benevolence had its ſhare in ſuch a noble and extenſive undertaking. His enemies probably would not allow it, but impute it entirely to his artifice; ſuch is the miſchief, among other things, which party ſquabbles occaſion, to the candour of the human mind.

The proper meaſures being thus purſued, and the intended union of the Engliſh churches being ready for the laſt hand to be put to it; Theodore loſt no time in carrying his deſign into execution: He ingratiated himſelf ſo much with the princes of the heptarchy, that notwithſtanding the death of his friends the king of Kent, and of Oswy king of Northumberland, whoſe ſon Alfred too was loſt to him by being depoſed, he got them to agree to a ſynod in ſix hundred ſeventy-three, at Heradford, according to Camden, a place in Hertfordſhire, probably that which is now the capital town in that county. Beſides the archbiſhop, there were Bisi biſhop of the Eaſt-Angles, Wilfrid biſhop of the Northumbrians by his delegate, Putta biſhop of Rocheſter, Leutherius biſhop of the Weſt-Saxons, and Winfrid biſhop of the Mercians. Theſe were all the biſhops that were at that time in England, for the South-Saxons were not then converted; and I have already aſſigned a probable reaſon why Wilfrid attended by a deputy. They had all of them been conſecrated by Theodore, and raiſed perhaps to the epiſcopal character by his intereſt: he had therefore the faireſt pretenſions to the chair, ſetting aſide his title of archbiſhop, and preſided accordingly in the ſynod. When they were thus met together, and every one had taken his ſeat according to his order, the archbiſhop addreſſed them in the name of Christ, beſeeching them that they might all unanimouſly adviſe, and ſincerely determine, to obſerve all the definitions and decrees which have been made by the holy orthodox fathers touching the chriſtian faith. Then recommending peace and charity and the unity of the church, he aſked them one by one in order, whether they conſented that theſe things which had been canonically decreed by the fathers ſhould be inviolably obſerved? The biſhops all ſeverally gave their conſent; and Theodore producing

cing a collection of canons from the ancient councils, in which he had marked ten that he thought neceſſary to the ſtate of the Engliſh church, ~~ſaid~~ desired that they might be obſerved with a more eſpecial care. The firſt canon, which indeed was the foundation of the union, was, that they ſhould all uniformly keep the feaſt of Eaſter on the Sunday following the fourteenth day of the firſt month of March. The ſecond directed, that no biſhop ſhould uſurp or invade the dioceſe of another, but content himſelf with governing the people committed to his charge. The third made it unlawful for any biſhop to give unneceſſary trouble to any religious houſes, or to take any thing from them by force. By the fourth, monks were not permitted to remove to other monaſteries, except by diſmiſſion of their own abbot, to remain in that obedience which they promiſed at their firſt admiſſion. The fifth required, that the clergy ſhould not remove from one dioceſe to another, nor be entertained in any other, without letters of recommendation from their own biſhop; and in caſe any one thus removing ſhould refuſe to return, both he that receives him, as well as he that is received, ſhall be liable to excommunication. The ſixth enjoined biſhops and prieſts travelling out of their own precincts, not to exerciſe any ſacerdotal office without the permiſſion of the biſhop of the dioceſe where they were. The ſeventh propoſed a ſynod to be held twice a year; but this being judged inconvenient, it was agreed by them all, that ſuch a ſynod ſhould meet once every year on the firſt of Auguſt at a place called Cloveſhoo. The eighth directed that no biſhop ſhould ambitiouſly prefer himſelf before another; but that all ſhould take place according to the order and antiquity of their conſecration. The ninth, which was debated but at that time not concluded, propoſed, that ſince the number of Chriſtians was augmented, therefore more biſhops alſo ſhould be conſecrated. The tenth regarded marriages, that none ſhould be allowed but ſuch as were according to the canons; that inceſt ſhould be ſtrictly forbidden; and that none ſhould put away his wife except in caſe of adultery, and ſhould either remain unmarried, or be reconciled to his wife. Theſe were the acts of this ſynod; and that no ſcandalous contention ſhould hereafter ariſe, nor any falſe tranſcripts of them be publiſhed, they were put into writing by a public notary and confirmed by the ſubſcription of every biſhop. This being done, the archbiſhop pronounced the following ſentence, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly. "Whoſoever therefore ſhall any ways endeavour to infringe theſe our "definitions conformable to the decrees of ancient canons, and con- "firmed by our unanimous ſubſcriptions, let ſuch a one know, that "he is ſeparated from our communion, and from the exerciſe of all "ſacerdotal offices."

BEDE is the only author to whom their poſterity is obliged for the account of this aſſembly; who tells us, that THEODORE ſummoned a council

council of the biſhops; "Theodorus cogit concilium epiſcoporum:" and thoſe who meaſure the authority of the archbiſhop, by the right which has been claimed and exerciſed by his ſucceſſors, reſolve it generally into an act of the metropolitical power. Cardinal Baronius, who turns every thing to ſerve the intereſt and pretenſions of the church of Rome, would perſuade us it was called by Theodore in a legatine character, by authority from the pope; and it is poſſible he may be believed by thoſe who judge of their ancient right, from the modern authority of the biſhops of Rome. But yet in the account which the primate himſelf gives, as it is recorded by Bede, there is not the leaſt ground for this aſſertion, which the cardinal has advanced ſo roundly: for there Theodore only ſays, ſpeaking of himſelf and the biſhops who were aſſembled, "that it was by us judged fit that we "ſhould meet together according to the manner preſcribed by the ve-"nerable canons:" and nothing is more certain, than that the calling of ſynods without the bounds of the patriarchate of Rome, was at that time an uſage quite unknown in the world: nor was it allowed of at all in England 'till above four hundred years after this. But, in ſhort, whoever conſiders impartially the ſtate of the Engliſh church at that time, will be very apt to conclude, that the convening of this council was owing to nothing but the authority of their kings, who, at Theodore's requeſt, and the better to execute their own deſign of eſtabliſhing a national church, conſented to and appointed this aſſembly of their biſhops. Nay, what is more, it is evident, that the archbiſhop owed his metropolitical authority entirely to the approbation and agreement of the kings. For the catholic church took example in this inſtance from the ſtate; and fixed the metropolitan, where the empire had firſt fixed the metropolis of the province: but that the biſhop of the chief city of a province, ſhould extend his authority beyond the bounds of the province, or carry it into a ſeparate and independant province, was a direct contradiction to the reaſon upon which this inſtitution of metropolitans was founded, and without a precedent in the uſage of the church. The abſurdity is ſtill ſtronger where kingdoms were independent, which was the caſe where Theodore interpoſed: ſo that as archbiſhop of Canterbury, he had juſt as much reaſon to claim the ſubmiſſion of the biſhops of the other kingdoms, as the king of Kent had to demand crowns of the ſeveral kings. He had all the right indeed which the biſhops of Rome could give; and ſo had the ſees of York, and London: for Gregory the great appointed, that thoſe cities ſhould be the ſeats of the future metropolitans; and Honorius confirmed his grant to the ſee of York in ſending the pall to Paulinus. Above an age indeed after the death of this prelate, his ſucceſſors remained in the ſtate of private biſhops; and for ought that appears to the contrary, the biſhops of London never pretended to any advantages from the grant of Gregory, but have quietly remained ſubject to the juriſdic-

tion of the ſee of Canterbury ever ſince. Upon the whole, whoever conſiders the ſtate of the Roman church at that time in England, particularly what is ſaid before of WILFRID, and what his caſe then will ſoon oblige me to relate, muſt ſee great reaſon to be convinced, that the union of the Engliſh churches, and the admiſſion of THEODORE into them as metropolitan ſo neceſſary to that union, were owing entirely to the favour of the princes of the heptarchy. Nor will he heſitate, I think, a moment in concluding, that this favour proceeded from convenience and reaſons of ſtate; and not from any belief which the kings had of the right of the ſee of Rome, to intermeddle in the affairs of the churches under their government, and much leſs to oblige them to ſubmit to the biſhop of another kingdom as metropolitan over all. But whatever were the reaſons upon which the union of the churches was then founded, we have in this ſynod the firſt view of a national Engliſh church under one common metropolitan; which was a change in the government, that occaſioned much greater changes, as the next book will ſhew, in the diſcipline and the worſhip of the Engliſh churches.

THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

THO no other terms of communion are mentioned in the canons of the council of Hertford, than obſerving the Eaſter feſtival after the manner it was celebrated in the Weſtern churches, yet it appears by the Penitential aſcribed to THEODORE, that the biſhops who had been conſecrated by the Scots or Britons, were not to be admitted to the offices of their function, without an impoſition of the hands of, what he calls, a catholic biſhop; that chriſm and the holy euchariſt were permitted to thoſe only who profeſſed to be reunited to the church; and that thoſe who doubted of their baptiſm, were directed to be rebaptized. Theſe are terms of communion which lie ſo open to reproachful reflexions on the truth and honour of thoſe churches, in which the greateſt part of the inhabitants had received their baptiſm, as makes it hard to ſay, whether there was more inſolence on the one ſide in impoſing, or more mortification on the other in ſubmitting to them. The ſeveral princes, for the reaſons that we have ſeen, agreed to the calling a council, and to unite the churches, that were independant, into one. But there is a total ſilence among all the hiſtorians, as to any part which the monarchs took in the deliberations of the council, or in theſe ſubſequent injunctions. HARPSFIELD alone ſays, and he ſays nothing further, that beſides the biſhops, EGFRID king of the Northumbrians was preſent at this council. They ſeem to have committed the care of every thing which concerned the church to THEODORE: and, poſſeſſed of this power, he exerted it without delay, in thus uniting the churches of the Scottiſh and Romiſh eſtabliſhments; bringing thoſe who had long refuſed it, to join in communion with the churches planted by the miſſionaries, and even to ſubmit to their impoſitions.

If

If we may form a judgment from the Penitential, which DU-PIN calls with more propriety the Ritual of archbiſhop THEODORE, the Engliſh had a multitude of ceremonies introduced now, which were burdenſome and trifling, to ſay the beſt of them, in exchange for a worſhip they had been accuſtomed to, that was in a great meaſure conformable to the plainneſs and ſimplicity of the goſpel. Among other alterations in the diſcipline of the church, auricular confeſſion was one endeavoured at by the primate; and which was before unknown to the Engliſh. The council of Trent indeed, had a little time before given confeſſion a place among the ſacraments of the church, as an inſtitution of CHRIST, and pronounced anathemaes upon every one who denied it as neceſſary to ſalvation: but it was not received into the church of England, 'till the time of THEODORE cotemporary with VITALIAN pope of Rome. This is the account which we have from EGBERT an archbiſhop of York, in the next century, and one of the greateſt men of his time. He then ſpeaks of confeſſion as introduced about fifty years before, and as a rite which by uſage was then growing up into reputation; but as not being bound upon the conſciences of men, by any authoritative act of the church of England, or by any precept of the goſpel. But in juſtice to the archbiſhop, I muſt add, that the ſame author ſays, that this uſage was limited to the faſt of the tenth month, and then deſigned to prepare the laity as well as clergy and monaſticks for the devout receiving the LORD's ſupper at Chriſtmas. So far is EGBERT from telling us of its being a ſacrament of our Saviour's inſtitution, or received as ſuch by the univerſal church, or of its being neceſſary to ſalvation; that by his account the Engliſh were 'till this time unacquainted totally with the practice of auricular confeſſion. It is from thence even paſt a doubt, that they did not receive it from the Scots, from whom they received their chriſtianity; for on the contrary it appears, that they were ſo far from teaching this doctrine to the Engliſh, that above an hundred years after this, it was a received opinion among the Scotch, that confeſſion was not to be made to a prieſt, but to GOD alone. This was therefore an uſage introduced by THEODORE; and theſe ſort of changes in diſcipline and worſhip were almoſt all the converſion which the Engliſh owed the miſſionaries from Rome. So great a ſhare however had THEODORE in theſe alterations, that if we are to judge from the ſervices he did to the Romiſh communion, as many do, rather than from what he did for the common intereſt of the chriſtian faith, he will more than rival AUSTIN in his pretenſions to the title of the apoſtle of the Engliſh church. Nor was the ſee of Canterbury leſs obliged to him than the ſee of Rome; for the authority, which time and cuſtom have made the unqueſtionable right of all his ſucceſſors in the primacy, was certainly owing to the great ſpirit and the conduct of this archbiſhop.

But

But tho the previous deſign of the ſeveral princes to unite the church, made every thing in the ſynod at Hertford thus eaſy to Theodore, yet it is probable that the Engliſh clergy liked this revolution better in the idea, than in the practiſe and execution of it; and this conſideration, added to the imperious temper of the primate, was perhaps the reaſon why his new authority was ſo often queſtioned and contradicted, and why he afterwards fell into the violent meaſures which Bede relates. The firſt who ſuffered from his diſpleaſure was Winfrid biſhop of Lichfield, conſecrated by Theodore, and preſent with him in the council; and ſaid to be now depoſed by him. There is no account in any writer of the circumſtances of that affair; and Bede ſays no more of the reaſon of it, than that it was occaſioned by ſome diſobedience to the archbiſhop's authority. The depoſing of this biſhop was before the ſecond council held at Hatfield under Theodore; and tho the primate was doubtleſs at the head of the intereſt which occaſioned it, yet from the nature of the metropolitic power, and the bounds preſcribed to it by the canons of the catholic church, as well as from the circumſtances of affairs at that time, when no other way was known of depoſing biſhops but in ſynod, one can hardly think, that Winfrid was forced from his ſtation by any act of the primate's own, but by an act of the civil power. Eddius accordingly ſays, that the cauſe of the biſhop was heard in the court of the king of Mercia, and inſtead of depoſed, that he was driven from his biſhopric. A nonconformity to the terms upon which the churches were united was probably the reaſon of the biſhop's diſgrace; and by the intereſt of thoſe who formed this union it was accompliſhed. A deſign had been on foot indeed about dividing the dioceſe of the kingdom of Mercia, by Etheldred the king, in conjunction with the primate; and this deſign had been oppoſed by Winfrid. A war had likewiſe been carried on for ſome time, between the king of the Mercians and king Egfrid; in which the biſhop had favoured the cauſe and party of the latter, as Malmsbury has informed us: and if the reader chuſes to impute his diſgrace to this faction in the ſtate rather than to any other motive, he may perhaps be in the right: the hiſtorian is ſilent as to the particular reaſon; but whatever it was, he tells us that the biſhop quitted his biſhopric very quietly, in which he was ſucceded by Sexulphus, and retiring to a monaſtery ſpent the remainder of his life in great piety and devotion.

About two years after this good man had been forced away from his ſtation, Wilfrid biſhop of York, who has already made his appearance in this hiſtory, was condemned to the ſame fate. His diſgrace too, it is not unlikely, might ſpring from a reaſon of the ſame nature; at leaſt the ſame ſort of reaſon might induce the primate to remain neuter, without attempting to prevent the exile of Wilfrid, or to procure

his reſtoration. We cannot doubt, I think, from what we have ſeen of this prelate before, that he was ſincere in his zeal for the rites and uſages of the church. But yet if we may form a judgment of his ſpirit and character, from his way of living, and the perpetual broils that he was engaged in, being no leſs than three times driven from his biſhopric, we ſhall be very apt to conclude, that he was uneaſy under the authority of the new metropolitan: and if this was not the reaſon of his baniſhment under EGFRID, yet the writer of his life informs us, that his refuſing to ſubmit to the canons of THEODORE, was one of the reaſons of his exile under ALFRED, the ſucceeding monarch of the Northumbrians. Indeed if GREGORY the great, or HONORIUS, biſhops of Rome, had any right to appoint metropolitans here in England, it muſt be owned that WILFRID and his ſee had a great deal of injuſtice done them. The reader will underſtand that I mean, in the privilege of a metropolitan; and that I dont mean as thoſe do, who ſay that he was depoſed by THEODORE. For it does not appear that the primate had any concern in the whole affair, further than in conſecrating the biſhops who ſucceeded him, continuing in the intereſt of the king, and probably approving the puniſhment after it was inflicted. BEDE, in delivering an account of the tranſactions of the year in which this affair happened, ſpeaks of it in theſe words; "This year a diſpute ariſing be-"tween king EGFRID and the moſt reverend biſhop WILFRID, that "prelate was driven from his biſhopric, and two new biſhops were "ſubſtituted in his room." In the ſame manner ſpeaks the writer of his life, who was a partaker with him in his ſufferings; in which there is nothing that looks like the act of a metropolitan. On the contrary, it is very evident that WILFRID was deprived and baniſhed by the ſole authority of the king: and indeed if we take the account even from the writer of the biſhop's ſtory, we ſhall find more reaſon to juſtify EGFRID than the prelate. His ſecular pomp and way of living, his riches and abbies, the magnificence of his houſes, and the great multitude of his followers cloathed and armed like the train of princes, theſe, we are told by that writer, drew upon him the enmity of the king and queen. They are reaſons enough to awake the jealouſy of a prince, and in ſome meaſure to excuſe his violence: for when a churchman ſo far forgets his proper character, as to endeavour to equal the pomp and ſtate of kings, it is not ſo blameable in kings if they ſhould forget it too, and treat him like another man.

BEDE indeed has not given us any occaſion of this rupture between the king and WILFRID; tho in another place, he has told us that the ground of EGFRID's diſlike of this famous prelate, was his neglecting to diſſuade the queen from a monaſtic way of life as the king had deſired; and not only neglecting this, but on her retiring into a nunnery putting the veil upon her himſelf. But what has been omitted by the

writer of his life, and which Bede has only hinted at, is explained at large in the hiſtory of Etheldreda, this Northumbrian queen; which lets us into the ſecret of the biſhop's baniſhment. I have omitted the accounts of an infinite number of people of faſhion of both ſexes, the daughters of kings eſpecially, who ſecluded themſelves from the world, and took the habit of the religious. The thread of the hiſtory however has obliged me to relate events of this kind, more than enough to inform the reader, that the great zeal of thoſe times, was chiefly ſpent in retirement, ſhutting themſelves up in monaſteries, and devoting themſelves to God and to eccleſiaſtical contemplations. Queen Etheldreda, who was poſſeſſed with the enthuſiaſm ſo much in faſhion, and who was ſtruck with the appearance of ſuch tranſcendent humility in deſerting a crown to become a nun, had avowed her inclination to quit the court and to retire. She ſet her heart at laſt it ſeems ſo much on chaſtity and retirement, and ſo ſteddily refuſed the embraces of the king her huſband, that his right, his authority, his perſuaſions, and the injury done him in expoſing him to temptations, made no impreſſions upon her. The king, who loved her extremely, and was very unwilling therefore to part with her, offered Wilfrid, who was her confeſſor and had the greateſt influence over her, a very large gratification if he would bring her off from her reſolution. But the prelate was ſo far from attempting to ſet her conſcience right, as it was his duty, that he even adviſed her to importune the king for a divorce; and without her huſband's conſent ſhe at laſt withdrew into a monaſtery, and received the veil from the hands of Wilfrid. The king, being ſtill deſirous to live with her, endeavoured to bring her back again; but in vain. His paſſion of love for the princeſs, was then turned into reſentment againſt the prelate; and he had the ſhare of it which he deſerved. For from that time, ſays the hiſtorian, "the king had not that inward "eſteem for the holy confeſſor Wilfrid which he formerly had, but "ſilently concealed his anger 'till he had a fit opportunity to ſhew it, "and then for his proceding in this affair drove him from his biſhop-"ric." Let us ſtop here to make a reflexion, on the power of prejudice, and of the faſhion of the times, on the human mind. So different are the judgments of men thro theſe cauſes, that the ſame actions which have expoſed this princeſs juſtly to our cenſure, and the biſhop as juſtly to the king's reſentment, in the opinion of thoſe who wrote their ſtory, made the one a ſaint, and the other a confeſſor. Another reflexion preſents itſelf on the conduct and fate of Wilfrid; it ſpeaks to the heart and ſhould be heard. If he could be excuſed in this inſtance, as I think he cannot, yet we muſt remember that he was the head of a party by which Coleman the late biſhop of the ſame Northumbrians was deprived; and was rewarded with the chair of that holy prelate whom he had driven out of it. This is a conduct ſo incapable of any excuſe, that if one might preſume to interpret the dark ways of

heaven, and to judge of things ſo far above our reach, one would think that the hardſhips which fell upon WILFRID, were dealt out by providence, as a juſt return for his cruel and contumelious uſage of his predeceſſor. But I turn again to the hiſtory.

The king growing very cool in his reſpect for WILFRID, which rather increaſed than depreſſed the inſolence of the prelate, as ſoon as THEODORE came again into Northumberland, EGFRID complained of him to the metropolitan; alledging that inſtead of his edifying the people, he brought a great ſcandal on religion by his pride and arrogance. The king was not alone in the accuſation; the queen whom he had married on the deſertion of ETHELDREDA joined him in it, and they complained with reaſon. Some hiſtorians have not ſcrupled to ſay, that THEODORE was bribed by the court to hear the charge. It is certain that the primate was in the king's intereſt; and gave ear ſo far to the complaint againſt the prelate, as to conſent to the dividing his biſhopric into two, and to conſecrate his ſucceſſors. But it is abſurd when we are to ſeek for the cauſe of THEODORE's conduct in this buſineſs, to fix on bribery from the court. There were other motives, more natural, and more cogent with a man of the primate's temper; who was never charged with avarice, but who had the ſpirit of governing, in a great degree. Finding this a fit juncture therefore to improve his rights as metropolitan, and to leſſen thoſe of the ſee of York, which had been dignified with the title of an archbiſhopric from Rome, he was reſolved not to let it ſlip. Accordingly, without hearing what WILFRID had to ſay, he conſented to his deprivation; and with the king's leave erected two biſhopricks in his dioceſe. BOSA was made biſhop of York; and over the other ſee which continued fixed at Holy-Iſland EATTA was made biſhop. About three years after, this laſt was again divided into two, and a new ſee erected at Hexham, over which one TRUMBERT was appointed. About the time that the dioceſe of WILFRID was firſt divided, EGFRID, having defeated WULPHERE king of the Mercians, and poſſeſſed himſelf of that part of Lincolnſhire which is ſtill known by the name of Lindſey, cauſed a biſhopric to be erected in his new conqueſt, by the name of the biſhopric of Sydnaceſter, now called Gainſborough, and put this truſt into the hands of EADHEAD. The new biſhops were all of them conſecrated at York by THEODORE, and if we may believe the writer of the life of WILFRID, without any other prelate to aſſiſt him in the conſecration. If this is true, the primate broke thro the regulations of GREGORY, as well as the canons of the council of Nice: ſo little are men governed by any principles of politicks or religion, when their intereſt or inclination are contradicted by them. The ſettlement of EADHEAD was as ſhort lived as the glories of king EGFRID's conqueſt; for EDILRED ſucceeding WULPHERE in the kingdom of Mercia, recovered the province which he had loſt,

loſt, at once forced the biſhop from his ſee, his enemy from the poſſeſſion of the country which he had conquered, and put an end to the biſhopric of Sydnaceſter, 'till he reſtored it again by his own authority in the following year, and made Edelwine his biſhop. To ſoften Eadhead's misfortune, the monaſtery of Rippon in Yorkſhire, built by Wilfrid and vacant by his exile, was given to him by Theodore; in which he continued quietly for the remainder of his life.

Whilſt theſe affairs were carrying on thus in England, Wilfrid and his followers made the beſt of their way to Rome. Agatho the firſt, at this time in the papal chair, was employed in preparing legates and inſtructions for the ſixth general council convened againſt the Monothelites; a ſpecies of hereticks whoſe opinion was ſuppoſed to deſtroy the perfection of Christ's humanity, as depriving it of will and operation. The pope, in order to be well adviſed in this affair, ſummoned a previous ſynod of his own clergy, which was aſſembled at the time when Wilfrid came. This circumſtance, together with his appeal to the ſee of Rome, has given occaſions to ſpeculations very different; and at once ſerved as an argument among ſome, to prove the right of the biſhop of Rome to convene the whole Weſtern church to his councils; and to advance his right, among others, to appeals as their ſupreme head. But yet whilſt theſe arguments are brought for the ſupport of one common cauſe, the ſuppoſitions on which they are founded mutually deſtroy each other. For that Wilfrid ſhould come to Rome by virtue of a ſummons from Agatho, as the repreſentative of the Engliſh church, which is ſuppoſed by ſome, and yet at the ſame time appeal from the authority of the church he came to repreſent as a perſon oppreſſed and injured, which is ſuppoſed by others, is juſt as probable, as that a prince ſhould at once baniſh a man from his kingdom, and honour him with the truſt and character of an embaſſador whilſt he remained in exile. Nor do the reaſonings of theſe writers claſh more with one another than they do with the truth of hiſtory. For ſo far is it from being true, that the pope ſent his ſummons to all the Weſtern biſhops to appear in his council at Rome, and much leſs that Wilfrid appeared as proctor of the Engliſh church, that the hiſtory of this council puts it beyond a doubt, that even a conſiderable part of Italy itſelf, was not at this time within the Roman patriarchate. Indeed Wilfrid was admitted into this provincial ſynod, and probably gave an account to that aſſembly of the doctrine of the churches in this iſland with relation to the affair then in debate. But to put it out of doubt that he was not there as a proxy, it appears by the pope's epiſtle to the emperor, that Theodore and the Engliſh had no legate to repreſent them in this council held at Rome. That Wilfrid, who was an open enemy to the Scots, who had never had any communion with the Britons, and was at this time under baniſhment by the Engliſh, ſhould

ſhould yet be thought to be the legate and repreſentative of them all in this council, is ſo extremely improbable and abſurd, that the popiſh writers endeavour to ſhift it off, by ſaying, that having been acquitted in the provincial ſynod he was reconciled to THEODORE, and upon that reconciliation had a proxy ſent by the primate to appear as the repreſentative of the Engliſh church. But this is impoſſible for many reaſons. It is impoſſible that WILFRID ſhould have ſuch a commiſſion at a council held in England on occaſion of the monothelite hereſy, as cardinal BARONIUS contends; becauſe according to BEDE, the council, which was that of Hatfield, was not 'till eight months after the provincial ſynod was held at Rome by AGATHO. It is likewiſe impoſſible, that WILFRID ſhould continue at Rome after this ſynod, and be reconciled to THEODORE before the council of Hatfield, becauſe the writer of WILFRID's life who accompanied him in his travels, and was probably therefore with him at Rome, has told us, that immediately after the provincial council the biſhop quitted Rome and returned to England; and that he was not reconciled to THEODORE 'till about ten years after. Beſides; the ninth canon of the council of Hatfield, by which it is agreed to encreaſe the number of biſhops, ſeems to be levelled particularly at WILFRID, and was the chief ground of the long quarrel between him and the metropolitan.

According to the beſt judgment one can form by comparing all the accounts and circumſtances of this affair, the matter of fact is briefly this. WILFRID having been driven from his biſhopric in the manner it has been related, went to Rome for an appeal; and preferred his petition to pope AGATHO, then in a provincial council. He ſet forth in his petition how unjuſtly he had been driven from his dioceſe; that he had been convicted of no crime, nor had any breach of the canons been proved againſt him; that the primate THEODORE without the concurrence of any other prelate, had divided his dioceſe, and brought in three biſhops upon him without his conſent. He referred himſelf wholly to the apoſtolical ſee, and was willing to abide by the judgment that ſhould be given with all imaginable ſubmiſſion. An application like this from a country ſo remote as England, and which had not yet acknowledged by any ſuch appeal the juriſdiction of the Romiſh church, we may be ſure was of no diſſervice to WILFRID's cauſe. The pope however received his petition favourably, and a provincial aſſembly being then met at Rome, he related his caſe to them; and WILFRID was admitted to confirm it himſelf in perſon. Beſides this, it is very probable that when he was there, he might be aſked by the pope, or ſome of the biſhops, about the doctrine of the Engliſh, Britiſh, and Scottiſh churches, with relation to the controverſy then on foot: and thoſe who tranſmitted the judgment of the council of the ſee of Rome againſt the Monothelites, in order to add to the pomp and re-

putation of that judgment, might inſert Wilfrid's name when he was gone, as a witneſs to the doctrine of thoſe churches on this point. This is nothing more than what is natural: but to ſuppoſe that Wilfrid had a proxy or deputation, a thing ſo much for his honor, and yet never mentioned by Bede or the writer of his hiſtory, and in ſuch circumſtances of diſgrace as he was in with Theodore, can never be believed without contradicting probability, and even the account which all hiſtorians give of the reaſons for his going to Rome, and of his conduct there. Let us next ſee the conſequences of this appeal from Wilfrid to the pope. We are informed by William of Malmſbury, that when this prelate came to Rome, he found Kenewald, a monk, there before him; an agent of Theodore's ſent with a heavy charge againſt Wilfrid, which was delivered in writing, and ſet forth in vehement and aggravating terms enough. But however this was, there being no body to oppoſe or contradict him in the council, as we learn from Eddius his biographer and companion, the biſhop told his ſtory ſo well, and was ſo ſubmiſſive to the papal chair, that Agatho and the ſynod fell eaſily into the opinion, that he ought to be reſtored to his biſhopric again: and if the intereſts of religion required the diviſion of his dioceſe, yet that ſuch biſhops ſhould be placed in it as might have the approbation and the good liking of Wilfrid. To give the greater weight to this judgment, and that it might carry the air of ſome authority with it, they pretended to decree, that a ſynod of Engliſh biſhops ſhould be convened, and ſuch coadjutors as Wilfrid ſhould nominate and they conſent to, ſhould be conſecrated by the archbiſhop; and the preſent intruders ſhould be removed. Moreover, that if any biſhop or preſbyter ſhould refuſe to abide by this order, or break thro any part of it, he ſhould be depoſed, and if any of the laity he ſhould be excommunicate; the king himſelf, ſays Eddius, being drawn within the cenſure. The cauſe of Wilfrid being thus diſpatched in the ſynod, in whoſe name the ſentence ran, and not in the name of the pope, he was required to make what haſte he could home to England, and to ſhew their reſolution to the king of Northumberland and the archbiſhop of Canterbury; and he obeyed accordingly.

But notwithſtanding Theodore had been educated at Rome, and owed his advancement to the favor of that ſee entirely; notwithſtanding the late revolution in the Engliſh church had prepared the princes and people for the moſt favourable ſentiments of the wiſdom and power of the biſhops of Rome; yet the primate, it ſeems, was ſo little ſenſible of any authority which they had to intermeddle in the affairs of the Engliſh church, that he took no notice of the ſentence which had paſſed in favour of Wilfrid. As for Egfrid the Northumbrian king, he was ſo little acquainted with proceedings of this kind, and ſo far from acquieſcing in the decree of the Roman ſynod, that he upbraided

the biſhop for procuring it by fraud or bribery; and was ſo much perſuaded of its being an impoſture, that he reſented the prelate's obſtinacy in declaring it authentic, and to have been procured only by the juſtice of his cauſe. To give however ſome colour to his refuſal, and to act with the precaution which became his character, he called his his nobles and clergy to examine into the ſentence. After mature deliberation, and finding the determination of the ſynod went againſt them, inſtead of obeying it and reſtoring WILFRID to his biſhopric, they adviſed the king to impriſon him. He was accordingly delivered up to an officer of known cruelty to be committed to priſon, and being firſt deſpoiled of every thing, and his attendants diſperſed, he was put under a very ſevere confinement, and no body permitted to have acceſs to him. In this miſerable condition he languiſhed almoſt a year, and would not then have had his liberty, if it had not been for the preſſing inſtances of AEBBA the king's aunt, and on condition that he would never ſet his foot in the kingdom of Northumberland. The hiſtorians are all agreed in this treatment of WILFRID at his return; and is not this of itſelf enough to prove, without any other argument, that he had no public character in this council as a legate or repreſentative from the Engliſh church? Is it not enough to prove further, that at this time the pope of Rome had no acknowleged juriſdiction in this country; and that all the complaiſance which was ſhewn to that ſee by the ſeveral princes, aroſe only, as I ſaid before, from convenience, and from reaſons of ſtate? I think it is.

Let us now look a little back to the affairs of the Engliſh church under THEODORE. We have ſeen in the ninth canon of the council of Hertford, that it was propoſed, but not concluded, that as the number of Chriſtians augmented, the number of biſhops ſhould be encreaſed. This however was concluſion enough for THEODORE; and by his own authority, under a pretence of care for the people in their ſpiritual concerns, he divided the church of the Eaſt-Angles into two dioceſes. BISI, whom he himſelf had conſecrated biſhop as the ſucceſſor of BONIFACE, being rendered incapable by his age and infirmities of exerciſing the function of a biſhop, which was not then conſiſtent with a life of eaſe and luxury, the dioceſe was divided; and ECCA and BEADWIN, the one fixed at Dunwich, and the other at North-elmham, were elected; and conſecrated by THEODORE in his room. About the ſame time SEBBI, king of the Eaſt-Saxons, grew weary of the parade and fatigue of a crown; and according to the prevailing humour of the age, threw off the purple and turned monk. No wonder therefore that he ſhould be ſpoke of by the hiſtorians, as a prince of extraordinary charity and devotion: and among ſuch a multitude of females of royal birth, who left the blandiſhments of a court for a life of retirement and meditation, it would be hard if we could not ſprinkle the

hiſtory

hiſtory now and then with royal ſaints of our own ſex, who had as much contempt for the world, and as much zeal for monkery as the ladies. His queen it ſeems was not of a ſpirit quite ſo celeſtial as her huſband, and withſtood his inclinations to retirement for ſome time: but finding ſhe could not bring him back again to the world, ſhe at laſt conſented to diſengage him; and paſſing thro the neceſſary forms of a religious, he received the habit from the biſhop of London. His change of character however had not totally changed his ſpirit: and how heavenly-minded ſoever he might fancy himſelf to be in a contempt of earthly greatneſs, yet ſomething of the prince was ſtill left unextinguiſhed even upon the bed of death. For perceiving his end approaching, he ſent for the biſhop of London; and being extremely ſollicitous leſt his agony ſhould ſink him beneath his quality, and expoſe him to ſome indecency of poſture or expreſſion, he deſired that none, except the biſhop and two of his own ſervants, might be preſent when he expired. But he died, ſays the hiſtorian, without the leaſt pain or ſtruggle.

There was a great deſolation about this time in the churches and kingdom of Kent; which gave no ſmall concern and fatigue to Theodore; and which was occaſioned by an invaſion from Edilred king of the Mercians. What the motive or provocation was to this war, from a prince, whom Malmsbury ſays, was more inclined to religion than to arms, is not ſo much as hinted at by any writer; but the effects of it were dreadful, and in a religious prince amazing and unaccountable. Hear how Bede deſcribes it. "Edilred king of the "Mercians brought a furious army into Kent, and laid the whole coun-"try waſte with a moſt intemperate rage: even without all regard to "piety or the fear of God, he plundered and demoliſhed all the "churches and monaſteries that fell in his way. The city of Rocheſter "particularly, was ſacked in this expedition, and utterly conſumed." As for Putta the biſhop, ſeeing his church thus deſpoiled, and being a man of quietneſs and ſolitude, he retired to the biſhop of Mercia; from whom receiving a private church, there ſpent the reſt of his life, without attempting the reſtoration of his biſhopric, but teaching church muſic to the people near him. The ſee of Rocheſter being thus deſtitute, Quichelm was conſecrated in his room, who quitting it ſhortly after becauſe of its extreme poverty, was ſucceeded by Gebmund whom Theodore had procured.

We muſt now turn to affairs of greater conſequence in the church which occaſioned the convening the council of Hatfield. It is with ſo much difficulty that the human underſtanding can penetrate common things, that one would think the profoundeſt modeſty ſhould be uſed in our judgment of thoſe which are in their nature incomprehenſible. But ſuch is our frailty and pride of heart, that whilſt ignorance leads us into

into errors, we will not ſuffer ourſelves to part with them; but will much rather prefer our own ways of ſpeaking of things beyond our reach, than thoſe in which they are ſpoke of by the wiſdom of the moſt high. This unhappy, this unwarrantable curioſity in human nature, has given birth to the greateſt part of the hereſies, which have been ſo fatal to the quiet and the religion of the chriſtian world. That which at this time divided the Eaſtern and Weſtern churches, was the hereſy of the Monothelites abovementioned: and which, being agitated abroad with great violence, made it neceſſary for THEODORE to take notice of. Accordingly with the conſent of the kings of Northumberland, Mercia, Kent, and the Eaſt-Angles, a ſynod of biſhops and men of learning, ſays BEDE, was called at Hatfield in September ſix hundred and eighty. When we conſider on one ſide, in how few hands, and at how low an ebb, the learning of the Weſtern churches was at that time; and on the other ſide, the abilities, the country, and the perſonal obligations of THEODORE to the ſee of Rome; we ſhall ceaſe to wonder why AGATHO ſhould invite him to come over to write againſt this hereſy. His conduct in this council ſeems to anſwer the great opinion that had been conceived of his abilities; for he had very few to aſſiſt him. The whole kingdom of Mercia, containing all the midland counties of England, had at this time but two biſhops; WILFRID was in priſon; the South-Saxons were not converted; and the Engliſh biſhops aſſembled with him could not exceed the number of nine or ten at moſt; tho it is probable there were only the biſhops of thoſe dominions whoſe princes are before recited, and were named in the preamble to the acts of the ſynod. Indeed BEDE by his manner of ſpeaking, gives ſome reaſon to think, that the biſhops were aſſiſted by ſome of the lower clergy; but he does not give us light enough to determine, who they were, or what intereſt they had in this aſſembly. Whoever they were by whom the council was conducted, conſidering the ſtate of religious learning at that time, we may ſay that it has the appearance of great wiſdom and diſcretion. The firſt thought of their deliberation, it is not improbable, might be owing to the controverſy of the age; but this aſſembly carried it a great deal further; and took this opportunity, not only to condemn the hereſy of the Monothelites, but to eſtabliſh a laſting ſtandard for the doctrine and diſcipline of the Engliſh church.

The council being met, and a ſermon preached upon the occaſion, THEODORE who preſided, gave a ſhort account of the chriſtian faith; as CHRIST himſelf delivered it to his apoſtles, ſummed up in the creed, and explained and confirmed by the fathers and general councils. The biſhops who ſat with him, having declared their unanimous belief and approbation of theſe doctrines, proceded to make a particular confeſſion of their faith with relation to thoſe doctrines which had been oppoſed by all ſorts of hereticks; declaring their agreement with the whole ca-

tholic church, in receiving the doctrine and diſcipline of the five firſt general councils. But leſt theſe decrees ſhould be thought too general, or ſubject to evaſion, they added to theſe the reception of a council held in Rome under pope Martin, called on purpoſe to put a ſtop to the hereſy of the Monothelites. Here then we have the Engliſh church, that was hitherto unſettled, brought at once to an eſtabliſhment in point of doctrine, on the common foundation of the univerſal church; the doctrine of Christ as it was explained by the five firſt general councils: and indeed this was the common method of maintaining the unity of the church, by declaring their agreement in the determination of the firſt and pureſt ages of chriſtianity. Amongſt thoſe who were preſent at and approved this council, was John precentor of St. Peter's, and abbot of St. Martin's in Rome. His name is given us indeed by Bede; but in the ſynodical epiſtle of Theodore, there is no mention made of any other than the biſhops of the iſle of Britany. But whether he was preſent at the council or not, a copy of the reſolutions were given to him to carry over at his return to Rome. He came hither in company and at the requeſt of Benedict abbot of Weremouth, long before this council, to inſtruct his monks in the art of ſinging the public ſervice, and to prick out a courſe for the choir for the whole year. Being in England at this time, the pope ordered him to enquire into the faith of the Engliſh church upon this controverſy; which might be the reaſon of his being at the council, if in truth he was there, and of his having a copy of their proceedings to ſhew the pope at his return. He ſpent the greateſt part of his time in Benedict's monaſtery; and had ſo great a reputation for ſkill in church muſic, that all the other monaſteries of the North prevailed upon him to ſet up ſchools in ſeveral places in that kingdom.

Theodore having brought the council of Hatfield to the iſſue which he intended, the decrees were drawn into writing and ſigned by the hands of all the biſhops. But thro the whole of it we hear nothing of the concerns of Wilfrid, nor of the ſentence paſſed at Rome in his favour. On the contrary, it appears probable, if his caſe was at all under conſideration by them, it was rather to confirm than mitigate the puniſhment inflicted on him by Egfrid. For if a new ſubdiviſion of his dioceſe was not agreed upon at this council, yet either this, or the following year, the northern part of it was divided into two; and a new biſhopric erected by the name of Hagulſtad now Hexham in Northumberland. It ſhould ſeem by this, as tho they intended to give a freſh edge to his mortification, by appointing the abby which he had built there to be the ſeat of the new biſhop. About this time another dioceſe was erected among the Picts whom Egbert had ſubdued; to which Trumwin was conſecrated by the archbiſhop, and in which he reſided but about four years. For the Picts rebelling againſt Egfrid whom

whom they ſlew, recovered their country and their liberty, and the biſhop among others was obliged to ſave himſelf by flight. Soon after the council of Hatfield, and probably from a deliberation entered into by that council, the kingdom of Mercia which was then but in two biſhopricks was divided into five; and to that of Lichfield were added Worceſter, Hereford, Leiceſter, and Sydnaceſter.

The chriſtian religion being now generally planted among the Engliſh, and churches eſtabliſhed, every thing remained quiet, whilſt WILFRID was employing his time, as it was related in the former book, between the South and Weſt-Saxons. But EGFRID being killed now by the Picts, and ALFRED his brother ſucceding him in that kingdom, who had been the pupil and friend of WILFRID, this event, as we may imagine, gave a new turn to that prelate's hopes. The taſte of the great ſplendour in which he once had lived was yet freſh upon his palate; and finding by the experience of ſix or ſeven years, how little the authority of the biſhops of Rome was regarded in England, he was reſolved to betake himſelf to other meaſures. During his abſence, THEODORE having taken another journey into Northumberland, aſſembled a ſynod at Twiford; wherein he got THUMBERT the new biſhop of Hexham to be depoſed, for daring to take it ill that the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhould exerciſe his juriſdiction over the churches of the North. It was certainly contrary to the regulations of GREGORY the firſt; and the pall ſent to PAULINUS, the firſt biſhop of the Northumbrians, plainly ſhewed it was not the intent of the court of Rome, that the churches of the North ſhould have any dependance on the ſee of Canterbury. But AIDAN, FINAN, and COLEMAN, not having vouchſafed to demand the pall from his holineſs, the ſee of York or Holy-Iſland had only the bare title of a biſhopric; which to theſe three Scottiſh prelates, who were men of real piety, was a matter of no concern. THEODORE therefore finding that he was the ſole archbiſhop of England, laid hold of the opportunity to extend his juriſdiction over the North. In order to this, in all appearance, it was, that he depoſed, or at leaſt acquieſced in the depoſing of WILFRID; that he divided York into three biſhopricks, on pretence it would be more convenient for the people; and that he got THUMBERT depoſed, who had openly cenſured his uſurpations. The ſame council that depoſed THUMBERT elected CUTHBERT, a monk of Holy-Iſland, in his room; and who, out of an exceſs of modeſty and lowlineſs of mind, was the only perſon that oppoſed his own election. The biſhops who judged him worthy of the epiſcopal character, ſent many letters and meſſengers to him from the ſynod; but it was not without the utmoſt difficulty that they could prevail with him to leave his ſolitude, and to take upon him the weighty care and important function of a biſhop. He was a man of great elocution; of a graceful preſence, and what is above all, he afforded

afforded an example in his own practice for others to imitate. With a truly " nolo epiſcopari" he was dragged to the biſhopric of Holy-Iſland, which biſhop Eatta quitted for him, and was tranſlated himſelf to Hexham.

The ſervice which Wilfrid had done to the cauſe of religion and the church, in the ſettlement of the chriſtian faith among the South-Saxons, had ſo far gained upon the archbiſhop, that being now grown very old, and finding he had not long to live, he wanted to be reconciled to him. Malmsbury ſays, that he was ſmitten in conſcience for the injuſtice that he had done to Wilfrid, and therefore invited him to a meeting at his houſe in London, in company with Erconwald who had ſucceded Chad in that ſee. He there addreſſed himſelf to Wilfrid in terms of great contrition; acknowledging that the thing which ſtuck the neareſt to his heart, was the hand he had lent in helping to deſpoil him of his biſhopric: and becauſe, ſays he, I am warned by my great age and infirmities to expect that my death will not be long delayed, I beſeech you graciouſly to forgive me. He then made him an offer of his archbiſhopric, as knowing none in the Engliſh nation ſo capable of ſucceding him, conſidering the eminence of his ſkill and learning in the eccleſiaſtical laws of Rome: He concluded with aſſuring him, that for the little time he had to live, he would endeavour to the utmoſt by his authority and interceſſion to reconcile him to all the princes who had perſecuted and oppoſed him. Whatever were the motives which induced the primate to ſeek this reconciliation, which Bede ſays nothing of, yet if this account is to be relied upon, which is confirmed in the life of Wilfrid, the temper of both the prelates on this occaſion was admirable; and the more ſo, as it was not natural to either. Wilfrid accepted the archbiſhop's apology with great candour and openneſs, forgiving his injuries, and aſſuring him of his future friendſhip; but to accept he ſaid of the archbiſhopric, without the order and nomination of a national council, was what he could not bring himſelf to think of. He ſhould be glad however, that Theodore would uſe his intereſt in procuring his liberty to return into Northumberland, and in reſtoring his fortune to him again. That Wilfrid was as ſincere in his refuſal of the archbiſhopric as Theodore was in offering it, when we conſider the ambitious over-ruling ſpirit of that prelate, it is ſomewhat difficult to believe. He thought it time enough it may be, to turn his eyes towards the primacy when it was vacant; he might think with cardinal De-retz, that nothing is weaker than to receive favours at the hands of thoſe who have been wanting to us; or his pride might not permit him to accept a poſt of that importance from a ſingle perſon, which he might flatter himſelf his merit would entitle him to in a national council, and which would add a luſtre to the dignity. But be this as it will; he certainly would

have been glad to ſuccede THEODORE in the primacy, and he certainly contented himſelf with being recommended by him to ſome of the princes.

The archbiſhop wrote to ALFRED in his behalf, conjuring him by his duty to GOD almighty, by the regard he owed to the orders of the apoſtolic ſee, and for the benefit of the late king EGFRID's ſoul who had baniſhed and treated him with undeſerved rigour, that he would be reconciled to WILFRID, and permit him to exerciſe his function peaceably in his dominions. He likewiſe wrote to the king's ſiſter, the abbeſs ELFLEDA, to lay aſide her diſpleaſure and to receive the biſhop into her favour and affection. The letter which he wrote to the king of Mercia upon this occaſion is ſtill extant; and as it will give the reader ſome idea of the manner of an archbiſhop's addreſſing kings in thoſe days, I will recite it.

TO the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent ETHELFRED, king of the Mercians, THEODORE by the grace of GOD archbiſhop of Canterbury, &c.

Dear Son,

" This is to inform your ſanctity that a perfect reconciliation is made " between myſelf, and the venerable biſhop WILFRID. Out of my pa- " ternal affection I do therefore exhort you, and for the love of CHRIST " require you, to continue ſtill your protection of him, who theſe " many years hath been deſpoiled of his revenues, and forced to live " among pagans, in the converſion of whom he hath ſerved our LORD " with great effect. I THEODORE in my old age do now make this " requeſt unto you; deſiring the ſame which the apoſtle's authority " recommend, touching a holy biſhop who hath ſo long a time poſ- " ſeſſed his ſoul in patience; and in imitation of CHRIST our head, " with all humility and meekneſs expects an end of ſo many injuries " that have been done him. Moreover, if I have found favour in " your eyes, let me enjoy the comfort of ſeeing your face, and let not " a journey for that purpoſe ſeem troubleſome to you, that my ſoul " may bleſs you before I die. My dear ſon, perform the requeſt I have " made you in behalf of the ſaid holy biſhop; and be aſſured that if " you obey your ghoſtly father who is upon the verge of the other " world, it will contribute much to the happineſs of your ſoul. Fare- " well; live anſwerably to your creed, and GOD almighty have you in " his protection."

WILFRID, furniſhed with theſe letters of recommendation to the princes whom he had diſpleaſed, was ſoon invited by ALFRED into his kingdom; and in a ſynod aſſembled for that purpoſe, reſtored to the revenues which had been taken from him. The biſhopric of Holy-

Iſland being then vacant, by the reſignation of Cuthbert, the favourite prelate of that age, who was weary of an epiſcopal life and ſoon after died, Bosa was tranſlated thither; and Wilfrid reſtored to York. So ſays Rapin, but he ſays it without authority. For Bosa biſhop of York, and John biſhop of Hexham, were both turned out of their biſhopricks; the whole kingdom of the northern Engliſh became once more the dioceſe of Wilfrid; and the monaſteries of Hexham and Rippon were again reſtored to him. We ſhall leave him at preſent in the quiet poſſeſſion of his former honors and emoluments, and of his former ambitious and contentious ſpirit too; and turn to a much better man who died at this time, Erconwald biſhop of London. He had been remarkable from his infancy for a grave and religious diſpoſition; and ſucceding to this ſee upon the death of Chad, became a truly primitive biſhop, living up to every part of his inſtructions. He enlarged the buildings, and augmented the revenues of his cathedral to a conſiderable degree: and ſome little time before his death, being much afflicted with the gout, he ordered himſelf to be carried in a horſe litter about his dioceſe, and preached from thence unto the people.

In the following year, after living to the age of eighty-eight, and filling the chair of the primacy two and twenty years, died Theodore archbiſhop of Canterbury. He was a man of extraordinary vivacity, good natural parts, and for the age he lived in, of great learning. He was the firſt archbiſhop of Canterbury, whoſe authority was acknowledged in England; and he deſerved to be ſo; for he was a much better man, had a more extenſive capacity, and a much greater mind than any of his predeceſſors. His application being indefatigable, he acted with infinite vigour and aſſiduity in bringing the churches to a conformity with the Roman cuſtoms, and to ſome conſiſtence and union in doctrine and diſcipline among themſelves. The honor and character of metropolitan was by his good conduct and addreſs fixed on the ſee of Canterbury; and as far as the different intereſts of the ſeveral kingdoms would admit of it, the metropolitical power was eſtabliſhed: great and unweildly dioceſes were divided, and new epiſcopal ſees erected in proper places. Next to the affairs of the church, he made it his buſineſs to revive and encourage learning, by ſetting up ſchools in many places; and in which he ſucceeded very happily. To improve the wiſe eſtabliſhments which he had begun, he applied himſelf with great zeal, towards the latter end of his life, to excite the charity and devotion of well-diſpoſed people, to build churches in towns and villages; and, if we may believe ſome hiſtorians, projected and ſet forward the ſettlement and diſtinction of pariſhes. This fact however muſt be received with ſome doubt: but certain it is, I believe, that he procured a grant from the reſpective kings of England, that the right of patronage ſhould be

be veſted in thoſe, by whoſe charity and munificence the churches were erected; and that he ſettled a miniſtry anſwerable to his inſtitutions. In exerciſing his metropolitical power in the manner he did in the north, he ſeems perfectly to have overlooked the model and decrees of GREGORY: and in paying no regard to the ſentence which WILFRID brought from the pope, and which was even paſſed in council, he appears to have forgot the authority and juriſdiction, by which he was himſelf inveſted with any power. The truth is that THEODORE, who with all his virtues, was not of a very gentle and ſubmiſſive ſpirit, being now poſſeſſed of a power which he knew the biſhops of Rome could not deprive him of, gave no attention to the directions which came from thence which thwarted his own views, or which had a tendency to infringe upon or leſſen his juriſdiction. As far as the doctrine and the diſcipline of the Roman church were concerned, ſo far the archbiſhop was intent upon a compliance; but if the Roman ſee attempted to traverſe his deſigns and the execution of his power, his attachment to Rome was at an end. This only makes good an obſervation that muſt have occurred to thoſe who know the world, that few men are governed always by principle, but by humour, paſſion, cuſtom, intereſt, and a thouſand other reaſons with which principle has nothing to do. THEODORE was zealous for the ſee of Rome, and as he himſelf thought from principle; with this additional motive thrown into the ſcale, that his own authority was derived from it. But if the Roman ſee was for clipping the wings of his ambition, the principle was deſerted and his paſſion gratified; tho at the expence of this plain fact which muſt ſtare him in the face, that if the ſee of Rome had not a power to intermeddle in the affairs of the Engliſh churches, THEODORE the archbiſhop had no buſineſs here. But let us alter the poſition a little, and view him in another point of light. His ſpirit of governing, as we have ſeen, was ſtrong and uncontroulable, nor did he brook oppoſition with any forbearance: and yet in making offers of reconciliation with WILFRID whom he thought he had uſed too roughly, endeavouring all the reparation that was in his power, and even ſtriving to advance the man who had been ſo much his enemy, to the higheſt poſt in the church, becauſe he thought him the fitteſt for it, here his principle got the better of his natural temper. It will be obſerved perhaps that this was juſt at the cloſe of life, when he found he had not long to exerciſe any power. The obſervation is juſt; and I will not take upon me to ſay, that the ſenſe of his approaching death did not awaken his principle and call it forth. He was however upon the whole, an excellent archbiſhop, to whom the chriſtian religion in this country owed more advancement than to all his predeceſſors; of whom it may be ſaid, that he had many virtues without any vice, if we except the ungentleneſs of his temper, that he had therefore a

great deal of good in him with but little ill, and that his death was no inconſiderable loſs to the church and to religion.

We muſt now look back again upon Wilfrid. Such was the ſpirit of this prelate, and ſo ſowered he was with his former ſufferings, that he was no ſooner ſettled in his ſee than he began to be very uneaſy, and to meet with oppoſition from every quarter. Some of his old enemies were ſtill at court, who made it their buſineſs to miſrepreſent him; and his violent overbearing manner of annulling all that had been done by Theodore during his diſgrace, made his pupil and ſovereign Alfred grow cool in his regard for him. This declenſion of the king's favour, being perceived by the prelate as well as the courtiers, the haughty ſpirit of the former was the more enflamed; and he could not forbear ſhewing his ſenſe of it in a very inſolent manner, which gave a freſh handle to the latter to make the breach ſtill wider. At length, the king being no longer able to bear with his imperious temper, and provoked at his diſobedience to the canons and orders of the archbiſhop, drove him away from the ſee of York, and obliged him to quit his dominions. However notwithſtanding this ill treatment at home, Wilfrid, who flew for refuge into Mercia, was well received by king Ethelred; and Sexwulphus the biſhop dying about this time, who had the care of Lichfield and Leiceſter, thoſe biſhopricks were again divided; Hedda was made biſhop of Lichfield, and the ſee of Leiceſter was conferred on Wilfrid. And thus the reſtleſs and unmanageable ſpirit of this prelate diſpoſſeſſed him a ſecond time of his wealth and honours: he was reduced to ſeek for ſhelter to a prince who had been his enemy; and one would have thought that ſuch repeated mortifications would have abated at leaſt, if not have cured, his haughty turbulent diſpoſition: but as ſome things are made ſtronger by reſiſtance, ſo it ſeems as tho the oppoſition which Wilfrid every where encountered with, made him ſtill more boiſterous and unruly. For he had not been many months in his new biſhopric, before he obliged the king of Mercia to quarrel with him, and to drive him out of it.

At this time Cedwalla king of the Weſt-Saxons, who in his youthful days of paganiſm, had unbounded ambition and a ſavage fierceneſs in his temper, having made a great figure in his military exploits in many provinces of the heptarchy, particularly in ſubduing the iſle of Wight, after reigning only about two years in that kingdom, diveſted himſelf of his crown; and aſſuming the habit of a pilgrim, in the place of the royal purple, went to Rome to viſit the ſepulchres of the apoſtles, and for a more perfect knowlege in the chriſtian myſteries; where in a few days he died. But before he quitted his government, having no children, he took care to ſettle it, with the advice and conſent of his

his nobility, upon INA, a young man of great martial endowments, prudence, and piety; and of the blood royal. At this time the church began to incorporate with the ſtate; the laws of princes took religion under their care and protection; and made proviſion for the ſupport and honour of the clergy, and for the reverence due to churches and holy things. The weak and enthuſiaſtic CEDWALLA had no ſooner abdicated, and the ſucceſſor mounted the throne, than an aſſembly of nobles, biſhops, and other inferior perſons, ſecular and eccleſiaſtical, was called by him; to ſettle the kingdom, and to extirpate ſome evil cuſtoms that had crept in among the people. In this aſſembly were thoſe famous laws enacted which were called king INA's laws, and continued in force for many ages; even to the coming and conqueſt of the Normans. They were in all ſeventy-five, and are ſtill extant in SPELLMAN; but I ſhall lay no more before the reader than ſuch as concern the affairs of the church, which will ſhew us the care they took of the perſons and ſupport of the clergy, and of the general intereſts of religion and the church; and are therefore pertinent to my deſign. In the firſt place, ſays the king, we command that GOD's miniſters ſhall be careful to obſerve the canonical order of living; and our will is, that thoſe laws and ordinances ſhould be well obſerved by the people. Let each infant be baptized within thirty days after he is born: if this be not done, let the perſon in fault be fined thirty ſhillings; but if it happens that the infant dies before he is baptized, let the faulty perſons forfeit their whole eſtate. If a ſlave ſhall do any ſervile work on the LORD's day by his maſter's command, let him be free, and his maſter fined in thirty ſhillings; but if the ſervant without command of his maſter do any ſuch work, let him be whipped, or redeem that penalty with money: if a freeman work on that day not commanded by his maſter, let him either be made a ſlave or pay ſixty ſhillings; and if a prieſt offend in this kind, let his penalty be doubled. Let the tithes or tribute of ſeeds due to the church be paid on the ſolemnity of ST. MARTIN: and whoſoever ſhall not then pay them, let him be fined in forty ſhillings, and moreover pay the ſaid tithes or dues twelve fold. If any one guilty of a capital offence ſhall fly to the church, let him enjoy his life, and make compenſation according to juſtice and law: and if any one who has committed a fault puniſhable only with ſtripes, ſhall implore the privilege and favour of the church, let thoſe ſtripes be remitted. If any one ſhall bring a falſe teſtimony or pledge before a biſhop, let his penalty be one hundred and twenty ſhillings. There remain only three laws more to be taken notice of, and by the firſt of them it appears, that according to the piety and underſtanding of that age, a biſhop and a king were in ſome ſort eſteemed equal. Let the law itſelf explain what I mean. An hundred and twenty ſhillings ſhall be the penalty of one breaking the peace, in a town of the king, or biſhop; and fourſcore ſhillings in the town of a ſenator. Let every

one pay the firſt fruits of his ſeed out of that houſe in which he abode at the ſolemnity of our Lord's nativity. The laſt law, and the longeſt of them all, is this: If any one ſhall kill the godfather or the godſon of any one, let him pay to the kindred of the perſon ſlain, as much as is due to a lord for compenſation of the ſlaughter of his ſervant; and let this payment be encreaſed or diminiſhed according to the rate of the ſlain perſon's eſtimation; in like manner as the payment to a lord for his ſervant ſlain is to be rated: but if the perſon ſlain was the king's godſon, let ſatisfaction be made to him according to that made to the kindred of the ſlain; and if ſuch a man's life was taken away by one of his kindred, let ſome abatement be made of the money to be paid to the godfather, accordingly as it is done when money is to be paid to the lord for the ſlaughter of his ſervant; and if he who is ſlain be the ſon, meaning the godſon, of a biſhop, let the amercement be diminiſhed by one half. I ſhall make no other obſervation on theſe laws of Ina, than that killing and murder and much leſs theft among the ancient Engliſh were never puniſhed with death, but with a fine of money; ſo tender they were of blood: whereas in our days the life of man is become of ſo little eſtimation, that the loſs of it is made a legal ſatisfaction for the mereſt trifle in the world; even, for pilfering any thing above a ſhilling value. As much light and knowlege as we have to boaſt of ſuperior to thoſe ages, I am afraid that this is a cuſtom neither warranted from ſcripture nor from reaſon; in which therefore we fall ſhort of the goodneſs and wiſdom of our Saxon anceſtors. Tho theſe laws were peculiar to Ina's kingdom, yet it is evident from Bede, that the like care was taken by the other princes of the heptarchy. Indeed this care of the affairs of religion does not appear ſo early in the other kingdoms as in this; but yet by the eccleſiaſtical laws agreed on by the king of Kent, with the advice of his nobility and clergy in the councils of Beconsfield and Berkhamſtead in the latter end of this century, and by thoſe afterwards publiſhed by Alfred, Ethelstan, and other Engliſh kings, it is plain that the other kingdoms were not wanting in the care of religion. For chriſtianity was now received generally in this iſland, and become the national religion of the Engliſh people: and tho theſe other laws appear much later than thoſe of Ina, yet it is reaſonable to think, that they were the work of time, and not the production of ſingle councils or of particular men. In ſhort, it is very manifeſt, that the clergy had every where in the ſeveral kingdoms, at leaſt a juſt portion of the public care; and as their perſons were exempted from thoſe ſervices in the ſtate which all other men were obliged to, ſo their eſtates were likewiſe privileged from many of thoſe charges which other lands were ſubject to.

The ſee of Canterbury vacant by the death of Theodore, from ſome accidents or other, probably from the factions and civil wars which diſturbed

diſturbed and divided the kingdom of Kent, was above two years without a biſhop; when BRIGHTWALD, an abbot and an Engliſhman, was choſen much againſt his own inclination, to ſuccede him. He was a man, ſays BEDE, well verſed in holy ſcripture, and well acquainted with eccleſiaſtical and monaſterial diſcipline, but much inferior to his predeceſſor. An office of this great and important nature, tho it will never I think be coveted, by a man who has not ambition, avarice, and a love of power and grandeur in him, yet on the other hand will never carry any uneaſineſs or affrightment with it, where it is underſtood and accepted of as it ſhould be. Indeed it is a great advantage and a great comfort to a man who comes into ſuch a ſtation, to have the difficulties of it cleared and ſettled by the wiſdom and addreſs of his predeceſſor; and this was the caſe of BRIGHTWALD. Upon his election, we are told, that he took a journey to Rome, but that he was not conſecrated 'till his return into France; which, ſtrange as it appears, the hiſtorians have not accounted for. They have told us however that SERGIUS, who filled the papal chair, wrote to three of the kings, and to all the biſhops of England; to the former, recommending the new archbiſhop for their favour and protection, and to the latter, acknowleging with how much gladneſs he had entertained him, and the tidings alſo which he brought him of their orthodox unity. He ſignified to them farther, that according to the ancient privilege of the church of Canterbury, from the days of his holy predeceſſor GREGORY to the preſent time, he had inveſted him with the primacy of all the churches in England, and with the ſacred uſe of the pall. Whereupon he commanded them to yield all due honour and obedience to him as their ſupreme head and primate. The firſt care of BRIGHTWALD, when he was in poſſeſſion of his new dignity, was to ſupply the vacant ſees with worthy prelates; and among many other ordained by him, he conſecrated in the room of GEBMUND biſhop of Rocheſter then dead, TOBIAS; a man ſkillful in the Greek and Latin and Saxon tongues, and adorned with great variety of literature.

The latter end of this century was chiefly employed like the beginning of it, in the controverſy about Eaſter. For tho the Engliſh churches had all received the new cycle, yet the Scots of Ireland, the Picts, and Britons, adhered ſtill to their old calculation: and therefore towards the latter end of this century, the controverſy was again revived, and the zeal and pens of the Engliſh clergy were employed upon this ſubject. Indeed about this time, the king of the Picts who dwelt in the borders of the northern parts of England, diſpatched his agents to CELFRID abbot of Weremouth; to deſire him to draw up a ſcheme of the Roman manner of keeping Eaſter, and to inſtruct them in the eccleſiaſtical tonſure. The abbot complyed with his requeſt, and wrote him a letter upon the controverſy; the letter was red before the king in a full audi-

ence, and gave ſo much ſatisfaction, that he declared theſe uſages ſhould for the future be obſerved throwout his dominions. About the ſame time, Adamnanus, the abbot of Iona, being ſent by his countrymen upon ſome buſineſs to the court of Alfred king of Northumberland, was there made a convert to the catholic Eaſter; and returning home endeavoured to convince his monks of their former error, but failed in the attempt. Upon this diſappointment he paſſed over into Ireland, and gaining the greateſt part of that country to the catholic cuſtom, he again returned to his monaſtery to make another effort; but this was as unſucceſsful as the other. The Britons who inhabited Wales, from all the traces of hiſtory that I have met with, had little or no communication with the Engliſh, from the coming of Austin to this time: and the inhabitants of Cornwall, tho they had long been tributaries to the Weſt-Saxons, yet ſo ſteddily adhered to the antient rites of the Britiſh church, that except the caſe of their two biſhops who joined in the conſecration of Chad with the biſhop of Wincheſter, as it has been related, I dont remember a ſingle inſtance of any one act of communion between the Britiſh and Engliſh mentioned by any writer: and when it ſhall be conſidered that Chad was an Iriſh Scot, educated under the clergy from Ireland, ordained by Aidan biſhop of the Northumbrians, and that there had been a conſtant communion between the Britons and Iriſh, this act of communion may be eaſily enough accounted for, without ſuppoſing any better underſtanding between them and the Engliſh.

But however that matter was, it appears that about the latter end of this century, Adhelmus abbot of Malmſbury, by a ſynod of the Weſt-Saxon church, was appointed to write againſt them. The abbot obeyed the order, and managed the controverſy with ſo much addreſs, that many of the Corniſh Britons were brought over by him to the catholic Eaſter. His ſervices to the church on this occaſion were thought ſo well of, that when the kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons was ſoon after divided, Adhelmus was made the firſt biſhop of Sherborn; and the counties of Dorſet, Wilts, Somerſet, Devonſhire, and Cornwall, being laid into that dioceſe, the Britons inhabiting the latter county were put under his care. In this poſture for the moſt part the affairs of the church continued to the concluſion of this century; and therefore I might fairly cloſe it here. But becauſe it may be of uſe to preſent the reader with a clear and open view of the principal objects, without an intermixture of ſtory which may have broken or obſcured it, I ſhall finiſh the ſeventh century with ſome reflexions on the ſtate of the church at that time, and on the particular opinions and uſages which the age produced. It muſt be owned that the Engliſh nation have great obligations to the memory of thoſe good and able men, who laid out their time and the eaſe and comfort of their lives in bringing it to the know-

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ledge and practice of chriſtianity. On the other hand it cannot be denied, that the doctrine of this age was mixed up with a great alloy, wanting many degrees of its primitive purity and perfection; of which, the opinions of celibacy, and monaſtic inſtitutions, are a ſtrong and amazing inſtance. Monaſteries at this time were the only nurſeries of diſcipline, and the chief ſchools of learning; and therefore when a biſhopric was erected in this age, a monaſtery was uſually founded near the ſeat of it; as well for the habitation and ſupport of the biſhop, as of thoſe who were to attend religious offices in the cathedral, or to preach the goſpel in the neighbouring countries. Theſe bodies, properly ſpeaking, were colleges of prieſts; who in after-ages were diſtinguiſhed by the name of ſecular canons, and were under no vow of perpetual celibacy. Nor was this the caſe of thoſe only who were ſettled in cathedral monaſteries, but thoſe alſo known by the name of monks and nuns were allowed to marry when they ſaw fit: and this liberty had been ſo eſtabliſhed by the uſage of the Engliſh, that when THEODORE thought fit to forbid nuns and monks to marry, as he did in his Penitential, he ſubjoins this modeſt clauſe; "nevertheleſs we "would not deſtroy what is the uſage in the country." As for the rule of BENEDICT, it was not known in England 'till towards the latter end of this century; when it was brought over by WILFRID biſhop of York, and was not generally received 'till ſome ages after his death. But yet in the hiſtories of this time, theſe ſocieties, as well ſuch of them as were only bodies of ſecular canons, as the others properly ſo called, paſs under the general name of monaſteries; which frequently miſleads the reader to judge of theſe foundations by thoſe of later ages. From theſe ſocieties the biſhops for the moſt part were choſen; hither they retired as occaſion or inclination led them, either for ſtudy or for devotion; and from hence were drawn in general the lower orders of the clergy. It is therefore no wonder if they were poſſeſſed with a great eſteem for the places of their education, and that they ſhould magnify the perfections of the collegiate ſtate and way of living. The wonder is, that they ſhould magnify it ſo much, and that other men ſhould credit them ſo far, as to be perſuaded their ſalvation could be ſafe no where elſe. In ſuch extravagant terms did ſome of the monaſticks of this age ſpeak of their inſtitutions, that in the collection of canons aſcribed to archbiſhop THEODORE, the ceremony of putting on the habit of a monk is called the ſecond baptiſm; and the operation and effect of that holy rite in waſhing away ſin is aſcribed to it: an aſſertion, ſo diſhonourable to the inſtitution of our Saviour, as falls nothing ſhort of prophanation.

Had all mankind been created as ADAM was, without generation or ſucceſſion, and thus ſet free from the obligation to parents, government, and ſociety; or had the Supreme Being by direct appointment

given a beginning to ſuch inſtitutions, there might have been ſome plea for this enthuſiaſm: But to eſtabliſh the perfection of our preſent exiſtence and our future hopes, in inſtitutions which ſo manifeſtly croſs the ends and dictates of nature, and yet have no foundation in the revealed will of God, is amazing, abſurd, and almoſt blaſphemous. For to believe it, we muſt believe, that God has implanted in our nature a principle or inclination which deſtroys the perfection of it; or in other words, that the ſpecies is not to be preſerved or propagated but by its failings and imperfections; and therefore that our failings are neceſſary to our being, and our perfection is founded on a reaſon that muſt deſtroy it. And yet, ſhocking and abſurd as theſe notions ſeem, whilſt reaſon and the rule of action which God has given us are conſidered, let us carry our ſearches a little further, and look into the common ſprings and motives of human conduct, and the wonder will much abate. Perhaps there never was an opinion better calculated to flatter the infirmities of human nature; and the man who framed it, whoever he was, was one who knew very well what he was then about. For what weakneſſes of nature, what ills of life, what follies of conduct, I had almoſt ſaid, what vices are there, which cannot be gratified, which cannot be tolerated, which cannot be excuſed, which cannot be ſheltered, in ſuch inſtitutions as theſe under the pretences of religion? Whatever were the reaſons which gave them birth, it is evident that this age had peculiar opinions of the monaſtic life; and the effects of them were as contrary, as the opinions were new and ſurprizing. The enthuſiaſm was for a time ſo ſtrong, and the imagination was ſo dazzled with the luſtre of this eaſy way to perfection, that married women renounced the beds and affections of their huſbands; virgins contradicted the deſign of nature; parents abandoned their children, and children forſook their parents; princes laid aſide their crowns and purple; and ſo particularly were the Engliſh of royal extraction charmed with this new kind of piety, that we have examples in this and the following century only, of more kings and queens and princes and their daughters who gave themſelves up to a monaſtic life, than are to be equalled, I believe, in the largeſt compaſs of the hiſtories of other nations. But as one extreme will ſometimes produce its oppoſite, ſo this effect produced another of a contrary nature: for it gave ſuch reputation to retirement, that at laſt, the miniſters of ſtate, and the nobility, began to beg the monaſteries as the reward of their ſervices, or as the favours of the crown; and people of all ſorts, married and unmarried, ran into them and carried their vices along with them. Thus the reputation of theſe foundations was in a manner ſunk almoſt as ſoon as it was raiſed: and things were carried to ſuch a length before the middle of the next century, that one of the councils takes notice, not only of ſecular perſons and virgins living together in the ſame houſe, but gives poſterity a view of the extravagancies the Engliſh monaſteries were

were run into, by requiring that thoſe places ſhould not be the retreats of poets, of muſicians, and buffoons. Even before this BEDE complains, that theſe places were grown ſo vicious, that ſuch of the nobility who deſired to have their children well educated were obliged to ſend them abroad; and that thoſe who were brought up here were under no vows of chaſtity, but gave themſelves up to every lewdneſs, and debauched the nuns themſelves: that the ſame men were at once abbots and captains, many of them married men, ſometimes employed in the converſation of their wives and the education of their children, and at other times in the care of their religious houſes: and as they thus employed their monaſteries whilſt they lived, ſo they diſpoſed of them as their property and inheritance when they died, bequeathing the ſame monaſtery ſometimes between a ſon and daughter.

The controverſy about Eaſter and the eccleſiaſtical tonſure employed a great part of this century in England, as that about the Monothelites did abroad. Relicks had their ſhare too in the eſteem of the people, as well as the uſe of images, or rather pictures in the churches; the worſhip of which was then unknown: and the age upon the whole was not ſo bad as ſome writers have repreſented it. The ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures was yet thought a duty in all who were capable of it, and a critical knowlege in theſe writings eſteemed the beſt qualification for the higheſt ſtations in the church. The doctrines of tranſubſtantiation, and the worſhip of ſaints were not ſo much as thought of at that time; nor was that of purgatory wrought any further than the out-lines: but the ſuperſtition of the age, and the credit that began to be given to dreams and viſions which were now pretended to, were preparing a way for it apace. The converſion which ſome part of the Engliſh owed to the zeal of the ſee of Rome in the beginning of this century, and the rites and uſages which all the reſt had received from them towards the latter end of it, had raiſed a high opinion of the Roman church and biſhops among the people: and this naturally led them not only to go to Rome by way of devotion, but in all queſtions of religion and diſputes about rites and diſcipline to apply there for advice and information. The figure which their holineſſes made too, at this time in the world, contributed to this veneration; and it became on that account more reaſonable to pay a deference and regard to the judgment of theſe prelates: but more than this was never pretended to on the one ſide, nor ſo much as thought of on the other. This explains the reaſon to us why WILFRID went to Rome to repreſent his caſe; and likewiſe why he complained in the beginning of the next century, that the Engliſh church had for above twenty years together deſpiſed the judgment which thoſe prelates had pronounced in favour of him. That the deference which I have mentioned was the only deference which was meant or intended by the church of England at that time, is plain from

from the council of Hatfield which receives the canons of the five firſt general councils. In theſe canons it is declared, that all controverſies ſhall be determined finally in the provinces wherein they ariſe; and that the authority of metropolitans in their ſynods ſhould be deciſive and unappealable. The copies of theſe councils were probably brought from Rome by Theodore; at leaſt this is certain, that the ſettlement of a diſcipline ſo contrary to all the late pretenſions and claims of the holy ſee, was chiefly, if not entirely owing to that prelate, who had himſelf been made archbiſhop by the nomination of the pope. It cannot be denied indeed, that in long tracts of time, when the public laws, articles, decrees, and doctrines, have been greatly multiplied, they may ſometimes claſh one with another: but yet it is impoſſible to think, that a national church ſhould be brought to believe, that the biſhops of Rome had an authority over them, and a right to appeals, at the very ſame time that they eſtabliſhed a body of canons which directly contradict and diſallow it. Theſe reflexions will throw ſome light upon the doctrine and diſcipline of the Engliſh church in this century, and enable the reader to perceive the errors which it had imbibed: and yet amidſt the odd opinions, the unſcriptural rites and ceremonies, the ignorance, credulity, and ſuperſtition, which were preparing the way for ſtill greater and more pernicious errors, if we would judge candidly, if we would judge truly of this age, we muſt allow that the doctrine of Christ and his apoſtles, explained by the firſt five general councils, was then the received ſtandard of the faith and diſcipline of the church of England. At what time, and by what gradations, a change was made in both of them, will be conſidered hereafter in its proper place.

The venerable Bede, as he is called by all writers, and to whom the world is greatly indebted for his hiſtory of the church in the laſt century, was at this time about eight or nine and twenty years of age, and had ſpent his whole life between the abbies of Weremouth and Jarrow in the biſhopric of Durham. But the books he had wrote had raiſed his reputation ſo much in the Weſtern nations, that pope Sergius wrote an epiſtle to one of the abbots under whom Bede had ſtudied, to deſire that he might be permitted to come to Rome to aſſiſt his holineſs in the controverſy then on foot. It does not appear by the epiſtle what the diſpute was; however it not only proved the great learning of our hiſtorian, but alſo his modeſty, humility, and the ſenſe he had of the authority of the biſhops of Rome. For it is certain that he declined this great mark of honour, and never made a viſit, on this, or any other occaſion, to the papal ſee, tho he lived above thirty years after; which was ſo negligent a return for this ſignal diſtinction of him above all the reſt of the Engliſh monks, and indeed above all the other men of learning in the eaſtern or weſtern churches, as does not ſeem to comport well with the modern notions of papal power.

But

But we muſt now return to the caſe of WILFRID, who by his unhappy temper had incurred the diſpleaſure of the kings of Mercia and Northumberland; and who now took an occaſion to fall out with BIRTHWALD the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and by that means forfeited his protection which he ſtood in need of. It is hard to determine how this controverſy, which had given ſo much trouble, was laid aſleep for ſo many years; and yet it is harder to point out the ſprings which ſet it again at this time in motion. WILFRID had been baniſhed from his ſee of York almoſt eleven years; and whether it was that ſome ill offices had been done him, or whether his own indiſcretion had again provoked the anger of ALFRED king of the Northern Engliſh, the hiſtory does not inform us. Certain it is that a council was called by the archbiſhop, and ſome writers ſay, at the requeſt of the two kings the enemies of biſhop WILFRID, to examine into his life and actions; a council however was called of all the Engliſh biſhops at Oſterfield; where he was ſummoned to appear as a delinquent, and to anſwer for the crimes laid to his charge. He refuſed at firſt to appear in this ſynod, being apprehenſive of ill uſage; but a ſafe conduct having been ſent him, he preſented himſelf before them. The deſign of this council, it is thought by the hiſtorians of that time, was to perſuade him if they could to reſign his biſhopric; and if they could not prevail upon him by fair means, to oblige him to retire to a monaſtery, and to forbear all the offices of his function. Whatever was the deſign, as ſoon as WILFRID appeared they opened a charge againſt him, conſiſting of many articles of a high nature; which EDDIUS, his biographer, ſays they could not prove againſt him. Having wearied him with theſe to no purpoſe, they preſſed him to obey the decrees of the late archbiſhop THEODORE, which he had hitherto oppoſed with ſo much zeal. To this the prelate replied, that he would obey all ſuch decrees of the archbiſhop as were agreeable to the canons; and then inveighed with great ſpirit and freedom againſt the men who had diſregarded the decrees of three popes for above twenty years, and now inſiſted on theſe of THEODORE, which had been made in a time of trouble and diſſention. The king being much enraged at this arraignment of their conduct, inſtead of a vindication of his own, he broke out into great violence; and propoſed a general ſentence of deprivation of whatever he held, either in the kingdom of Mercia, or Northumberland. This ſentence, tho agreed to by the archbiſhop, was thought rather too rigorous by ſome of WILFRID's enemies; and therefore the other biſhops deſired the ſeverity of it might be ſoftened, which was at laſt agreed to in the following terms: that if he would quit his pretenſions to his biſhopric and lay down his epiſcopal character, and give a ſecurity for the performance of theſe terms under his hand, promiſing withal not to ſtir out of the precincts of the monaſtery without the king's leave, he ſhould retain his abbey of

Rippon. One cannot wonder, that terms ſo mortifying as theſe to a man of Wilfrid's temper, ſhould fire him with indignation and the moſt ſharp reſentment. He proteſted againſt the proceedings with a charge of their ingratitude for the eminent ſervices he had done the church; in converting the northern Engliſh to the catholic Eaſter and eccleſiaſtical tonſure; in introducing the Roman ritual of chanting divine ſervice; and in engaging the monks to conform to the rules and orders of Benedict. In ſhort he omitted nothing that he thought would juſtify himſelf or reproach his enemies; concluding, that if they ventured to proceed in this manner againſt him, he would appeal to the pope for a redreſs, whom alone he acknowledged to be his judge, and to have the power of condemning or acquitting him. Whatever the prelate might expect from this ſpirit and firmneſs, it did his cauſe no good. The king it is plain had a deſign to humble him; and when he found by this anſwer that he was as haughty as ever, and even inſolently revolted againſt their authority, it was not Alfred's fault that his troops were not let looſe upon him, and that the biſhop was not torn to pieces by his guards. Wilfrid's brethren however were not ſo violent; perhaps for fear of bringing in a precedent, of deſtroying a prelate by military force when he would not ſubmit to the king; not knowing but their own turn might come next: They inſiſted however on the ſafe conduct which had been ſent him; and tho they left his perſon at liberty, to go to Rome if he pleaſed with his appeal, they unanimouſly agreed to depoſe him. But this was not enough for Alfred, and the archbiſhop; the ſynod therefore went further; and to give a greater force to their decree, they excommunicated Wilfrid and all his adherents: nay in their rage againſt him they declared, that if any abbot or prieſt of his party ſhould bleſs the meat of any chriſtian people, it ſhould be eſteemed as meat offered to idols, and thrown out of doors; and the holy veſſels they made uſe of ſhould be looked upon as defiled, and not uſed again 'till they had been made clean. It is impoſſible to read the reſolution of this ſynod of chriſtian biſhops without feeling ſome indignation; nor are we able to determine, whether their zeal, their malice, or their ignorance, was greateſt. But be this as it will: On the breaking up of the council, Wilfrid made all the haſte he could to the court of Mercia, to know whether Ethelred would continue him in the privileges and revenues formerly granted him; and which this ſynod had deprived him of, as well in this kingdom, as in that of Northumberland. The king of Mercia having ſtill a kindneſs for the prelate, promiſed to give him no trouble nor to revoke any grants made to the advantage of religion, 'till he could be informed of the judgment of the biſhop of Rome in the matter under diſpute. Wilfrid, old as he then was, and not in the leaſt humbled by his diſgrace and excommunication, haſted away to Rome; and here preſenting himſelf in an abject manner before the pope, ſet forth

forth the hardſhip of his caſe, appealing to the juſtice of his holineſs, and reſigning himſelf with all ſubmiſſion to his determination: aſſuring him that he came not thro envy to accuſe any body, but to vindicate himſelf before his council, if any perſon ſhould come thither to accuſe him. It happened that the provincial council of the ſee of Rome was then convened, about the canons of the ſixth general council; and ſoon after WILFRID's application to JOHN the ſixth, then in the papal chair, the legates of BRIGHTWALD, the Engliſh primate, arrived at Rome to vindicate his proceedings. In the petition which WILFRID preſented to the pope, he ſet forth, that a controverſy ariſing in the churches of England, in which he had been deprived of his ſees and monaſteries, he had on that account applied himſelf to his holineſs's predeceſſors, who had judged him innocent; and he hoped that the judgment which they had given would be confirmed on this occaſion. He particularly deſired, that his monaſteries and lands in the dominions of king ETHELRED, might not, contrary to the inclinations of that prince and the appointment of the preceding popes, be taken from him. He further prayed that his holineſs would make uſe of his intereſt and admonitions, to perſuade the king of Northumberland to obſerve what AGATHO and his council had determined in his favour; at leaſt that he might be permitted to enjoy his two monaſteries of Ripon and Hexham. This is the ſum of WILFRID's petition; and it has ſo little of the air and form of an appeal, as would make it looked upon rather as an affront than a formal appeal to a ſuperior court. For the very application to the pope to intercede for him, is ſo open a contradiction to a canonical right veſted in that ſee to receive appeals as a ſuperior court, that if there was no other argument, this alone is enough to prove, that the Engliſh church was then a ſtranger to the late doctrine of appeals which has made ſo much noiſe in Europe.

The pope ſitting in council, WILFRID on his own part, and the legates of the archbiſhop on the part of ALFRED and the Engliſh biſhops, were admitted to lay the caſe before him. The firſt, and indeed the only accuſation of any moment which the legates brought, was that WILFRID had refuſed to ſubmit to the authority of an Engliſh ſynod and the orders of his metropolitan. Now had there been a ſuperior court to which the law permitted him to remove his cauſe by an appeal, could any thing be more ridiculous or more trifling, than to charge it upon him as a crime of contumacy and diſobedience, that he did not ſubmit to the determination of this ſynod at home? Yes, there is one thing indeed would be more ridiculous than this, which is, to bring this charge of contumacy of his own court before that very court itſelf where the right of appeals was lodged; if they had known of any ſuch right, or ſo much as of any pretence of that kind. But what was the conduct

conduct of John and his council? They heard the accuſation, and the defence of Wilfrid; who ſaid that he did not refuſe obedience to the archbiſhop, but in caſes where his orders were inconſiſtent with the canons and decrees of Rome; and upon this defence they pronounced him innocent, and received him to their communion. Whatever this may be called when he ſtood excommunicated by the Engliſh, it amounted to no more than what the canons had allowed to every biſhop, when a prieſt or a layman were excommunicated, and to every metropolitan in the caſe of biſhops. This practice was never thought therefore any act of ſuperiority, of one church, or one biſhop, over another; but a common right of every particular church to judge for itſelf, and no further obliging to any other church than the act was agreeable to common right. But whatever were the grounds and reaſons which the pope and his council went upon, the matter of fact muſt be confeſſed: they pronounced Wilfrid innocent who had made his court with ſo much addreſs; but they did not pretend to decide the controverſy, nor to pronounce any judicial ſentence, which from the formal nature of it ſhould be binding to the Engliſh churches. Inſtead of a ſynodical determination of the rights of Wilfrid, who by the way had alléged untruly that he was required to ſubmit without reſerve to the archbiſhop's ſingle ſentence, the pope wrote letters to the kings of Mercia and Northumberland, in which he deſired that the primate would call a council at which Wilfrid might be preſent, and that the biſhops of York and Hexham might be ſummoned; that upon hearing all parties they ſhould endeavour to determine the diſpute among themſelves, and in caſe it could not be thus adjuſted, the parties concerned ſhould come to Rome, where he would convene a great ſynod, and endeavour with their aſſiſtance finally to determine it. The reader perhaps will imagine, that with this declaration and theſe letters in his favour, Wilfrid would haſten home again to face his enemies. But nothing like it. The prelate had found by ſad experience how little the epiſtles of the biſhops of Rome availed in England; and therefore notwithſtanding all that had paſſed in his favour he was in no haſte to return: he even deſired to ſtay and to wear out the remainder of his life at Rome. This was a meaſure, to which his age, for he was then above ſeventy, as well as his temper, his profeſſion, and his education led him; but it was not approved by the holy fathers: and as he had promiſed all obedience to the apoſtolic ſee, ſo the intereſt of it, ſays Eddius, bore down his hopes; and the infirmities of the old man were obliged to give way to an authority which was never touched with pity when obedience was thought its intereſt. Wilfrid being therefore commanded to return home, in the courtly ſtile of his being neceſſary to the Engliſh church and kingdom, after furniſhing himſelf with veſtments and relicks to adorn his churches, took his leave and obeyed.

The

The deprived prelate was no ſooner arrived in his own country than he applied himſelf to the archbiſhop; upon whom he ſo far prevailed with the pope's recommendation, that they were not only reconciled, but BRIGHTWALD promiſed to uſe his intereſt to mitigate the ſentence of the Engliſh ſynod; a promiſe that would have been very needleſs if their judgment had been annulled by what was done at Rome, and very far ſhort of his duty, if the archbiſhop had been apprized of any ſuch authority veſted in the biſhop or ſee of Rome. From the primate he went to the court of the king of Mercia with the pope's epiſtle to ETHELRED: but this king had fallen in with the prevailing humour of the age during WILFRID's abſence, and quitting his government had turned monk. However he made uſe of his intereſt with his couſin KENRED, to whom he had given his crown, to favour the pretenſions of the old prelate, according to the prayer of the pope's epiſtle. By his advice, an abbot, and another of his retinue, were ſent to wait upon king ALFRED, to deſire his leave for the depoſed biſhop to attend him with the letters and determination from Rome. The king at firſt received them very graciouſly, and told them that the next day they ſhould have his anſwer. In the mean time having adviſed with his council on what was proper, when the next day came he ſent for them; and aſſuring them that he had a great value for their own perſons, and would readily oblige them in any thing that they ſhould aſk on their own account, yet in the affair of WILFRID which had been determined by his predeceſſors and an archbiſhop in council, and a ſecond time by himſelf with an archbiſhop from Rome and the greateſt part of the Engliſh biſhops, he would never alter whilſt he lived, for what they called the writings of the apoſtolic ſee. With this unfavourable reſolution the meſſengers returned to WILFRID: but the king being taken ill preſently after, and either thinking himſelf that he had failed in his regards to the papal chair, or it having been ſuggeſted to him by ſome of the monks that his illneſs was a judgment of GOD for his diſobedience to the pope's requeſt, neither of which are improbable, he made a vow to reſtore WILFRID if he ſhould recover, and charged the performance of it on his ſucceſſor in caſe of his death. After a lingring ſickneſs AFLRED died; and his ſon being then a child of eight years old, a civil war was raiſed by EDULPH who had uſurped the crown. WILFRID was not only known to the uſurper, but thinking himſelf ſafe in his friendſhip, ſent meſſengers to him to ſollicit his reſtoration: and not doubting of his favour and of his getting the better of the young prince, the prelate went to his abbey of Rippon, that he might be at hand to take poſſeſſion of his dignity and revenues. But WILFRID had gone upon a wrong ſcent in both theſe reſpects. Inſtead of any favour from the uſurper, he had this rough and uncourtly anſwer, by the advice of EDULPH's council who knew the biſhop was hated by the Nor-

thumbrians, " that if he did not depart out of his kingdom in the " ſpace of ſix days, he would cauſe all his friends and followers to be " put to death." He had very little to fear however from this boiſterous rebel, who in about as many weeks was driven out of the kingdom with the ſame ſeverity: his fear aroſe from the diſpleaſure which his courting this uſurper muſt give to the regent, guardian of king Osred, who had loſt all kindneſs for him on this account. Wilfrid however, having ſome friends in the new miniſtry, got the better, tho with ſome difficulty, of this diſpleaſure of Brithrick's; and the biſhopric of York being very opportunely vacant at this time by the death of Bosa, there was a way opened for the reſtoration of its ancient prelate. To this end Brightwald, who had been reconciled to him, as we have ſeen, took a journey into the North: and at his requeſt, the regent, the biſhops, and the abbots of the Northumbrians, and the abbeſs Elfleda the king's aunt, aſſembled at a place near the river Nidd, where he and Wilfrid gave them the meeting; that this affair which had given ſo much trouble to the church might then be finally ſettled.

The archbiſhop, after a ſhort prayer for peace, opened the ſynod; giving an account of the epiſtles to the kings of Mercia and Northumberland, and of the deciſion of the pope and his council in the caſe of Wilfrid. Having flouriſhed a little upon the authority of the ſee of Rome, and the wiſdom of the determination that had been made there, he declared his own reconciliation; and recommended it to the biſhops concerned in the diſpute, to acquieſce in reſtoring Wilfrid to the full extent of his former biſhopric and revenues. But neither the pope's, nor the primate's authority, was of any weight. The biſhops replied, that let the pretence be what it would, they ſaw no reaſon to reverſe the decree of Egfrid and Theodore aſſiſted by their predeceſſors, which had been ſince confirmed by Alfred, the primate, and themſelves in council; nor would they conſent to ſuch alteration. Surpriſing as this anſwer may ſeem to the reader, he muſt remember that it came from biſhops of great zeal for the rites and uſages of the Roman church; and which is more, of the greateſt figure in the Engliſh hiſtory for ſome ages. Indeed during the whole controverſy which this unruly prelate had been the occaſion of, the moſt eminent Engliſh biſhops had been his enemies, in deſpite of the recommendations and injunctions of the ſee of Rome. They had not only been his enemies, but they had executed their epiſcopal function all along in that which had been his dioceſe, and poſſeſſed themſelves of what he called his juriſdiction and revenues. The famous Cuthbert, Bosa, Eatta, and his ſucceſſor John of Beverly, whoſe figure in the Engliſh hiſtory of that age claims the next place to that of Cuthbert, were the biſhops who had uſurped his dignities and poſſeſſions, if the papal determinations

tions were of any validity. There can be no ſuſpicion however that men ſo good and great as theſe were, would act in defiance to the right and authority of the ſee of Rome, had any ſuch right ſubſiſted. But when the letters of pope JOHN were produced at the ſynod of Nidd, and a compliance with the ſentence of the Roman ſynod enjoined under the penalty of degradation, they ſlighted this menace, appealed to the authority of their own provincial council, and pronounced the decrees of it unappealable, and not to be changed. Nevertheleſs what they would not do in compliance with orders from Rome, they did upon another motive. The abbeſs ELFLEDA finding them ſo reſolute againſt WILFRID, declared that the late king her brother made a vow upon his death bed to reſtore that prelate; and in caſe of his death before it could be accompliſhed, had left it in charge with BRITHWICK. The regent confirmed this information; and the biſhops withdrawing to conſult upon it among themſelves, they came at laſt to this reſolution, that JOHN, at this time biſhop of Hexham, ſhould be tranſlated to the ſee of York, vacant now by the death of BOSA; and that WILFRID ſhould ſucceed at Hexham, and enjoy his abbey of Rippon. Further than this they could not be brought, either in compliance with ELFLEDA and the regent, or out of regard to the memory of their deceaſed king: and thus ended this affair which had made ſo much noiſe, with ſome little intermiſſions, for almoſt forty years; and which it was in ſome meaſure neceſſary to relate at length, that we may be convinced of the ſenſe which the Engliſh biſhops had of the authority of the ſee of Rome, contrary to what ſome learned men have endeavoured to prove from this very ſtory. It was likewiſe neceſſary to enter into the erection of the Northern biſhopricks, the ſucceſſion of the firſt biſhops, and the alterations occaſioned by this affair of WILFRID, to give the reader a diſtinct notion of the churches of theſe parts, and by what means the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY had an opportunity of exerciſing his juriſdiction over all England, contrary to the regulation of pope GREGORY. But I go on now with the courſe of the hiſtory.

The ſame year in which this diſpute was thus determined in the north, died HEDDA biſhop of the Weſt-Saxons; whoſe dioceſe was then divided into two. DANIEL was made biſhop of Wincheſter, and ADHELMUS, nephew to king INA, whom we have ſeen employed to write againſt the Britons, and the firſt Engliſhman who wrote in Latin, was made biſhop of Sherborn in the county of Dorſet. The biſhopric of Seolſy, comprehending the kingdom of the South-Saxons, which was in a manner ſubject to the king of Weſſex, and which from the time that WILFRID had relinquiſhed it had been under the adminiſtration of the biſhops of Wincheſter, was at this time filled by EADBERT its late abbot, by the decree of a ſynod held in the kingdom of Weſſex. Notwithſtanding all the pains which WILFRID took, and the diſturbances

bances which he occaſioned, to be reſtored again to his honors and emoluments; he was not permitted long to enjoy them. About four years after he had been in poſſeſſion of the ſee of Hexham, having ordained abbots and ſuperiors and provided for the peace and ſecurity of all his monaſteries, he died at Oundle in Northamptonſhire; where an abbey had been founded by him, and was buried at Rippon with great funeral pomp. Here then at laſt, after a life of ſeventy-ſix years, forty-ſix of which he had been a biſhop, having been expoſed to many dangers at home and abroad, and almoſt in continual ſtorms of his own raiſing, he was laid to reſt. Notwithſtanding his repeated deprivations and baniſhments, the magnificence of his way of living, and the great number of monaſteries which he had founded, he left a great deal of wealth behind him, which by his will he divided into four parts. The firſt and greateſt he bequeathed to the churches of St. Mary and St. Paul in Rome, to be offered as gifts for his ſoul; the ſecond he gave to the poor; the third part to the ſuperiors of his monaſteries, that they might be enabled to purchaſe the friendſhip of their kings and biſhops; and the fourth part he left to ſuch of his followers and attendants as he had not provided for in his life time. Of all the prelates which our Engliſh hiſtory hath hitherto brought us acquainted with, Wilfrid had the greateſt ſhare of pride and ambition, and was the greateſt lover of ſtatelineſs and grandeur. Nay he was the only prelate that affected to equal the ſtate of kings in a magnificent way of living, with ſo large a train of attendants richly habited, and in having his table ſerved in gold. Whilſt kings were laying aſide the pomp and ſplendour of a crown, to retire with zeal and humility into cells in the habit and ſtate of monks, it was with an ill grace indeed that a biſhop was ſtepping ſo far out of his character as to rival the pride of kings. This was the predominant paſſion of this prelate, and gave a tincture to all his actions. He had parts and learning and virtues which were not contemptible, but they were ſullied and diſcredited by his turbulent boiſterous diſpoſition. Neither his mind nor his heart were ſuperior to diſgrace and danger, and yet neither ſunk under them: for it is certain, that he did not prevent them ſo much by his prudence, as he overcame them by his courage and reſolution. When he was firſt reſtored to his biſhopric and revenues, he retained too keen a memory of thoſe who had contributed to his deprivation; and at all times, I am afraid, was too far tranſported with paſſion againſt his enemies, for a chriſtian biſhop. From his firſt entrance into the world, he had gone very warmly into the diſpute, on the Roman ſide, about the feaſt of Eaſter and the eccleſiaſtical tonſure: and he valued himſelf more upon the ſervice he did the church in theſe particulars, and in propagating church muſic, and the rules of Benedict, than in teaching the doctrines and duties of chriſtianity; in which however ſometimes he was not wanting. What it is in the make of the human mind, that occaſions ſuch a contrariety in

in it, I will leave to others to determine; but it is certain that notwithſtanding the exceſſive pride and haughtineſs of this prelate, far above the rank and character of the higheſt, yet he abaſed himſelf in ſuch an abject manner on his knees before the pope in his application to him, as was going lower than the loweſt. The great zeal which he was applauded for, ſeems to have iſſued itſelf more in founding and enriching monaſteries, thro the indulgence and ſuperſtition of the kings whom he was in favour with, than in any duties of his epiſcopal character; and to this, the humour of the times, and his own love of grandeur, might poſſibly lead him. He had ſome natural qualities very uncommon then in a churchman, which made it eaſy for him to ingratiate himſelf with princes and ſtrangers, with whom he had nothing to do but to pay and receive the common offices of civility: but he was ſo inflexible and ſo haughty with his own ſovereigns and their nobility, as made it impoſſible for them to love him, impoſſible almoſt to bear him. In ſhort WILFRID was a prelate, who with abilities enough to be a great man, and with devotion and virtue enough to be a good man, was yet ſo carried away by his ruling paſſion of pride and arrogance, that he can be ſcarcely ſaid to have been either. The expreſſion perhaps may be very irregular, and yet I can find no other that better paints this prelate's character of mind.

But I now go on to obſerve, what the many inſtances we have of it about this time will not ſuffer me to paſs by; and that is, an odd and amazing opinion of the merit and holineſs of pilgrimages to Rome; which the Engliſh people, of all ranks and degrees, of every age and ſex, laid ſuch a ſtreſs on, as tho it would attone for the neglect of every chriſtian virtue. Strange indeed that they ſhould imagine, that a viſit to the tombs of the apoſtles, and other good men who had died for the cauſe of CHRIST, which had never been recommended, which had never been hinted at by CHRIST nor his apoſtles; that this I ſay could be deemed an equivalent for thoſe virtues, which they had all declared expreſly were neceſſary to ſalvation! But however, it happened here in this caſe, as it generally does in caſes of ſuch irrational zeal, that thoſe got the greateſt character of devotion, who had the leaſt ſhare, it may be, of it. To this humour it was owing, that the Engliſh nuns about this time run in great flocks to Rome; but to this it was likewiſe owing, that there were few cities in Lombardy, France, or Gaul, in the middle of this century, in which there were not to be found ſome lewd women of the Engliſh nation, as BONIFACE writes to the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY; and upon that account recommends the ſuppreſſion of this practice, as of bad and pernicious conſequence. Amongſt others which this ignorant and unaccountable zeal carried away, was KENRED king of the Mercians, accompanied by OFFA ſon of the Eaſt-Saxon monarch; a prince of great hopes, of a graceful

perſon, and in the prime of his youth, who went to Rome and turned monk. That princes croſſed in their expectations and mortified in their deſigns, or who by miſrule and wickedneſs had made themſelves obnoxious, ſhould take their leave of the world in this manner, to indulge their chagrin or to wipe away the odium and attone for the miſchief of their adminiſtration, may be eaſily enough accounted for, and ſeems no very bad expedient. But that princes whoſe qualities would make them valuable upon a throne, and their government a bleſſing to their people; whoſe ſucceſſion is well eſtabliſhed, and who have leiſure and inclination to enjoy the advantages of their birth; that theſe ſhould diſengage themſelves from their families, and part with their intereſt and their country for a ſtate of reſtraint and mortification, is not more ſurpriſing than it is abſurd and culpable. For every ſtation of life has its proper active duties; and how much ſoever this humour might flatter the weakneſs of human nature, it was one of thoſe deluſions of which piety we ſee is capable. A prince born to a throne, and formed by nature and education to govern happily, is as much obliged to continue in that ſtation till providence diſables or removes him from it, as he is to preſerve his life; and tho by turning monk he may ſhew that he has a ſort of humility, yet it is not that which is taught us by reaſon or religion; and his merit conſiſts more in a fear of doing ill than in a deſire of doing good. But I go on with the courſe of the hiſtory.

The frequent quarrels and commotions between the Engliſh princes, made it difficult for the biſhops, who could not but ſhare in the circumſtances of the kingdoms wherein they lived, to act as the ſtate of the church required: and therefore it is no wonder, that the materials for the hiſtory of ſome years paſt ſhould be ſcanty and imperfect, owing for the moſt part to the invention of later ages, and better fitted for legend than for hiſtory. But whilſt ſo little eccleſiaſtical matter is to be found at home, both our own and foreign hiſtories make ſome of the Engliſh clergy memorable for what they did abroad among the Germans, where they preached the goſpel, and others among the Scots and Picts, whom they brought over to the rites and uſages of the Roman church. I enter not however into thoſe particulars, as being ſomewhat foreign to my deſign, and becauſe the ſtate of affairs in England was not altered by them at all.

About this time died Adhelmus biſhop of Sherborn, nephew to king Ina, and who had been formerly abbot of Malmſbury. By the direction of a ſynod this learned prelate was employed, as it has been related, in writing againſt the Britons; to bring them over to the Roman feſtival of Eaſter, and to cure them of thoſe ſingularities which kept them at a diſtance from uniting with the Engliſh church. He likewiſe wrote a book in proſe and in heroic verſe, in commendation of vir-

virginity; in which it appears that he was not unacquainted with the writings of the fathers, and other monuments of eccleſiaſtical learning. He wrote ſeveral other pieces which are loſt, and has a character from BEDE of great ſufficiency as well in polite learning as divinity. But MALMSBURY goes further, and tells us that this prelate was a great maſter of ſtile; and underſtood the force and propriety of the Greek, and Latin, and Engliſh languages to a great exactneſs. He mentions ſeveral tracts which ADHELMUS wrote relating to verſification, and a great many letters which were loſt when the hiſtorian gave this account. The fame of his learning, enlarged it may be by the advantage of his quality, induced SERGIUS the biſhop of Rome to invite him over. He accepted the invitation before his promotion to the ſee of Sherborn; and amongſt other marks of his holineſs's eſteem, his abbey of Malmſbury was exempted from epiſcopal juriſdiction. This venerable prelate is never mentioned by any of our ancient writers without the higheſt praiſes. He is truly worthy, ſays CAMDEN, that his memory ſhould for ever flouriſh, not only in regard of his ſanctity but his learning, in which he far excelled all the eccleſiaſtical writers of his time. But notwithſtanding his great abilities in his controverſy with the Britons, yet they ſtill retained their animoſity towards the Engliſh, and would not depart from their ancient rites and uſages. Nay they were ſo far from conforming to what had been eſtabliſhed here, that BEDE ſays they were as warm and fierce as ever in oppoſing the cuſtoms of the whole catholic church. So that the formal ſtory of king INA's marrying the daughter of a Britiſh king, uniting Wales and Cornwall by that marriage to the kingdom of Weſſex, and afterwards calling a council of the nobility and Engliſh biſhops, wherein the intermarriages of the Engliſh and Britiſh were agreed upon, looks like an ill made tale of a later date; and ſeems to deſerve as little credit, as what is ſaid of the ſubmiſſion of the Britons to the biſhops of Rome, or to the archbiſhop of Canterbury as their metropolitan. Indeed there is no doubt to be made but that the Roman ſee had conſtituted the archbiſhops, as far as in them lay, metropolitans of the Britiſh, as well as of the Engliſh churches, and done all that they could to bring them to a ſubmiſſion to the juriſdiction of both. But this account of BEDE may let us ſee, that the converſation and neighbourhood of the friends and emiſſaries of the church of Rome for an hundred and thirty years, had yet made no change in the Britiſh church: and notwithſtanding this ſtory of INA, the inhabitants at this time for the moſt part were a free and independant people. For in his great zeal it is obſerved as a particular providence by the hiſtorian, that the Britons who refuſed to aſſiſt in the converſion of the Engliſh, were not by the Engliſh brought over to the uſages and rites of the Roman church: on the other hand, that the Scots and Picts who had been inſtrumental in teaching chriſtianity to the Engliſh, had been generally brought over by the Engliſh in re-

turn

turn to the communion of the church of Rome. About this time the Picts had a total overthrow by the army of Osred the Northumbrian king; and from that time becoming ſubject to their enemy, a biſhopric was founded at Whithern, and Pictelmus was the firſt biſhop of that ſee. Not long after the Scottiſh monks of the iſland of Iona were at length brought over to the Roman uſages by Egbert a prieſt from Ireland; who wholly changed the traditions which they had received from their fathers, and taught them the tonſure and paſchal ſolemnity after the catholic manner.

In this poſture ſtood the affairs of the Engliſh church at the death of Brightwald archbiſhop of Canterbury. It may ſeem odd, but it is true, that tho we have ſeen nothing of this prelate but in the two ſcenes of depoſing and reſtoring Wilfrid, yet he filled the chair of primate and metropolitan thirty-ſeven years. If in the former ſcene he acted with too much compliance with the anger of Alfred, and conſented to a puniſhment that was too ſevere for Wilfrid's crime, in the latter, which was intended to make him a reſtitution, he might be ſaid to conform too much to the determination from Rome, and to the giving up the right and authority of his own Engliſh ſynod, in which none of his brethren would join with him. We may conclude therefore I think from his conduct in theſe two inſtances, and from hearing nothing more of him in almoſt forty years that he was primate, that he was rather an eaſy, good, quiet man, than an ill-natured, zealous, or able prelate. He was ſucceded in the ſee of Canterbury by Tatwin, a man of conſiderable learning, probity, and underſtanding, who was conſecrated at Canterbury by four biſhops; and who without applying himſelf to Rome for confirmation, or a pall, which he had not till two years after, immediately entered on the diſcharge of his holy function. At this time we have an account in Bede of ſeventeen biſhopricks ſettled in the Engliſh churches, under the government of one metropolitan. Of theſe the kingdom of Kent had two, as it has continued to have to this day, Canterbury and Rocheſter; the kingdom of the Eaſt-Saxons had only one, as it has now, at London. The Eaſt-Angles was then divided into two, at Dunwich and North-Elmham: Wincheſter and Sherborn took in the kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons: but the great kingdom of Mercia contained five, and theſe were fixed at Lichfield, Leiceſter, Sydnaceſter, Worceſter and Hereford. The kingdom of the South-Saxons was all within the dioceſe of Seolſey, which from the time of Wilfrid's being biſhop there had till lately been under the care of the Weſt-Saxon biſhop; the kingdom of Northumberland had at this time four ſees erected in it, that of York held by Wilfrid the ſecond, Holy-iſland by Edilwald, Hexham by Acca, and Withern by Pictelmus.

But

But whilſt we are thus obliged by BEDE with ſo particular an account of the ſees at this time in England, he has left us quite in the dark as to the ſtate of the parochial clergy. We are told indeed by the publiſher of his hiſtory from a manuſcript in Trinity hall in Cambridge, which I mentioned before, that archbiſhop THEODORE had ſet on foot the building of churches in towns and villages; beginning to diſtinguiſh the bounds and precincts by the name of pariſhes, and procuring a grant of the patronage of the churches to ſuch as built them. But this, I ſaid then, as to the dividing of pariſhes, I thought was doubtful. I will explain what I mean. In the account which is given by the Dooms-day book of the ſtate of pariſh churches, there is reaſon enough to believe that the right of patronage had its beginning from the bounty of thoſe who had been the founders of them: and this I take to be the reaſon why in recounting the poſſeſſions of the great men in the ſeveral pariſhes, and the number of their vaſſals, it is uſually there added, "with the church," and often, "with the third or fourth part of "the church." This directs us not only to the origin of patronage, but ſhews us how our pariſh churches began to be erected, ſome by the ſole munificence of particular lords for the benefit and convenience of their tenants; others by the united charities or ſeparate donations of ſeveral perſons: and from hence in after-times, ſays Dr. INET, to whom the reader is obliged for this whole account, aroſe the diviſion of pariſhes into mediеties, and ſometimes into more portions, and the preſentation of diſtinct patrons to each. But tho it is evident that all who were concerned in the converſion of the Engliſh were diligent in encouraging the building of churches for the public worſhip of GOD, as well as THEODORE, yet the total ſilence of BEDE in his hiſtory, compared with the complaint he has made in his epiſtle to EGBERT, of the want of a clergy ſettled in towns and villages, and of their never appearing in country places but when called thither to diſcharge ſome of the offices of their function, affords great reaſon to think that there is a miſtake in what is ſaid from this ancient manuſcript. Very probable it is on the other hand, that if the diſtinction of pariſhes was began before this time, it had hitherto made but a little progreſs; and that thoſe few churches which had been erected in towns and villages, were chapels or churches of eaſe to the mother churches of the dioceſe rather than proper pariſh churches: it is probable that they had not fixed and ſettled paſtors in them, but were generally ſupplied from thoſe collegiate ſocieties which at this time paſſed under the general name of monaſteries; and that theſe foundations ſo exhauſted the charity of the age as to ſtop the progreſs of parochial inſtitutions, and thereby obſtruct the propagation and intereſt of religion. Thus much however is certain, that the fond opinions of the monaſtic or collegiate life which prevailed ſo much in the laſt century, were grown to ſuch an exceſs in

the beginning of this, that the miſchief of them to church and ſtate was become ſo viſible, that Bede himſelf, who had been bred in them, and had all the eſteem in the world for theſe inſtitutions, complains of their number and abuſe, and the prevalence of the monaſtic humour, in terms of great ſeverity and reproach. Hear what he ſays. "The "kingdom of Northumberland having had peace eſtabliſhed in it, both "the nobility and the common people laying aſide the exerciſe of their "arms, betook themſelves to monaſteries; and perſuaded their child-"ren to accept the tonſure and retire thither too. But whither this "will tend time muſt ſhew." A little time ſo ſhewed what he had too much reaſon to fear, that in his epiſtle to Egbert archbiſhop of York about four years after, ſpeaking of the multitude who ran into monaſteries, this holy monk obſerves, "that for thirty years paſt our "country hath been infatuated with this mad errour"; and then in very paſſionate terms, and full of concern, he recommends the leſſening the number of monaſteries, and increaſing the number of biſhops and ſecular clergy to preach the goſpel in country towns and villages. For there are many villages, ſays he, in the woody and mountainous parts, which for many years never ſaw the face of a biſhop, and have no preſbyters to inſtruct them in the common principles of religion or morality; and yet every place pays tribute to their biſhop. In particular he deſires of Egbert, that his clergy ſhould take care to teach the people the apoſtle's creed and the Lord's prayer in their native tongue; for which end he himſelf had tranſlated them into Engliſh, and given copies into the hands of ſeveral of the clergy. But to perfect the great work of ſpreading the thorow knowlege of the chriſtian religion, this good man informs Egbert, that he thought nothing ſo likely, as to encreaſe the number of biſhops; and to that end deſires he would recommend it to the king of Northumberland and his council, to erect ſeveral new biſhopricks, diſſolving the monaſteries, and fixing the ſees in them. By this means, ſays he, your own dioceſe of York, according to the antient model of pope Gregory, may be made a metropolitical ſee; and if it is neceſſary the lands of other monaſteries may be taken. "Thus thoſe houſes, of "which we all know there are many unworthy the name of monaſte-"ries, from ſerving the ends of vanity and luxury may be brought to "aſſiſt and bear a part in the burden of the epiſcopal office." The better to engage the prelate in this work, he proceeds as follows. "There are many and very great foundations of this kind, which it "is commonly ſaid, are neither profitable to God nor men; for men "are neither trained in them to live regularly as monks for the honour "of God, nor brought up to arms to defend their country. To take "therefore ſuch places and convert to biſhop's ſees, is ſo far from be-"ing a fault, that it is a great inſtance of wiſdom and virtue; for "how can it be unjuſt for ſome princes to employ the miſtaken cha-"rities of others to better purpoſes? But if it be a fault, it is juſt

" ſuch a fault, as it is for a wiſe judge to reverſe a wrong judgment, " or a good clerk to correct the errors of a bad ſcribe. It is your duty " therefore, together with the king, to make ſuch regulation of theſe " ſocieties as might be moſt for the honour of GOD and the good of the " country; leſt by the increaſe of them the force of the kingdom ſhould " be ſo weakened, that there ſhould not be ſufficient ſtrength to ſecure it " from the invaſion of enemies." Thus far the venerable BEDE; and the reader will obſerve throwout his ſcheme, that tho ſome monaſteries were to be diſſolved, others to be converted into ſees, ſome new biſhopricks to be erected and others to be divided, yet he ſends the prelate no further than to the king and his council; and ſpeaks of their conduct in this buſineſs in ſuch a manner, as plainly ſhews he knew of no neceſſity of calling in a foreign power to their aid.

Let the church of Rome if they will make a flouriſh about the effects of the religion and holineſs which they taught the Engliſh, in ſending ſo many of our kings and princeſſes into retirement to turn monks or abbeſſes; or let the order of Benedictines claim the merit of theſe examples and diſpute the honour with them; tho perhaps it belongs to neither, but to the Scotch monks of IONA, who always oppoſed the rites and uſages of the church of Rome. The account which is given of theſe examples, after the Engliſh received the Roman uſages, by BEDE, who was then in being and lived above fifty years after, may reaſonably induce us to leave the parties in the quiet poſſeſſion of their fancied merit. " There are ſome men, ſays he, who under pretence " of building monaſteries, procure lands from their kings which be- " come their inheritance; and having obtained exemption from all " ſecular ſervice on that account, here they more quietly enjoy their " luſts: and yet notwithſtanding the multitude of monaſteries, there " are not places fit for the education of the young nobility, or for men " who are tired of the world to retire to; but thoſe that deſign to " ſpend their youth in chaſtity, are obliged to go abroad for their " education, to the prejudice of their country which wants their ſer- " vice. Beſides thoſe who are educated in them being under no vows " of chaſtity, run into ſuch exceſſes, that they debauch the very wo- " men who have vowed chaſtity to GOD." There is no ground to believe that the corruption of theſe ſocieties was ever reformed or cured, 'till they were involved in the common calamities of the nation. For after the death of BEDE, and not long before the depredation of the Danes, in the epiſtles of BONIFACE, that prelate takes notice not only of a prevailing debauchery in the Engliſh nation in general, but gives a great ſhare of it to the religious: he not only ſays that the nuns were commonly debauched by the princes and nobility, but that the nuns themſelves, by the luxury of their attire, and the wantonneſs of their behavior, invited their own ſhame, and made uſe of arts to prepare the

the way to their own diſhonour. The truth of this charge was ſo well known at that time, that the reforming theſe abuſes ſeems to be one of the chief reaſons for convening the council of Cloveſhoo; which we ſhall find as we go along. Theſe are but a few of the many ſevere reflections that are made, by Bede, and Boniface, on the monaſticks and monaſteries of this age: ſome of which no doubt there were which anſwered the original end of ſuch foundations. The learning and piety of the venerable hiſtorian who gives this account, and who was educated and ſpent his life in one of thoſe ſocieties, ought alone to convince an impartial man, that ſome of them were great and uſeful ſchools of learning and religion: they were indeed the only nurſeries of learning which the nation had; from whence the celebrated foundations which are at this day an honor to the Engliſh people took their pattern, and had their origin in this or the following age. Theſe reflexions however were neceſſary to be inſerted, to ſhew how fatally men miſtake who pretend to holineſs and zeal out of the ways of God; and becauſe they not only afford us a proſpect of this age, but alſo throw a great light upon thoſe which followed. Here we ſee how it came to paſs, that the monaſteries were generally protected by married men, when the controverſy aroſe about the celibacy of the clergy: here we ſee that the parochial clergy were yet unſettled, and the reaſon why thoſe inſtitutions went on ſo ſlowly; and it may be here too we have a key to the retirement of ſo many kings and princeſſes.

Whoſoever looks backward, and ſees what proof the Engliſh had given of their courage in the conqueſt of the Britons; or if he conſiders what a figure their countrymen made abroad at this time among the Franks, and yet what a poor defence they made againſt the Danes, who about this time began their ravages in England, will be almoſt tempted to think, that Bede had propheſied, when he ſpoke his fears of the danger of the ſtate, from the fond humour which led ſuch numbers of our princes and nobility to bury themſelves in religious houſes. They were the fears of a good man for his country, when he was juſt about to quit it; for in the year in which this epiſtle was wrote to Egbert, died this great hiſtorian Bede, in the fifty-ninth year of his age; after he had wrote more than all the authors of his time beſides. The place of his birth, was a little village in the neighbourhood of Durham, now called Farrow, near the mouth of the river Tyne; and the ſeat of a monaſtery founded about that time by Benedict, as it hath been related. Who his parents were, or of what condition, we have no account. They were probably poor, and being deprived of them both in his infancy, his kindred recommended him, being but ſeven years old, to the care and diſcipline of the abbot, in his monaſtery of Weremouth on the other ſide the river. His youthful days were here ſpent in innocence and devotion, under the care and inſtruction

inſtruction of this renowned eccleſiaſtic; till he came to be capable of profeſſing that diſcipline under which he had been bred. He was then committed to the government of CEOLFRED, in the new built monaſtery of JARROW, the place of his nativity; from whom he received the monaſtical habit. What particular maſters he found there capable of giving him that learning which made him the wonder of the age he lived in, we are no where informed: But the great and noble library which BENEDICT had provided for his monaſteries at an immenſe expence, as BEDE deſcribes it, may give us ſome idea of the abilities of the maſters which he likewiſe furniſhed, to make it uſeful to the ſcholars who reſided there. There is however no great neceſſity of ſuppoſing the maſters to be very eminent, to produce ſuch a diſciple, when his own extraordinary capacity and the library which he had recourſe to, are conſidered. When he was once taught the rudiments of learning, it was eaſy enough for him, thus furniſhed and thus endowed, to make the reſt of his way himſelf. He had however made ſo great a progreſs in learning, and was in ſuch eſteem for his piety and goodneſs of heart, that in the twentieth year of his age, at the recommendation of his abbot he was admitted to the order of deacon, by JOHN of Beverly then newly made biſhop of Hexham; and who has had a ſhare of the honour given him of inſtructing this great man in theological learning. As ſoon as he was thirty years old, which at that time was the age of taking it, he was at the requeſt of the ſame abbot advanced to the order of prieſthood: and at this age his fame for learning was ſo far ſpread even in foreign nations, as to induce SERGIUS the pope to deſire his abbot to ſend him over, as it has been mentioned, to aſſiſt his holineſs in ſome eccleſiaſtical diſputes that were carrying on then at Rome. The pope's epiſtle is extant in BARONIUS; and as it does ſo much honour to BEDE, to whom I am ſo much obliged for the beſt and moſt authentic materials of this hiſtory hitherto, I hope the reader will forgive my inſerting it. The part concerning him is this. "We do likewiſe exhort thy piety, as becomes one "who has a true zeal for the advancement of the holy church, that "ſince there have been of late raiſed here certain difficulties in eccle- "ſiaſtical points of great weight, the examination and ſolution of "which cannot be long delayed, thou wouldſt not fail to afford thy "devout obedience to our requeſt, and without delay to ſend hither to "the ſhrines of my lords St. PETER and St. PAUL, princes of the "apoſtles, the religious ſervant of GOD, BEDE, a venerable prieſt of "thy monaſtery, that he may here appear in our preſence: and do "not doubt but as ſoon as the ſaid articles ſhall by GOD's aſſiſtance "be ſolemnly determined, he ſhall ſhortly return to thee in ſafety. I "do the more confidently deſire this from thee, becauſe I do not "doubt but whatſoever he ſhall contribute to the general good of the "church, will be profitable to thee and to all committed to thy charge."

Tho he did not go to Rome upon this invitation, yet we have very little account more concerning him till his death. But what account can be given of the actions of a religious man and a ſtudent, more than that he paſſed his whole time between his devotion to God, his ſacred learning and writings, and teaching others? and thus much he ſays of himſelf in the poſtſcript to his hiſtory. His works, which are printed in eight volumes in folio, make it impoſſible for him to be ſeen much in the active parts of life; eſpecially if we conſider, how great a part of his time, his daily attendance on pſalmody in the church, and other regular obſervances in the monaſtery, would require. He had many diſciples which flocked to him from all parts of the nation; to whom he red lectures even in his laſt ſickneſs every day. He had a happineſs that deſerves, and indeed that ought to bound the nobleſt ambition of good men of learning, to continue dictating to his ſcholars, and doing ſomething towards inſtructing and amending an ignorant and corrupt world till within a few hours before he died. His laſt work in which he was occupied, was a collection of memorable paſſages out of St. Isidore, and tranſlating the goſpel of St. John into the Engliſh tongue, for the benefit of the church. His eccleſiaſtical hiſtory is the firſt attempt that we have in this way; and has ſerved for the foundation of all the hiſtories that have been written of the ſame period of time. He has been charged with ſome partiality in it towards the Engliſh, to the prejudice of the Britons; and the charge is not entirely groundleſs; but this is not much to be wondered at. The greateſt objection to this work, and indeed the only fault to be found in the man, is his mixing with it ſuch falſe and abſurd tales of miracles, which had no exiſtence any where but in the zeal and ignorance of the age. In this I can acquit him methinks of impoſture or inſincerity, any further than in giving them upon the reports of common fame, when he had too much ſenſe ſurely to believe them real: and for this biſhop Nicholson makes his apology, by ſaying, that ſo little truth was to be had of the ſaints of thoſe days, that there was a ſort of neceſſity of filling up books of that kind with ſuch pleaſant legends, as the chat of the country or a good invention would afford a man. Beſides his hiſtory, his commentaries upon the ſcripture, and his theological tracts, there are ſeveral treatiſes in his works on the arts and ſciences; as Grammar, Arithmetic, Aſtronomy, Natural Philoſophy, Chronology, and Ethicks. It is impoſſible for a man who wrote ſo much, and who ſpent ſo much time in monaſtic exerciſes, to be very profound in his learning or very exact and accurate in his ſtile; but he was a prodigy of learning for the age in which he lived. His induſtry and abilities were greatly miſſed in the ages following; and all notice of public tranſactions was in a manner buried with him. The pope it is ſaid gave him the name of venerable, for his uncommon ſkill in the Greek and Latin languages, and for his piety and modeſty. The firſt entitled

titled him to the higheſt dignities and offices in the church; and the laſt kept him all his life in the loweſt. He might certainly have made choice of whatever abbey, of whatever biſhopric he pleaſed; but he choſe to ſubmit to the drudgery of an hiſtorian and an author for the ſake of the public, in the mean ſtation of a monk, in one of the remoteſt corners of the world. Poſterity owes much to his memory on this account; and the age he lived in had obligations to him beyond any man of his time: and yet great as theſe obligations were, BEDE had abilities and qualifications to have enlarged them, if he had been produced upon the ſtage, and had not confined himſelf to the part of a prompter behind the ſcenes. The integrity of his heart was as great as the capacity of his head; and from his epiſtle to EGBERT ſo often quoted, we may ſay, I think, that his courage was ſo equal to them both, that had he been ſettled in the primacy, or in a great epiſcopal character, to have had the direction of church affairs, the ſtate of religion, I am perſuaded, would not have been ſo lamentable as he repreſented it in his hiſtory, and in that epiſtle, at his death. Hiſtorians attached to truth upon the nobleſt principles are fallible, ſays my lord BOLINGBROKE, and may ſlide ſometimes into involuntary error. If therefore we will pardon, and we ought to do ſo, the partiality of BEDE in ſome inſtances for his countrymen, and his mixing with truth the tales of falſhood which were not of his own invention, but mixing them perhaps in conformity with the humour of the age he lived in, we ſhall meet with nothing to find fault with in him, as a man, a churchman, or an hiſtorian. I have dwelt perhaps too long upon his article; but we owe almoſt every thing to him for the light we have of theſe early times; and I ſhall not ſoon come to a character on which I may dwell with ſo much pleaſure. In ſhort, in all the ſeven centuries we have gone thro, he was the greateſt eccleſiaſtic that we have met with; formed by his intellectual accompliſhments natural and acquired, to have made the greateſt figure on the theatre of the church, and yet drawn away by the humility and the invincible modeſty of his temper from ever appearing on it at all.

Whether it was the life and ſpirit which this great man gave the nation; or the emulation betwixt the ſchools of THEODORE and thoſe of the Scots, and the controverſy yet freſh in the Engliſh churches; or to what elſe the learning which at this time prevailed was owing, it is not eaſy to determine. But to whatever cauſe it is to be aſcribed, it is certain that the remains we have of the end of the laſt century and the beginning of this, have a taſte of letters that is no where elſe to be met with in the Engliſh writers before the Norman conqueſt. But the labours of ADHELMUS, CEOLFRED, EGBERT, BEDE, and EDDIUS, who all lived about this time, ſo exhauſted the genius of the Engliſh nation, that except CLEMENS, and ALCUINUS bred under

EGBERT,

Egbert, and who afterwards made a great figure in France, we find nothing like them in the ſucceding ages, till the invaſion of the Normans brought the ſpirit of this age to life again. Our hiſtorians till that period are ſo few, their accounts are ſo imperfect, ſo fabulous and confuſed, that all the light we have into the latter part of this century, the ninth, tenth, and eleventh, is chiefly owing to the hiſtorians of the following ages; a light therefore ſo remote from the matters of fact, ſo often obſcured, and at beſt uncertain, that one cannot enter into the ſtory of them without uneaſineſs and fear. The ſame year with Bede, died Tatwin, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who held the primacy ſo little a time, and was ſo little called upon to exert his authority as metropolitan, that there is no ſaying more of this prelate, than what the hiſtorians ſaid at his advancement, that he was a man of probity and underſtanding. He was ſucceded by Nothelmus, a prieſt of the dioceſe of London; who received his pall at Rome, and was conſecrated by Gregory the third.

From the union of the churches under Theodore till about this time, all that part of Britain which was poſſeſſed by the Engliſh had been one province, and had no other metropolitan but the archbiſhop of Canterbury. To this the enterprizing genius of that prelate, and the depoſing of Wilfrid contributed. Had this laſt continued in the ſee of York, he would no doubt have obtained the pall, and by that means put a ſtop to Theodore's extending his juriſdiction over England. But the dignity of archbiſhop of York, and metropolitan of the north, had vaniſhed with Paulinus. After that prelate had left Northumberland, and the inhabitants had deſerted from the faith, the monks which Oswald had ſent for from Scotland to inſtruct them, were contented with the bare title of biſhop, without applying to the pope for the pall whoſe juriſdiction they did not acknowlege. Wilfrid ſucceding the laſt of theſe, and having been depoſed, the biſhopric of the Northumbrians was divided into three; which was a freſh obſtacle to the metropolitical authority, as the ſee was ſo much diminiſhed. Beſides Bosa, John, and Wilfrid the ſecond, who were ſucceſſively biſhops of York, were men of great piety and humility, who thought of nothing leſs than of aſpiring to ſuch honourable and pompous titles. But Egbert who now preſided in that dioceſe, whilſt his brother was on the Northumbrian throne, having more ambition, or affecting power and grandeur more than his predeceſſors, took the advantage which his birth and alliance gave him in conjunction with his learning and perſonal merit, and procured the pall with the archiepiſcopal dignity according to Gregory's model. How early the biſhops of Rome took up this uſage of ſending the pall in imitation of the emperors, is uncertain; but the earlieſt account to be relied on, is in the epiſtles of Gregory the great, where

it is plain the giving the pall was intended only as a mark of honour and reſpect. The pall therefore ſent to EGBERT, was not to make that prelate an archbiſhop, or to erect a metropolitical juriſdiction, but as an honorary recognition of the character he was poſſeſſed of, and of the dignity the ſee of York was advanced to by the king and council, in purſuance of BEDE's advice. He had all the right to his character that the authority of the church could give him, before he received his pall from Rome; and were this a place for it, I could eaſily make it appear, that all the ſucceding archbiſhops of England, for near four hundred years after, acted upon this opinion; performing all the functions of the archiepiſcopal office before they received their palls. LAWRENCE and MELLITUS before this time, and many after never had any pall, yet doubtleſs were as true and authoritative archbiſhops as thoſe who had: and PAULINUS, tho he had been dignified with the pall, yet lived many years afterwards, and died, a private biſhop, as we have ſeen. But after all, notwithſtanding the palls ſent to EGBERT and ſome of his ſucceſſors in the ſee of York, and the title of archbiſhop given to them by our hiſtorians of that time, yet there is great reaſon to believe that that archbiſhopric was never perfectly ſettled till after the Norman conqueſt. It would have been impertinent and inexcuſable to have dwelt ſo long upon this article, had it not been to give the reader a juſt idea of the ſtate of the Engliſh church, by letting him ſee that the giving and receiving of the pall, was yet thought conſiſtent with the authority of a free and independant church; and that tho the Engliſh nation was then extremely fond of the rites and uſages of the Romans, yet it owned no ſubjection to that ſee, but what was founded on gratitude and civility, and conſiſtent with the power which the canons of the firſt general councils allowed to every national church in chriſtendom.

A little time produced an occaſion which ſhewed the ſenſe of the Engliſh church more fully upon this ſubject. For NOTHELMUS, ſucceſſor to TATWIN in the primacy, dying in the year ſeven hundred and forty, CUTHBERT biſhop of Hereford, was tranſlated to the ſee of Canterbury in his room. In a few years after his advancement, he convened a ſynod at Cloveſhoo, now called Cliff near Rocheſter, which was compoſed of twelve Engliſh prelates; at which were preſent ETHELBALD, king of the Mercians, and many of the nobility, as well as ſeveral inferior clergy*. The canons of this council ſeem to be very well digeſted, and to have a ſpirit of ſeriouſneſs and underſtanding much ſuperior to the age. Inſtead of aſſerting that the unity of the catholic church conſiſted in an unity with the church of Rome and a

* In the preamble to the decrees of this ſynod, we are told that the deſign of it, was, that with good advice order might be taken for reſtoring unity in the church, concord among one another, and reformation of the ſtate of religion.

ſubmiſſion to its authority, in the ſecond canon it is determined, "that "the prelates and clergy ſhould keep a good correſpondence with each "other without flattering applications to any perſon, as the ſervants "of one lord and the fellow-labourers in the ſame goſpel; ſo that "however ſeparated by diſtance of place, they may nevertheleſs be "united in the ſame judgment, and ſerve God in one ſpirit in the ſame "faith, hope, and charity, daily praying for one another." Not a ſyllable do we find here, or in any other decree of the church of England, of union or ſubjection to the ſee of Rome: on the contrary by the clauſe againſt flattery on the ſcore of eccleſiaſtical diſtinction, they ſeem to guard againſt that ſubmiſſion to the papal chair, which was at that time attempted among the Franks, by Boniface archbiſhop of Mentz, and recommended by him to Cuthbert. Nor was the ſenſe of this ſynod leſs expreſs againſt his advice, with relation to the authority of provincial ſynods. For as Boniface had aſſerted the regular courſe of proceedings in church affairs, to be an appeal from private biſhops to the metropolitan, and from him in caſe of difficulty to the biſhop of Rome, this council decrees in ſo many words "that ſuch "affairs as private biſhops could not determine in their reſpective dio-"ceſes, ſhould be brought to the provincial council, and be adjuſted "by the archbiſhop and his ſynod." It was therefore plainly the intention of this ſynod, to check the new and ill-grounded error of Boniface; and to ſettle the diſcipline of the church on the ſame footing it had been ſettled before by the council of Nice. For ſo far was the church of England from allowing the biſhops of Rome to rehear a cauſe which had been determined in its provincial councils, much leſs to remove one from thence by appeal, that it appears from the council of Clarendon, as we ſhall ſee further on, that there was no appeal from the archbiſhops, but in ſome caſes, to the court of the king: on the contrary it was received as a part of the law of England, that no biſhop could go out of the iſland without leave of the king; and that the pope could ſend no legate hither but upon the king's particular deſire. But to return to the council of Cloveſhoo. Whilſt they were thus careful to preſerve the authority of the Engliſh church, they were not unmindful to do right to the truſt which God had put into their hands: and among many excellent regulations for the biſhops, clergy, and people, the advice of Bede to Egbert was approved: the clergy were obliged to learn the creed and Lord's prayer in the Engliſh tongue, and to teach them to their congregations; they were required to explain to them the offices of baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper, and to be conſtant themſelves, and encourage the people to be conſtant in their attendance on the communion; to apply themſelves to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures; and thoſe that did not underſtand Latin were to pray in the vulgar tongue; a due obſervance of Sunday was alſo recommended, and ſeveral miſtakes about alms and penance were ſet to rights.

Thus ended this council, much to the honour of the Engliſh nation, tho it was properly no other than a provincial ſynod; becauſe neither EGBERT archbiſhop of York, nor any of the Northumbrian biſhops, were preſent at it; owing perhaps to the independance of their kingdom on that of the Mercians, which had at that time the ſovereign juriſdiction over all the reſt; or to a diſagreement between their kings.

From this time to the latter end of the eighth century, when the whole kingdom of Mercia was taken out of the province of Canterbury, and the controverſies about the worſhip of images diſturbed the Engliſh church, there is little elſe of hiſtory to entertain the reader with, but the miſeries of war and the changes it brought about, except what relates to the ſucceſſions and deaths of the clergy; and theſe, it will not be unpardonable, I believe, to omit. I ſhall juſt take notice however of the death of CUTHBERT archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was ſucceded by BRIGWIN, a native of Saxony of a noble family and great learning and piety; who filling the metropolitical ſee but about three years had LAMBERT for his ſucceſſor. About the ſame time died EGBERT archbiſhop of York, with the reputation of a great collector of books, a great ſcholar, and which is of much greater uſe and importance, a wiſe, a good, and uſeful prelate. We have ſeen that he had the aſſiſtance of BEDE in his epiſcopal affairs from the epiſtle that has been mentioned; and he had the good fortune to be educated under one of the greateſt men of his age, ALCUINUS the tutor and favourite of CHARLES the great of France, and if we do not flatter our nation, the founder of the ſchools in Paris, ſo deſervedly eminent in after ages. There is nothing related of CUTHBERT by which his character can be learnt, any further than his convening the council of Cloveſhoo abovementioned; nor of EGBERT, more than his procuring the power and rank of metropolitan, which had been loſt to the ſee of York: and indeed there are no traces of any of our churchmen, great or little, among our hiſtorians of that time, unleſs of their acceſſion to epiſcopal dignities, and their leaving them at their deaths. Except ſuch changes as theſe, eccleſiaſtical affairs continued much in the ſame poſture 'till ſome alterations in the ſtate occaſioned a conſiderable change in the government of the church. OFFA, a bold ambitious enterprizing prince, was advanced to the kingdom of Mercia about the middle of this century: and as his daring reſtleſs ſpirit engaged him in frequent wars with the Weſt-Saxons and other kingdoms of the heptarchy, wherein for the moſt part he proved ſucceſsful, ſo his ſucceſſes engaged him in new ambitious projects anſwerable to the idea he had formed of his own power and conduct. This reſtleſs ſpirit, confined by no moral conſiderations, gave beginning to a deſign of withdrawing the church within his kingdom from a ſubjection to the ſee of Canterbury; and to make it independant, as he was himſelf. To this end he obliged his biſhops

to

to pay obedience to the ſee of Lichfield which was the metropolis of his kingdom; and having inveſted the prelate with an archiepiſcopal title and dignity, to give the better grace to it, he ſent to Adrian who then filled the papal chair, and procured a pall for his new archbiſhop. He wanted no authority for what he had done; he only thought by that means to give an eccleſiaſtical colour to it; and therefore when the Engliſh biſhops, in an epiſtle afterwards to Leo, found fault with Adrian for giving countenance to this partition of the primacy, they charged him only with confirming or recognizing what Offa had done. In the anſwer of pope Leo he is ſo far from acknowledging that his predeceſſor had erected Lichfield into an archiepiſcopal ſee, that he tells them all that the pope did in that affair, was no more than ſending a pall to the new archbiſhop upon the deſire of king Offa and the nobility and biſhops of England; and who would have been a metropolitan without it. Offa had a ſpleen to gratify againſt Lambert, in leſſening the juriſdiction of the ſee of Canterbury, beſides the ambition and inquietude of his own natural temper: and he even charged him to the pope with holding a ſecret correſpondence with Charles the great, and engaging to that prince that if he would make a deſcent on England, he would open a paſſage for the troops and aſſiſt the enterprize. Whether this was a real, or only a pretended objection againſt the archbiſhop, does not appear: but not long after this partition of the primacy of Canterbury, Offa having invaded the kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles and made it tributary and dependant, he laid that as well as the kingdom of Mercia into the new province of Lichfield; by which means the biſhops of Hereford, Worceſter, Leiceſter, and Sydnaceſter in the latter kingdom, and the biſhops of Helmham and Dunwich in the former, became ſuffragans to the archbiſhop of that ſee.

About this time Gregory biſhop of Oſtia, and Theophylact biſhop of Todi, two Italian prelates, came into England, with the character of legates from Adrian pope of Rome; bringing letters from him to ſeveral, if not all the kings of the heptarchy. One of them travelled particularly into Northumberland, where Oswald was king, and Eanbald archbiſhop of York; who ſummoned a meeting of the biſhops and nobility, in which ſeveral propoſitions relating to faith and diſcipline were offered, to which all the Engliſh conſented. He delivered his ſentiments by way of advice, and in the ſubſcriptions to it by the archhiſhop, biſhops, nobility, abbots, and lower clergy, who were at the aſſemblies, they ſhew that they looked upon it in that light; declaring "that they ſubſcribe to it as to a pious catholic paper and approve theſe wholſome advices." Theſe aſſemblies being diſſolved, Theophylact joined his brother legate in the kingdom of Mercia, who was concerting matters with Offa; and theſe advices thus aſſented and ſubſcribed to in Northumberland, were digeſted at laſt under twenty heads,

heads, and paſſed at a national council of the ſeven kingdoms at Calcuith, where king OFFA particularly was preſent. They were ſubſcribed by this king, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the new archbiſhop of Lichfield, and eleven other biſhops, ſome of whoſe names and even their ſees are not known by our hiſtorians. At this council LAMBERT ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the archiepiſcopal power of the ſee of Lichfield; but the matter having been ſettled before between OFFA and the court of Rome, the primate was obliged to yield up a part of his province as abovementioned. This diminution of his authority ſat very heavy upon him; he omitted nothing that he could do; he ſpared neither coſt nor labour to aſſert the dignity of his ſee, and to repreſs the covetouſneſs of his enemies. He ſent ſeveral appeals to Rome; but finding that the power and the preſents of OFFA prevailed, he determined to quit his ſee, and did accordingly remove into France, 'till ALCUINUS by his perſuaſion brought him back again. The pretence of ſending theſe legates was to enquire into the ſtate of the Engliſh church, and by convening ſynods to confirm them in the faith: but if all circumſtances are conſidered, this will appear to be but a pretence; and that the true motive was, under an appearance of obliging OFFA, by intimidating the archbiſhop and colouring the deſign of that prince in dividing his province, to extend the papal juriſdiction over the church of England; which was far from ſubmitting to it at that time in the degree which the popes deſired. Theſe advices, which paſs under the title of canons, were drawn by the legates into the form of an epiſtle, and ſent to ADRIAN; but there are ſuch evident marks of forgery in the ſubſcriptions, two biſhops more for inſtance in the kingdom of Northumberland than there were biſhopricks, the names of biſhops that were never heard of before nor after in the province of Canterbury, and other circumſtances, that if ever there was ſuch a council in due form held at Calcuith at this time, the addition of names is a work of later date; and the remains of it that are handed down, are rather the hiſtory of the proceedings of the legates of Rome at an aſſembly of the biſhops and clergy, than the true and genuine canons of an Engliſh council.

At the latter end of this century, the controverſy about the worſhip of images, which for above ſixty years paſt had occaſioned a ſchiſm in the Eaſtern church, broke in upon and diſturbed the peace of the churches of England. This was occaſioned by a copy of the ſecond council of Nice, ſent to OFFA king of the Mercians by CHARLES the great: and becauſe this has long continued a ſubject of controverſy to the chriſtian church, and produced a great deal of faction and miſchief in ſtates, as well as eccleſiaſtical diviſions and animoſities, it will not be improper to go a little back, and obſerve the riſe, the ſteps, and conſequence of this controverſy. It is plain that the rule of the goſpel di-

recting us to worſhip God in ſpirit and in truth, was underſtood by the apoſtles and firſt chriſtians not only to exclude the rites of the ceremonial law, but to be infinitely more inconſiſtent with the ſymbolical worſhip of the Gentiles, by images and viſible repreſentations: and therefore as they endeavoured to aboliſh the ritual law appointed for the Jews, ſo they did all they could, to deliver the world from the low and mean conceptions of God, and the undue manner of worſhipping him in uſe among the Gentiles; and they were ſucceſsful we know in both. The uſe of images by this means was not only univerſally laid aſide, wherever the chriſtian religion flouriſhed, but was alſo eſteemed a direct violation of the rule of worſhip which the goſpel had preſcribed. In this manner things continued 'till the inundations of the northern people in the fifth century reſtored paganiſm here in a great meaſure as well as in all the weſtern nations. This judgment, which ſhould have made the biſhops and chief chriſtians wiſe to holineſs and devotion, had a different conſequence, and put them upon ſtudying the ways of wiſdom out of the ways of God: and hence it came to paſs that in the converſion of theſe people, as we have ſeen by the letters of Gregory the great to Austin, they were permitted to bring ſome of their pagan rites into the chriſtian church. Theſe barbarians having driven out learning, thrown down churches, and for the moſt part deſtroyed the clergy of the weſtern nations by the wretched circumſtances they were reduced to, we are not to wonder, that the clergy in the two following ages became partakers of their ignorance and barbarity; and ſo permitted them to bring the uſe of images when they were converted into the chriſtian church. There is no ground to doubt, that this was the original of ſuch an abſurd and idolatrous cuſtom; nor can we deny that the ſuperſtition which brought them in at firſt, grew up ſo faſt, that in the beginning of the eighth century the worſhip of images was introduced. My deſign does not allow me to ſhew the progreſs of the controverſy which this ſuperſtition occaſioned in the empire, 'till by many tumults and factions, and the exerciſe of military force, a council was called at Nice in ſeven hundred eighty-ſeven; who "pronounced anathemaes againſt "all the breakers of images, againſt all that call images by the name "of idols, or apply the texts of ſcripture againſt idols, to the images "in uſe among chriſtian churches; or that refuſe to pay adoration of "honour to them." Charles the great having ſent a copy of this council to Offa king of the Mercians, the Engliſh biſhops, to whom it was communicated, were extremely offended at their proceedings about the worſhip of images; declaring it contrary to the faith, and a doctrine to be abhorred by the whole catholic church. Nor did their reſentment ſtop here. They prevailed upon Alcuinus, mentioned before, to write againſt it; owning the work when it was finiſhed, and cauſing it to be ſent in their names to Charlemaign. This is the account which is given us by M. Westminster, in the year ſeven hundred

hundred ninety-three: and it is not without ground, if we add, that the zeal of the Engliſh church aſſiſted by the labours of ALCUINUS, was greatly inſtrumental in confirming CHARLES the great, and the French and German biſhops, in the ſame opinion againſt the worſhip of images.

The doctrine of relicks publiſhed by the canons of the ſame council of Nice, is no leſs ſurprizing and unaccountable than that of image worſhip. It is therein decreed, "that all ſuch churches as had been "conſecrated without relicks, ſhould have relicks introduced with the "ſolemnity of public prayers, and depoſited in them; and alſo that "all thoſe biſhops ſhould be depoſed who ſhould for the future preſume "to conſecrate any new churches without them"; a doctrine that in time let a thouſand ſuperſtitions into the church, and opened a way to infinite impoſtures of a ſcandalous kind; ſuch as the ſaints themſelves, if they had any knowlege of the ſtate of things below, would look upon with abhorrence. The opinion of relicks, tho diſtinguiſhed by this canon, was not a new one; it had crept into the church above an age before this council, and we have ſeen GREGORY the great appointing them to be depoſited in the Engliſh churches: but their validity to a conſecration, and the penalty for diſuſing them at ſuch a ceremony, were never heard of before. Upon this canvaſs, the grimaces of holineſs which were likely to charm the common people, were embroidered by the monks with great zeal: indeed they were never backward in what would acquire wealth and the fame of piety to themſelves; and therefore embraced this ſort of devotion with ſo much warmth, that CHARLES the great takes notice of their running up and down the world with the bones and relicks of ſaints, and under the umbrage of this kind of zeal uſing many indirect and ſhameful means of getting money. But notwithſtanding his directions to the biſhops to ſuppreſs theſe wicked practiſes, yet the devotion of relicks grew up apace, and extended itſelf with the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the times from henceforward to the Engliſh church. Thus about this time king OFFA, pretending that the place where the body of ST. ALBAN lay, had been diſcovered to him in a viſion, in order to give the better reputation to his dream, cauſed the archbiſhop of Lichfield, together with two of his ſuffragans, to meet him at the town which had taken the name of that ſaint, in order to ſearch for his relicks. Superſtition and curioſity drew great crouds together; and after a ceremony and devotion ſuitable to the occaſion, the relicks of the good man, who had reſted above five hundred years in his grave were found, it is ſaid, according to the viſion. Some bones or other, it is certain, I believe, were taken up; and that they might be depoſited with greater honour, a ſhrine of gold inlaid with pearl was prepared with all the advantages which wealth and art could give it, in which they were incloſed; great devotions

were

were paid to the relicks, and many miracles pretended to be wrought by them. But this did not ſatisfy the ſuperſtition and the zeal of Offa: he erected the monaſtery of St. Alban's to the memory of that holy martyr; and having endowed it with great riches and granted many immunities to it, that he might conſummate the honor of this new foundation, he went away to Rome, to obtain of pope Adrian a confirmation of theſe privileges, and in particular, an exemption of it from the juriſdiction of the biſhop. Whilſt he was at Rome, he took occaſion to viſit the ſchool which had been erected there for the education of the Engliſh; and for the better ſupport of it granted an yearly charity of a penny from every houſe in his kingdom: this payment he appointed on the firſt of Auguſt in honor of the day on which the remains of St. Alban were ſaid to be diſcovered; which being the day at Rome called St. Peter's ad vincula, it was from hence, ſays Sir H. Spellman, that the payment which Offa granted acquired in time the name of Peter-pence. We are told by Polidore Virgil, who was a collector of this charity above ſeven hundred years after, that Offa in this donation only imitated the charity of Ina the famous king of the Weſt-Saxons; whom the reader remembers to have laid aſide the purple, and to have travelled to Rome and turned monk. This donation was made about ſeventy years before that of Offa; and if M. Westminster ſays true, that it was at that time called Romeſcot or Peter-pence, the conjecture of Sir H. Spellman muſt be wrong, and the payment took its name from St. Peter, to the uſe of whoſe church it had been granted. Matthew Paris ſays, that beſides this contribution he endowed the ſchool of the Engliſh very largely, which Ina had formerly founded for the education of his Engliſh ſubjects who ſhould repair there; either out of devotion to the tombs of the apoſtles and ſaints, or to improve their minds in the ſtudy of ſacred learning. But be this as it may. There is no doubt but that a charity was granted by the Engliſh princes, which in time extended to the Engliſh nation; and the reaſon of this charity ceaſing by thoſe noble and munificent proviſions for learning, which for many ages ſince have been the peculiar glory of this country, the biſhops of Rome took this charity to themſelves. Hence, according to the way of ſpeaking which Hildebrand firſt taught the flatterers of the Roman greatneſs, this charity came in time to be called a tribute, and England a fee of the papacy: and yet if Ina, and Offa, had given their whole dominions to the ſee of Rome, thoſe donations would not include one half of the iſle of Britain. But after all the pains which Polidore and cardinal Baronius after him have beſtowed upon this ſubject, and the high ſounding inferences which they have drawn from it, it does not appear to me, by carefully comparing all the accounts together which the hiſtorians have given of this affair, that tho there was a grant of a penſion from ſome of the Engliſh monarchs, yet that there was ſuch a grant

as that of a penny a houſe, or any other charge on the ſubjects of England, laid by INA, OFFA, or any other prince before the reign of EDWARD the confeſſor; about which time, if I miſtake not, this manner of paying it was firſt eſtabliſhed. Thus much is certain, that LEO the immediate ſucceſſor of ADRIAN to whom they pretend it was granted, in his epiſtle to the king of Mercia three or four years after OFFA's death, gives a different account of the charity of that prince. He ſays only that "OFFA made a vow at the ſynod of Calcuith, that "he would ſend every year to Rome a mancuſe of ſilver for every day "in the year" [which is what we call a mark, and was equivalent to ſeven ſhillings and ſix-pence of our money] "for the ſupport of the "poor and for providing lamps and candles, in commemoration of the "victories he had obtained: and that he intended this charity ſhould "be continued by his ſucceſſor in that kingdom." This is the earlieſt and the beſt account that we have of this affair; in which there is no mention of any charge on the ſubject, nor indeed of the ſupport of any ſchool or houſe of learning. In the annals of ASSERIUS about fifty years after, he deſcribes the diſpoſal of the mancuſes as LEO does, only ſays they were three hundred, but not a word of a fixed or certain charge upon any houſe: and yet this is the ſame charity which WILLIAM of Malmſbury calls a tribute, and the ſame which came in time to be known by the name of Peter-pence. In the beginning, this payment ſeems to have been nothing more, as I have ſaid, than a penſion from the crown; and when it was afterwards fixed upon the ſubject in a law of EDWARD the confeſſor, which calls it the alms of the king, it appears that it was not extended to a charge upon every houſe, but on the proprietors of houſes only; and this too for the houſes which they themſelves inhabited, and not for the houſes inhabited by their tenants or vaſſals. The appellation of it in time was not only changed, but the charity itſelf was alſo extended beyond the original grant and the intention of the donors; inſomuch that in the fourteenth century, the parliament of EDWARD the firſt complains of the change made in the payment of this money as one of the grievances of the Engliſh nation.

Whilſt the affairs of the church continued in this poſture, OFFA king of the Mercians died, and with him the great deſigns he had formed. He had reigned nine and thirty years, and left behind him many proofs of his courage and conduct in the victories which he obtained over three of the kings of the heptarchy. To theſe were added ſome valuable accompliſhments, ſo much becoming the dignity of his royal ſtation, that ALCUINUS ſtiles him the honour of Britain. If this grave and learned monk did not yield to the flattery which was then in faſhion at courts from churchmen, king OFFA promoted the intereſt of learning within his kingdom, which began to be extinguiſhed in other places, with uncommon zeal and munificence. But he like-

wiſe promoted the intereſts of ſuperſtition, which did not want his help, in charters to monaſteries and doing honour to relicks, in penſions to the ſee of Rome, and many other things of that ſort. All this the reader will find in the monuments of that time; but Offa probably had a motive for it which he will not find there. He had divided the province of Canterbury by violence, and obliged his clergy to ſubmit to that partition, which occaſioned heats and animoſities within the kingdom. By the ſame violence, and by fraud, he had invaded and conquered other kingdoms to enlarge his own; which had made him many enemies without. Theſe circumſtances, and his character, being conſidered, might he not go all this length in the popular and prevailing ſuperſtitions of the age, as the moſt effectual method of ſtrengthening his intereſt, and covering his uſurpations? might he not imagine that theſe would be leſs heard at Rome, and his private vices which were many and enormous leſs complained againſt at home, if his bounty to the papacy was eminent and remarkable, and if the privileges of monaſteries and the grandeur of their foundations were extended by him? I think he might. He ſaw that ſuch foundations had in all the hiſtories of former periods covered a multitude of ſins; and if he did not extend the judgment he made of this to the time when he ſhould be laid in the grave, yet it is certain he took advantage of the veneration paid to relicks, Rome, and monkery, to varniſh his impieties whilſt he lived; and in this he was not miſtaken. He was received on his pilgrimage at Rome with great marks of honour; he obtained all his requeſts from Adrian who filled the papal chair, with a full and general pardon for all his ſins: the monks at home forgot all his violence in ſpiritual and carnal matters, his invaſions, murders and rapes; and all that they ſay of him after his death, is that the accompliſhments of king Offa were ſo alloyed by his defects, and that he had ſuch an equal mixture of vice and virtue, that they know not where to place him in the liſt of princes, whether among the good or bad. Let us leave him therefore in poſſeſſion of this character, and turn again to the church.

The diligent ſearches that were made every where after the bodies of ſaints about this time, would aſtoniſh us if we did not know that they were only an effect of the ſacred veneration which then began to be paid to their relicks: and it is probable that this doctrine of paying honor to the bones of martyrs and pious people, was the occaſion of changing the ancient cuſtom, which never allowed the burial of chriſtians in churches. This was a change, which, if our anceſtors had been as wiſe as they were devout, would never have taken place; and it ſerved only perhaps to encreaſe the ſuperſtition that introduced it. There was no more room, in truth, for the modeſty of the firſt ages; and it was in vain to talk of leſſening the veneration and ſacredneſs of churches,

churches, by making them the repoſitories of the dead, when churches themſelves were to receive a conſecration from their relicks. But this change of the cuſtom ſhews the novelty of the doctrine which brought it in. For had the doctrine of paying honor to duſt and bones, and the ſhrines and tombs which held them, been the ancient doctrine of the church, there had been no need of viſions and miracles, ſuch as thoſe recorded of OFFA, to diſcover where the bodies of the ſaints had been interred in former ages. Had this doctrine been anciently received in chriſtendom, the piety of thoſe ages would certainly have made this zeal and all theſe labours needleſs; by taking ſuch care in the burial of their ſaints and martyrs, as that their ſepulchres ſhould have been known without a miracle to diſcover them. Indeed if we conſider how many well meaning people were deceived by falſe relicks, and how many cheats and impoſtures were put upon the world by not being able to diſtinguiſh them, this careleſſneſs of the firſt ages is never to be excuſed, but on the ſuppoſition that they were not acquainted with this doctrine of relicks, ſo much in vogue in that and in the following ages.

But whatever the ignorance and ſuperſtition of thoſe times might lead them to, in paying honour to the remains of the body which were not diſtinguiſhable from common duſt, yet they had the ſame ſentiments of departed ſouls, for aught appears, as the ancient church had in the age preceding. We have an account in BEDE of the prayers and pſalms and other devotions of the ſiſters of the abbey of Whitby, on the death of HILDA their abbeſs; but then he ſpeaks of her as a woman of true admirable ſanctity, and of the reception of her ſoul into a ſtate of immediate happineſs. Thus in the liturgy of GREGORY, and in the account which ALCUINUS, who lived at this time, gives of the offices for the dead, they are all confined to the ſouls of ſuch as departed in the faith and reſt in peace. But whilſt the ancients thus explained their belief of the exiſtence and happineſs of departed ſouls, and of their unity and communion with the ſaints; whilſt they thus did honor to the memories, and glorified GOD for the examples of good men on earth and the rewards he had laid up for them in heaven, they have left us no marks of purgatory; but founded their devotions on grounds ſo contrary, that one would wonder how theſe practiſes came in time to give beginning to a notion ſo unſcriptural and abſurd. Thro theſe practiſes I think it muſt be, that way was afterwards opened to that doctrine and the corruptions and abuſes founded on it. For tho the Engliſh church thus far followed the ancients in the great honors they paid to good men departed, and gave their alms, and prayed to GOD that he would accelerate the conſummation of their happineſs and accompliſh the number of his elect, yet we hear nothing at this time of praying the ſouls of good men out of torments, or bringing them from

from a ſtate of miſery to happineſs, by any charities or devotions of the living. By the way, this practiſe of praying for good men, which is founded on a reaſon ſo very oppoſite to that of praying to them, is alone enough to diſprove the neceſſity or propriety of the invocation of ſaints: and tho there are a few dark expreſſions in the writers of this and the former age, which in after times were made uſe of to colour the doctrine of purgatory, yet in the canons of Theodore archbiſhop of Canterbury, it is declared blaſphemy to ſay maſs for a wicked man; which ſeems very inconſiſtent with that doctrine. In a few years after the death of Offa, his ſucceſſors became tributaries to the Weſt-Saxons; which among ten thouſand other events ſhews the vanity of all human foreſight and ſollicitude. The archbiſhopric of Lichfield, which he had been at ſo much pains and expence to get acknowledged and ſubmitted to, was alſo reſtored at the ſuit of Athelard ſucceſſor to Lambert, to the province of Canterbury; and Lichfield, by the conſent of its archbiſhop, and Kenulph king of the Mercians, ſunk again into the ſtate of a private biſhopric. The hiſtorians aſcribe this ſucceſs of Athelard to his zeal and great abilities; but it is probable it was owing more to other reaſons. This prelate was tranſlated to the primacy from Wincheſter, where he had been biſhop eleven years, and has the character from Malmsbury of one of the moſt illuſtrious eccleſiaſticks of this iſland; if we except, ſays he, the firſt apoſtolic doctors. It is certain that Athelard went to Rome for a pall about two or three years after a ſynod was aſſembled at Cloveſhoo by order of king Kenulph, to conſider of Offa's injuſtice in the partition of the primacy. But had he gone without letters and preſents from the king, as well as an epiſtle from this ſynod to pope Leo who had ſucceded Adrian, and who had decreed his reſtitution, it is not improbable but he might have failed in his deſign. It is very remarkable that in this epiſtle of the Engliſh biſhops ſent by Athelard, there is a ſtrong remonſtrance againſt the novelty and unreaſonableneſs of the pretence of a pall from Rome. They tell his holineſs very plainly, "that they underſtood by the hiſtory of Bede, that "their predeceſſors knew nothing of the fatigue and drudgery of go-"ing to Rome for palls, as of late had been the cuſtom: that "Austin, after the converſion of the Engliſh, went to the archbiſhop "of Arles to receive conſecration; that during his life time he con-"ſecrated his ſucceſſor Lawrence; that Mellitus and Justus "the ſucceding archbiſhops were likewiſe conſecrated by Austin, "and Paulinus archbiſhop of York by Justus: that in an "epiſtle of Alcuinus to king Offa, it was ſaid the Engliſh arch-"biſhops ought to conſecrate each other, and that it was the duty "of the biſhop of Rome to ſend a pall to the archbiſhop conſecrated "in that manner: that this had been practiſed in the caſe of Justus, "Paulinus, and Honorius, when our Saviour's advice was hearken-"ed

" ed to, " freely ye have received, freely give," and there was no oc-
" casion for simony; but that the dissensions of princes had changed
" this usage contrary to the canons of the church." The truth is, when this humour of giving a pall began to prevail, GREGORY the great was so far from making it necessary to an archbishop, that he sent several to private bishops, and determined when it was given it should be bestowed without any fees. The necessity of the pall therefore had not been heard of to this day, if his successors had not departed from his doctrine, and learned in after ages to make use of it as an artifice to encrease their wealth and power. There are however in this remonstrance of the English bishops, such marks of wisdom and foresight as could not be expected from men that were charmed with the arts and superstition of Rome. For by asserting their right to consecrate their own metropolitans, and complaining against their going to Rome as a novelty and abuse, they asserted their church to be independant on that patriarchate. With this epistle the archbishop carried another from king KENULPH in the name of his bishops and nobility as well as himself; wherein he tells the pope, that the division of the province of Canterbury made by OFFA was contrary to the regulations made by GREGORY; and that the see of Rome was much to blame for the share it had in erecting a new archbishopric at Lichfield. In answer to this letter, his holiness, after commending the piety of the king and the many virtues of the archbishop, endeavours to excuse the conduct of his predecessor; affirming that he had not made the division of the primacy, and had only approved it at the desire of OFFA and his council of bishops and nobility, sending a pall to the new metropolitan: but that having searched the sacred archives, and finding that GREGORY had made the see of Canterbury metropolitical with twelve suffragan bishops subject to it, he did now approve the restitution of this jurisdiction to that see, and had accordingly confirmed ATHELARD in the enjoyment of these privileges. The divided province had been united, and ATHELARD restored to the ancient dignity of his predecessors before this journey to Rome, if the Saxon chronicle may be credited, or even what is said by MALMSBURY. He tells us that king KENULPH, who was very remarkable for his conscience and his courage, restored the antient jurisdiction to the see of Canterbury, and wrote to pope LEO for his approbation. This puts out of doubt the restitution of the primacy by the authority of the king and his council: but yet it should not be concealed that on the other hand the pope assumed a power of restoring him without their interposition; for the words of his letter are, " that by apostolic authority he decreed a
" restitution of the same ordinations and consecrations which GREGORY
" had given to AUSTIN, to ATHELARD and his successors, which he
" required should be submitted to under the penalty prescribed by the
" sacred canon." But however, to make the matter of the pall still

clearer, that no archiepiſcopal juriſdiction was neceſſarily implied in it, it may be proper juſt to mention, that the famous Alcuinus, being willing to make the loſs of his dignity ſit as eaſy as he could on Adulphus the late archbiſhop of Lichfield, deſired that the degraded prelate might have the honour of the pall continued to him, tho without any authority to execute the function of a metropolitan. In theſe ſentiments was the Engliſh church, and the affairs of it in this ſituation, at the cloſe of the eighth century: the next will preſent us with many changes, introduced with very great revolutions in the ſtate.

The heptarchy which had now continued two or three ages had yet all along been ſubject to the inconveniences that attend ſmall principalities contiguous and ill diſtinguiſhed: the boundaries of the kingdoms were often altered, in proportion to the power and conduct of the princes who poſſeſſed them; who had their titles of monarchs and tributaries in their turns. In the latter end of the laſt century, Offa king of the Mercians, a great and powerful prince, impoveriſhed and broke the forces of the neighbouring kingdoms, and preſerved the title of monarch to himſelf during his life. His ſucceſſor aſſumed and held it, 'till Egbert a king of the Weſt-Saxons overcame him in battle, ſnatched the title out of his hands, and made not only the Mercians, but the Eaſt-Angles and Northumbrians alſo tributary, and united the other kingdoms to his own. It is impoſſible but that the church muſt have had a large ſhare in theſe changes and revolutions of the ſtate: and the depredations of the Danes, and other northern people, who had for ſome time infeſted the coaſts of England, by deſtroying monaſteries and churches and maſſacring the monks and clergy, added greatly to the diſquiet and calamities that the churches underwent in the beginning of this century. Before the war broke out between Egbert and the Mercians, the archbiſhop of Canterbury returned from Rome with pope Leo's decree, or approbation, of his reſtitution to the ancient dignity of his ſee: and taking the advantage of the preſent peace, a provincial ſynod was aſſembled at Cloveſhoo, where king Kenulph, and Athelard with all his ſuffragans, and moſt of the conſiderable perſons in church and ſtate being met together, the archbiſhop preſided as metropolitan. He firſt related the proceedings of king Offa in dividing the province, and erecting Lichfield into an archbiſhopric; and then in the name of the council denounced the heavy wrath of God againſt all princes or prelates, that for the future ſhould preſume either to invade the undoubted rights or to leſſen the privileges of the ſee of Canterbury. About this time alſo the conſtitution of pope Leo, forbidding the monaſticks to chuſe ſecular perſons for their governours, was received in the Engliſh church; tho not by a decree, I believe, of the ſame aſſembly, as is uſually underſtood. It would be tedious and unneceſſary to give the reader the ſeveral reaſons which are urged

urged by different hiſtorians on this immaterial point. Let it ſuffice us to underſtand, that there was ſuch an aſſembly as the council of Cloveſhoo about this time, in which the union of the province of Canterbury was declared and ratified; and about the ſame time alſo, no matter whether in the ſame year, or in the ſame council, that a decree was made by the archbiſhop and his ſuffragans, for aſſenting to the conſtitution of pope LEO. But however the reaſon of this conſtitution, whenever it was received, may poſſibly give us a little light into the preſent ſtate of the monaſticks. It appears by the teſtimony of BEDE, as we have already ſeen, that it was an uſual practiſe in the beginning of the laſt century, not only for the nobility and the better ſort to build, or turn their houſes into monaſteries, and to preſide themſelves over thoſe for men, as their wives did over thoſe for the other ſex, by which means monaſteries became hereditary; but alſo that it was not unuſual for princes to give their favourites and courtiers the government of ſuch foundations, as by their dedication to retirement and devotion, ſeem more properly to have anſwered the modern notion of monaſteries. As theſe were the uſual practiſes of the two preceding ages, ſo the reaſon of this conſtitution eſtabliſhed by pope LEO, and aſſented to in a provincial ſynod, inclines one to believe that they were ſtill at that time continued in England; and conſequently, that the Benedictine rule ſo much magnified in after ages, was not then received, or at leaſt not obſerved, in this country. But it is time now to return to the courſe of affairs which enſued the breaking up of this council, and the reunion of the province of Canterbury; and the firſt thing that we meet with, is the little ſhare which ATHELARD had in the honour that his ſucceſſors have by his means enjoyed to the preſent time; for in the following year he was taken out of the world. There does not ſeem enough of the conduct of this prelate recorded in the tranſactions of thoſe times by which we can form his character. He had filled the ſee of Canterbury above fourteen years, and by his diligence and aſſiduity WILLIAM of Malmsbury ſays, "not only Kent is obliged for "raiſing it to its ancient dignity and ſplendor, but all England alſo "was reſcued by him from ſubjection to an ignoble ſee." He had likewiſe the teſtimony of the pope in a letter to the king of the Mercians, "as a moſt holy, a moſt worthy, a moſt beloved, and moſt prudent man." He was ſucceeded in the primacy by WULFRID, a monk of Canterbury, who received his pall in the ſame year from the pope who was then in France. Tho ATHELARD was not long permitted to enjoy the ancient dignity to which he had reſtored his ſee, yet the late archbiſhop of Lichfield ſurvived a good while the mortification he underwent of being degraded to a private biſhop. This mortification however he bore it ſeems with a becoming patience, and without any ſtruggle parted quietly with the honour which he had enjoyed above ten years; leaving behind him ſeveral marks of the piety and particular merit aſcribed to

him by Alcuinus, who had ſolicited the continuance of the pall to him during his life.

The wars and confuſion all over the ſtate, made a long interruption in the hiſtory of the Engliſh church, whilſt Egbert began to lay the foundations of the monarchy. Having obtained the good affections of his own ſubjects by his clemency, he gave the firſt proofs of his warlike genius upon the Britons inhabiting Cornwall; and having totally ſubdued them he turned his arms againſt their countrymen in Wales whom he alſo made his tributaries. But during theſe commotions, and the contentions of the northern Engliſh againſt each other, the midland, eaſterly, and ſouthern parts of the iſland under Kenulph, enjoyed ſome tolerable quiet, and had leiſure to turn their thoughts upon the ſubject of religion. Accordingly in the year eight hundred and ſixteen, a council was called at Calcuith; in which the king of the Mercians and his nobility and great officers were preſent; and wherein Wulfrid the new archbiſhop of Canterbury preſided, aſſiſted by the biſhops, abbots, and ſome of the lower clergy of his province. The canons of this council are in all eleven; ſome of which throw a good deal of light on the preſent ſtate of affairs in the church of England, and may perhaps explain ſome difficulties that perplex the accounts of preceding councils, and will therefore deſerve a particular conſideration. The firſt canon decrees, that the catholic faith and the ancient canons be duly obſerved. The ſecond directs, that all churches ſhould be conſecrated by the biſhop of the dioceſe, in which they are built, with holy water, and the conſecration of the euchariſt; and that the picture of the ſaint to whom the church is dedicated, ſhould be drawn upon the wall or upon the altar. The third canon provides for the union and good agreement of the province, recommending an uniformity of doctrine and practice, and impartiality in matters of judgment without favour or flattery; as being all ſervants to the ſame maſter and members of the ſame body of which Christ is the head. The fourth requires abbots and abbeſſes to be of unblameable converſation, and to be nominated by the biſhop with the conſent of the convent. The fifth forbids any Scotchman to exerciſe the miniſterial office in England, it being uncertain of whom they received their orders. The ſixth confirms the acts of preceding councils ſigned with the croſs. The ſeventh forbids the alienation of religious houſes, except in caſes of great neceſſity, or by way of leaſe for a ſingle life; and even this not without the approbation of the convent. The eighth determines that ſuch monaſteries as are ſettled by the biſhops, wherein any monaſtic rule had been received and the abbot or abbeſs had been bleſſed by the biſhop with the conveyance of character and juriſdiction, ſhould always remain unalienable, and never more be accounted the property of ſecular perſons, nor the houſes be the places of their habitation. By the ninth canon every biſhop

ſhop is obliged to take a copy of the canons and reſolutions of councils, with the year of the LORD, the name of the archbiſhop who preſided, and of his ſuffragan biſhops who aſſiſted at them. The tenth directs the funeral and offices for departed biſhops; requiring moreover that a tenth part of their eſtates ſhall be diſtributed to the poor, that all their Engliſh ſlaves ſhall be ſet at liberty, that all honour may be done to their memory, and praiſes be given for them to GOD; that in every church throwout the dioceſe upon the tolling of a bell, the people ſhould aſſemble and ſing thirty pſalms for the ſoul of the deceaſed; that every biſhop and abbot cauſe ſix hundred pſalms, and one hundred and twenty maſſes to be ſaid, ſet three ſlaves at liberty, and give them three ſhillings each in charity; that the late prelate ſhould have a particular ſhare in the offices of the church for thirty days together, and then that the monks ſhould be treated in ſuch a manner as they uſually obſerve at the feſtivals of their ſaints. The eleventh and laſt canon enjoins, that no biſhop ſhould invade the dioceſe of another, either in ordaining prieſts and deacons, or the conſecration of churches, excepting the archbiſhop; that the presbyters ſhould not aſſume a greater power than is allowed them by their biſhops, nor intermeddle in the diſtricts of each other, unleſs in caſes of neceſſity, in adminiſtring baptiſm, or viſiting the ſick; and that they ſhould not ſprinkle the infants but dip them in the font.

The reader will give me leave to make a few reflections on this council and the canons of it before I continue the hiſtory. Tho KENULPH king of Mercia and ſeveral of his nobility, and ſeveral abbots, preſbyters and deacons are ſaid to be preſent in this ſynod, yet probably it was rather to adviſe and give aſſiſtance as to the matter or form of the things to be decreed, than to give their vote and ſuffrage to the canons: at leaſt thus much is evident, that the decreeing part runs wholly in the name of the biſhops, and when they ſpeak of the former councils in the ſixth canon, they aſſume the decreeing power wholly to themſelves: when they ſpeak of the canons of thoſe councils, they ſtile them "the decrees of biſhops," tho there were ſeveral kings as well as nobility, and of the lower clergy, who were aſſiſting in thoſe councils; and the ſame way of ſpeaking runs thro all the acts of this ſynod of Calcuith. Tho the name of the king therefore and the year of his reign are ſet down in them, yet as well the preamble, as the body of the decrees of the council, runs in the name of the archbiſhop and biſhops of the province of Canterbury, and their names are only mentioned in the preamble, but there are no names ſubſcribed. The like form appears in all the aſſemblies that may deſerve the name of either national or provincial councils, one only excepted in the eighth century, till after the Norman revolution. The archbiſhop is always particularly named, and the biſhops of the province ſometimes in par-

ticular, ſometimes under the general ſtile of the aſſeſſors of the archbiſhop, are inſerted in the preamble to the council, but without any ſubſcription of names to the foot of the canons: and when they ſigned the reſolutions of councils, it was not with their names but with the ſign of the croſs. This was certainly the uſage at that time in the Engliſh church in provincial ſynods: but the ninth canon of this council requiring every biſhop to get a copy of the canons of former councils, and to have the year of the Lord, and the names of the archbiſhop and biſhops preſent at ſuch councils inſerted in it, might probably give occaſion firſt to the notaries to write the names of the biſhops, and in time to the biſhops to ſubſcribe their own names. This detail of the manner in which provincial ſynods were atteſted at this time, tho it may be tedious to the reader yet is of too much conſequence to be omitted. For hence the different application of grants charters and conſtitutions to different men and councils; the inconſiſtency of names and dates and confuſed ſubſcriptions; and many of thoſe difficulties which perplex and entangle our hiſtory and ſometimes lead us to judge wrong of the uſages and conſtitutions of the ancient Engliſh church, may poſſibly be accounted for, without condemning them all as the product of forgery, or laying a greater load on the monaſticks than it can be proved that they have deſerved. But whatever is to be ſaid in favour of their charters and conſtitutions, there are ſome of them ſaid to have had the approbation of ſynods, whoſe faults are too great for any charity to cover; and as they have the air and ſtyle of their legends, they had probably the ſame beginning, and ſeem to deſerve no other credit and authority. From a declaration in the ſecond canon, that the preſerving the euchariſt in a box is ſufficient of itſelf without any other relicks at the conſecration of a church, we may conclude that the prelates at this ſynod had not received the doctrine of the ſecond council of Nice, which not only pronounced the conſecration of churches void, if there were no relicks depoſited in it, but condemned the biſhop to be depoſed who ſhould conſecrate a church without them. The latter part of the canon, if I miſtake not the ſenſe of it, ſeems no leſs to agree with the ſentiments of Gregory than to differ from the council of Nice in the point of images. For it ſeems to be capable of no other meaning, than to enjoin every biſhop on the conſecration of a church, to cauſe a picture of the ſaint to whom the church was dedicated, to be drawn upon the wall or on the altar: and if this is to be underſtood in an hiſtorical way, as writing the name or inſerting an account of it in the regiſter, as the word may poſſibly be interpreted, then the practice of the Engliſh church will be ſtill more remote from the doctrine of the council of Nice. But how ſtrongly they had lately declared againſt the worſhip of images, and that with reference to this very ſecond council, has been ſhewn already; and therefore I ſhall add nothing further on this ſubject. The third canon of this

this council seems to be taken from the second canon of the council of Cloveshoo, held under archbishop CUTHBERT in the preceding century; which in opposition to the doctrine of BONIFACE, asserted the unity of the catholic church to consist in an agreement of christians in the same faith hope and charity, and in prayers and good offices for the salvation of each other; and not in an unity with the church of Rome, and a submission to its prelates, as BONIFACE pretended. Whether it was the late controversy occasioned by the division of the province of Canterbury that gave a revival to this canon, or upon what other views this council acted in it, in a matter so much in the dark and at this distance of time, it is impossible we should determine. But this canon compared with the eleventh is enough to shew, that the sense of the bishops in this synod with respect to the unity of the catholic church and the freedom and independance of the church of England, was still the same as in the council of Cloveshoo above mentioned. For when they speak of the catholic church and the government of it in the third canon, they assert the head of it to be CHRIST; and that without flattery or preference of one bishop to another they were all to be considered as fellow servants under him as their common master, who have therefore one and the same authority derived to them from him. They would scarcely have expressed themselves after this manner, had they been acquainted with any distinct or superior degree of power over the church which CHRIST had given to St. PETER and his successors; or indeed if they had accounted themselves to have been within the bounds of the Roman patriarchate. And as this council thus determines of the character and interior power of bishops with respect to the catholic church, so when they speak of the external episcopal jurisdiction and authority with respect to one another, or as united into national churches, they do not go abroad to any foreign bishops, but declare that it was not lawful for any bishop to intermeddle in the affairs of any diocese but his own, except for the archbishop who was their head; to whom at the latter end they ascribe the power of judging finally of all offences against the canon, where the offenders would not submit to the sentence of their own diocesan. But before I end my reflections on this council, it will be necessary to observe, that by distinguishing such foundations as were erected with the approbation of the bishop of the diocese, and had received any monastic rule, or whose abbots and abbesses had been blessed by him in that character, from other foundations which had none of these marks, as we find it done in the eighth canon, shews us plainly that these foundations mentioned by BEDE, wherein several persons, men and women, lived together in a religious manner, tho not tied to any monastic rules nor under any vows of celibacy, were continued to this time. I said this observation was necessary to be made, because by giving us a just idea of the primitive state of those societies, it serves to clear up those

difficulties which perplex this part of the hiſtory; and at once ſhews us the reaſon and antiquity of the diſtinction between ſecular and regular monaſteries, and the true ground of that controverſy about them which was ſo great a trouble to the ſucceding age. Whereas were we to judge of theſe ſocieties by the later inſtitutions, we ſhould be apt to think that the ſecular canons had departed from their firſt intention; when in truth the monks were the invaders, and the ſeculars had the genuine intention of their founders, an uſage as ancient as their foundations, and the firſt ſettlement of chriſtianity among the Engliſh, on their ſide.

But I now turn to the hiſtory, and to give an account of the concluſion of the heptarchy which had continued above two hundred years. The ſame wiſe and good providence which governs and diſpoſes all the reſt of the creation, ſets bounds to the duration and the glory of ſtates and kingdoms; and yet the declenſion as well as the grandeur of a people are often kept as ſecrets in his hands. The diviſions and frequent wars which had for a long time ſpred over the heptarchy, had opened a way indeed to human foreſight for erecting an Engliſh monarchy; but yet the ſuddenneſs and the inſignificance of the ſteps towards ſuch an event, as well as the haſty movements which accompliſhed this great change, ſeem no other way to be accounted for but by his good pleaſure who ruleth over all. The kings of Mercia had for the greateſt part of an age made a mighty figure in the ſeven kingdoms; had conquered Norfolk and Suffolk, and made the kings of the Eaſt-Angles a ſort of tributaries to them. But about this time the arms of Egbert were ſo favoured by providence, as by one ſurprizing blow to eſtabliſh the monarchy of the whole Engliſh people in the line of the Weſt-Saxons. He had been king of that people about four and twenty years; and by his wiſe and valiant conduct and the ſucceſs which God gave to his undertakings, he raiſed himſelf to ſuch a height that the king of the Mercians taking umbrage at his greatneſs, met him in battle, in which he was overcome and his army beaten. This great ſucceſs over the moſt numerous and powerful kingdom gave ſuch a reputation to the arms of the conqueror, that it may be ſaid almoſt to determine the fate of the Engliſh nation. For the kingdoms of Kent, and of the Eaſt and South-Saxons, preſently yielded to his authority: the ſame year the king of the Eaſt-Angles withdrew his ſubjection from the king of Mercia and put himſelf under the power of Egbert; and in about three or four years after he compleated his conqueſt over the kings of Mercia and Northumberland. Thus ſuddenly, and almoſt miraculouſly, did he ſubdue the whole Engliſh nation under his government, and cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed king. The ancient records take notice, that he firſt gave the name of England to his dominions, which has puzzled all our late hiſtorians as being falſe in fact. It is certain

that

that the name of England occurs above two hundred years before the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy under EGBERT; and that the name of the Engliſh is frequently uſed to ſignify the people. If therefore there was any change of the ancient ſtyle by a law or appointment of this prince, I apprehend it was to annihilate the diſtinction of the ſeven kingdoms which were thenceforward to loſe their appropriated names, and to be all included in the general name of the kingdom of England, without any other diſtinction than that of its ſeveral counties. This appears to me the moſt natural way of accounting for this difficulty; but if it does not appear ſo to the reader, he may reconcile the contrariety of facts in all our hiſtories on this article in any other manner that he pleaſes. The little principalities of the heptarchy being now all diſſolved, and united under one common ſovereign, we are come, I think, to a proper period for the concluſion of this book.

THE

ECCLESIASTICAL

HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

THE great change in the ſtate, which at the diſſolution of the heptarchy had united the different intereſts of the ſeveral princes and eſtabliſhed peace and tranquillity thowout the nation, one would expect might have been attended with ſome good effects in the Engliſh church; by giving an opportunity to the biſhops and clergy to unite in the ſame common meaſures for the intereſt of religion. But a ſenſe of religion was loſt, and a corruption of manners ſo much prevailed among all conditions of men, that it pleaſed GOD to fruſtrate all the expectations of this kind, and to permit the church and ſtate to be harraſſed and overrun with the moſt cruel depredations of a ſavage people; who in our hiſtories go commonly under the general name of Danes, and among the French under the name of Normans. Theſe were a people inhabiting about the Baltic ocean, who from frequent ravages and devaſtations had got ſuch a taſte of the good things enjoyed by the Engliſh, that they never totally gave up the footing they had almoſt every year acquired, 'till in time the whole kingdom came into the poſſeſſion of the Normans their deſcendants. The invaſions and devaſtations of the Danes were ſo frequent, ſo ſudden, and accompanied with ſuch barbarities during the remainder of this century and almoſt all the next, that the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of this country during that period affords us ſcarcely any other views, but of ruined monaſteries, churches demoliſhed, and neglected diſcipline, except a few inſtances in the interval of their hoſtilities, of the endowments and immunities granted to the clergy and to religious houſes. About thirteen years after the acceſſion of his dignity as ſole monarch of England, EGBERT died, and was ſucceeded as ſuch by ETHELWULF his ſon; a prince of a pious diſpoſition, and according to ſome of our hiſtorians, educated to a religious character, if not inveſted with it. By all accounts he

he was diſpoſed very much to ſtudy and retirement, and fitted more perhaps to the church than to the crown, eſpecially in a new unſettled kingdom, harraſſed every year almoſt with the ravages of a fierce and cruel enemy. During the heat of theſe ravages we hear ſcarce any thing of the clergy; except of thoſe who were obliged to quit their function, and apply themſelves to the weapons of another warfare, that they might defend their country. For the churches and religious houſes being deſtroyed, and they themſelves being deſpoiled of what was intended for their ſubſiſtence, they had nothing to do but to turn from the ſtudy of religion to the exerciſe of arms. It is therefore no wonder, if in ſuch times as theſe, we meet with but little matter for a hiſtory of the church. Beſides, the greateſt part of the monaſteries, where the memoirs of all eccleſiaſtical tranſactions were depoſited, having been demoliſhed, the hiſtorians who have wrote of theſe diſaſtrous times, have wrote from memory or tradition; or at leaſt without the aſſiſtance of ſuch original memoirs. The reader then muſt expect to find but few remarkable events relating to religion; but few councils to inform us of the faith and doctrine of the church of England at that time; and but very few men of learning whoſe labours might afford us ſome real light. The few however that are come down to us of any moment ſhall be related, as they may ſerve to explain the events of more happy future times.

It is generally agreed that ALFRED, a younger ſon of ETHELWULF was ſent to Rome in his infancy, during the papacy of LEO the fourth in the year eight hundred and fifty-three; and there, tho himſelf only a child, and his father and three brothers living, yet they tell us that ALFRED was anointed king, and adopted by his holineſs as his ſon. The monkiſh writers are all ſo unanimous in this particular, that the beſt of our late hiſtorians take it upon their credit, and look no further: and yet at the firſt view it is a very ſurpriſing circumſtance, becauſe it is certain that the biſhops of Rome had not yet taſted the pleaſure of diſpoſing of thrones and kingdoms. It is likewiſe very certain that ALFRED made no pretence to the crown of England; 'till by the death of his father and his elder brothers, that great truſt was put by providence regularly into his hands; which according to ASSERIUS who lived with him and who wrote his hiſtory, was eighteen years after this pretended unction. If there was any truth in his being anointed by the pope at Rome, it is probable that LEO performed the ceremony previous to his confirmation; and then taking upon himſelf the office of a godfather to the prince, preſented him to the biſhop by whom he was confirmed. Should the reader ſuſpect that this is not the whole truth relating to this tranſaction, I can aſſure him it is all that is intelligible or conſiſtent. Neither is it a conjecture without any probable grounds. Anointing is a ceremony ſo conſtantly uſed at confirmation

by the Greek church, that it is generally known at this day by the name of chriſm: and in the caſe of Godrune a king of the Danes, baptiſed at the inſtance of Alfred when he was king, and to whom he was godfather, it appears the Dane was baptiſed, and after ſome time confirmed by anointing. Without this ſolution the reader muſt combat with an unintelligible tale of Alfred's being anointed king in his minority, during the lives of his father and three elder brothers; and this too by a foreign prelate, who had no precedent to guide him, and could poſſibly have no temptation to lead him to a thing ſo contrary to the true intereſt and the cautious meaſures of that prudent court. The ſolution of ſome of the monks, that the anointing was directed by an angel from heaven to ſhew what great things God intended for him, will rather create a ſuſpicion that the whole is forged than give any light or credit to the tranſaction.

Whilſt miſery covered the face of the whole kingdom of Ethelwulf, and his preſence ſeems abſolutely neceſſary in his own dominions, that he might provide for the quiet and ſafety of his ſubjects and chaſtize the inſolence of the Danes, Polidore Virgil either finds or makes an errand for him to Rome; and tells us that he granted a new tribute to the pope, in imitation of king Ina, out of all thoſe countries which his father Egbert had added to his dominions. But notwithſtanding this extraordinary liberality to the ſee of Rome, the earlieſt notice we have of his munificence to the Engliſh church, and of his charity to the poor ſeems ſo dark and intricate, that if the writers after the conqueſt had not aſſiſted us, poſterity had never known, what, if true, ought never to be forgotten, a grant he made of the tithes of his whole kingdom to the church, and of the tenth part of his eſtate to the poor. The charter by which he gave it, and publiſhed by Mr. Selden is in the following form.

" I Ethelwulph, by the grace of God, king of the Weſt-Saxons, " &c. with the advice of the biſhops, earls and all other perſons of " diſtinction in my dominions, have for the health of my ſoul, " the good of my people, and the proſperity of my kingdom, taken " the prudent and ſerviceable reſolution of granting the tenth part of " the lands throwout my whole kingdom to the church and miniſters " of religion; to be enjoyed by them with all the privileges of a free " tenure, and diſcharged from all ſervices due to the crown, " and all other incumbrances incident to lay fees. This grant has " been made by us to the church, in honour of Jesus Christ, the " bleſſed virgin and all ſaints, and out of regard to the paſchal ſolem- " nity, and that almighty God might vouchſafe his bleſſing to us and " our poſterity. Dated at the palace of Wilton in the year eight hun- " dred fifty four, indiction the ſecond, at the feaſt of Eaſter."

The

The only variation in the ſeveral copies that are handed down of this charter, is that all the others are dated at Wincheſter and in the year following this; and many from this variation have been led to call in queſtion the authenticity of the charter itſelf. The obſervation of RAPIN, that the clergy claimed a right to the tithes if they were not in actual poſſeſſion of them long before this time, is not a juſt one. All the ancient, as well as modern hiſtorians, and MR. SELDEN himſelf, have with one conſent allowed, that the firſt general law of England for the ſettlement of tithes, was owing to the bounty and piety of this monarch. As to the variation in the date and ſubſcription of this charter, this is accounted for, by ſuppoſing that the grant of tithes was twice made by ETHELWULF, in an aſſembly firſt of the ſtates of Weſt-Saxony, and then in the following year of the ſtates of the whole kingdom of England. The circumſtances of this grant made a great addition to the munificence of it: for tho the kingdom was at this time engaged in war, and ſtood in need of all the wealth of the nation to carry it on, and tho the perſons of the clergy and the religious had not been altogether excuſed from military ſervices in times paſt, yet in this general endowment, as the learned MR. SELDEN has obſerved, "an exemption was included, not only from all common "taxes and exactions uſed then in the ſtate, but particularly from "that ſervice to which all other lands of the freeſt tenure were ſubject, "the building bridges, fortifying towns, and aiding their kings in "their expeditions. By this freedom every man was from thenceforth "to be valued in all ſubſidies and taxes according only to the nine "parts of his lands and profits: and the profits of the tenth being due "to the church, were both in his and their hands hereby diſcharged "from all payments and taxes whatſoever." But that the reader may not be deceived, and imagine that the preceding and ſucceding princes had no ſhare in the honour of providing for the ſervice of GOD, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that the proviſion for the parochial clergy in the manner and circumſtances of it, bore a proportion to the building of churches, and diſtinguiſhing and ſetting out the bounds of pariſhes. This was not the work of any ſingle age, nor law of any particular monarch; but grew up by degrees under the care and charity of ſeveral princes, till it came to that which was once the glory of the Engliſh nation. But in many places ſuch a conſiderable alienation has ſince that time been made, and ſo great a part of the revenues beſtowed upon the church has been reſumed, as makes the ſtate of thoſe pariſhes at this time a ſcandal to religion and the church of England. But to return.

Without leſſening the honour of ETHELWULF, it muſt be remembered, that from the firſt ſettlement of chriſtianity among the Engliſh,

a proviſion was made for thoſe who attended upon the altar. This was the caſe of thoſe churches planted by Austin and his followers; and it was likewiſe the caſe of thoſe who owed their converſion to the Scots from Ireland; they erected churches, and provided for the ſupport and maintenance of the clergy: but the want of other places of education made it neceſſary for ſome ages for the biſhops and clergy to live together at the mother church: that they might ſerve the preſent generation in the diſcharge of their ſacred office, and train others up to ſuccede them who might ſerve the future. This neceſſity, together with the fond opinions of the monaſtic and collegiate life, ſo long retarded the ſettlement of the clergy in towns and villages, that Bede ſpeaks of it as a thing unuſual for a clergyman to be ſeen in country villages; and yet ſays that there was not any ſo obſcure but what was charged with a payment to the biſhop. In the council of Calcuith in the laſt century, the payment of tithes is founded on the authority of the Levitical law, and the uſage eſtabliſhed by it is propoſed by that council as the proper rule. Thus amongſt thoſe laws of Moses which were adopted into the law of England by Alfred the ſon of Ethelwulf, the law for the payment of tithes and firſt fruits is one. Yet notwithſtanding all this care to make a proviſion for the clergy, there are ſo many laws and canons in the three ſucceding ages on the ſame ſubject, and ſo many inſtances of voluntary conſecration of tithes, as would almoſt tempt one to believe, that there is ſome miſtake in what is ſaid of this charter abovementioned. Our hiſtorians indeed are one and all of the ſame opinion, that it was an authentic grant and a general ſettlement of tithes: and this makes it very difficult to form a judgment of the ſtate of the lower clergy at that time, and of the grounds of this ſeeming contradiction, as to the time and manner and circumſtances of providing for them. Perhaps there is nothing will give us more light into this affair, than the change in the face of the Engliſh church, and the conſequences that followed on it, which the order of time makes it neceſſary now to relate.

But here it is proper to go a little back. As the Engliſh nation owed its converſion to men educated in cathedrals and religious houſes, ſo it acquired ſuch an eſteem and veneration for thoſe inſtitutions, that from the firſt ſettlement of chriſtianity till after this time, the offices of religion were generally provided for by ſuch of the clergy as lived at the mother church, under the eye and care of the biſhop; who ſent them out to officiate where the neceſſities of the dioceſe required them; the reſt were performed by ſuch of the clergy as lived in monaſteries, and colleges of prieſts diſperſed about the nation. For this reaſon, tho churches were built in many places for the more convenient aſſembling in the worſhip of God, yet for the moſt part they were ſupplied from theſe bodies. They were therefore called itinerant preachers very properly

perly by ſome hiſtorians; and the places of worſhip were not ſtrictly ſpeaking pariſh churches, but rather chapels of eaſe to the mother church, without any ſettled limits or diſtricts; free to all perſons who thought fit to reſort to them; and where the nobility and great men, whoſe lands and territories were extenſive, began to build them for the convenience of their vaſſals and ſervants. Some of theſe had prieſts permitted with the conſent of the biſhop to reſide amongſt them; and they were the places of worſhip to all their tenants and dependants without any other bounds, but thoſe of the territories and neighbourhood of the great men who built them. The ſubſiſtence of the clergy for theſe churches was ſettled by the founder upon the lands, and in ſuch oblations from them, their tenants, and vaſſals, as were agreed upon by the biſhop and themſelves at the firſt erecting of the church. But theſe inſtances are very rare. Nor is it indeed to be wondered at, when we conſider that the lands of England were at this time in a few hands; the nobility and great men being almoſt the only proprietors, and the common people their dependants or tenants for life. As this ſeems to be one reaſon, why churches, which bore proportion to the proprietors of the lands, were yet but few; ſo it ſeems probable, that the changes made in England, by frequent ſales and enfranchiſing their vaſſals by the nobility and clergy under the Saxon government, and by the poſſeſſions acquired in them by the Danes and afterwards by the Normans, which brought property into more hands, increaſed in proportion the number of churches. For the great men affected an appearance of ſovereignty more or leſs according to the figure they made in their ſeveral countries; which not only put them upon obtaining a power of trying criminals, and advancing their houſes to halls and courts of juſtice for their tenants, but upon building churches, and making the bounds of their manors the bounds of pariſhes; in which the prieſts were to officiate only to their families, their tenants, and vaſſals: and for aught appears to the contrary, this continued to be the ſtate of the parochial clergy and churches, 'till the barbarities of the Danes by deſtroying monaſteries, opened a way to the change which in after times enſued. The religious houſes in England were the particular object of the rage and cruelty of theſe invaders; in which they left nothing behind, but what the fire ſpared, to atteſt their inhumanity to ſucceding ages. By their means theſe foundations, which in the beginning of the laſt century were ſo numerous that BEDE complains of them as a burden to the nation, were now ſo entirely overthrown, that not an abbot or monk was to be found. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſword, which were not many, either turned to another way of getting their bread, or fled abroad into other countries for their ſafety. This change among the regulars drew after it a greater change among the ſecular clergy; who were obliged to diſperſe and ſettle themſelves in ſuch towns and villages where they might diſcharge the

offices

offices of their function with more ſecurity: and as this change in their manner of life induced them to ſupply the want of the converſation which they had enjoyed before, by marrying, ſo the monaſteries and collegiate bodies which firſt recovered from the fury of the Danes, followed their example ſo generally, that as well the regulars as the members of other foundations were univerſally married throwout the nation.

Theſe obſervations on the ancient and preſent ſtate of the church and clergy of England, may poſſibly afford ſome light into the ſtate of their maintenance and revenue. As for the collegiate ſocieties, they had for the moſt part their ſupport from the lands ſettled upon them by the munificence of their founders: and it is no wonder we hear of no other laws about the revenues of thoſe who generally lived in ſocieties with their biſhops, but only ſuch as relate to the endowments of the church. Neither are we to wonder, as theſe laws extended only to general grants of tithes, if in the two following centuries we hear of frequent dedications to particular churches, altars, colleges, or monaſteries; and that Ethelwulf's grant did not take place ſo far as to eſtabliſh a parochial right of tithes, 'till by the zeal of ſucceding times, pariſh churches were almoſt every where erected. Indeed if we conſider the ſtate of the church of England at that time, how few pariſh churches were then in being, and how effectually it would have diſcouraged the building more, if the grant of that king had fixed the tithes of the whole nation to the few churches then erected, we ſhall ſee reaſon to value the wiſdom as much as the piety of the age. The number of pariſh churches was ſmall for the reaſon given above; the precincts which in after times paid tithes to limited and certain churches were then unſettled and uncertain; and therefore the building and endowing ſo many churches in the four ſucceding ages, and diſtinguiſhing and ſetting out the bounds of pariſhes as to the payment of tithes, are eaſily enough accounted for. Having thus endeavoured to clear up the difficulties which attend this part of our church hiſtory, I ſhall now go on as the courſe of its affairs lead me.

About two years after this grant of the tithes, Ethelwulf died; leaving four ſons behind him, to whom he bequeathed his dominions ſucceſſively by his will. The reigns of the three eldeſt were ſhort and inſignificant, affording no events relating to the church but the deſtruction of monaſteries, and the pathetic deſcriptions hiſtorians give of the fury of the Danes againſt the monks. Alfred, tho ſaid to be anointed king about ſix years before, was yet but a child of eleven years old at his father's death; and ſo meanly provided for, that he was in a manner left to the charity as well as the protection of his brothers. The greateſt part of his minority was ſpent in hunting and other diverſions

of the field; and having paſſed thro this courſe of education, which was to train up the nobility to fatigue and hardſhip and make them bold and enterpriſing, he made a campaign under his brother ETHELRED at eighteen years of age. The reign of this king was ſhort, as well as that of his two elder brothers; but he lived long enough to ſee a formidable enemy in the bowels of his country, and his crown in danger of being ſnatched from his head. In ſhort the affairs of the kingdom were ſo embarraſſed, that it was not without difficulty that ALFRED was prevailed upon to accept the ſucceſſion which fell to him by his brother's death. For partly by the weakneſs and unſteadineſs of his father and his three elder brothers, and partly by the vengeance which GOD permitted the Danes to inflict on the Engliſh nation, the monarchy that was eſtabliſhed in his family by his grandfather, was reduced to ſo feeble a ſtate, that his very title was become precarious. By the time he had been a month upon the throne he was forced upon a battle to defend his crown; and if we may believe the writer of his life, beſides many encounters, he fought no leſs than eight pitched battles in the firſt year of his reign. Amidſt the calamities of ſo long a war, the intereſts of learning and religion we may be ſure muſt ſuffer greatly; much more than the civil rights, and the ſecular intereſts of men, which are better able to bear up againſt them: and this was the caſe of theſe nations. If the country was laid waſte, yet the lands remained immoveable, a great part of the people eſcaped the ſword, and the great lines of government were ſtill undefaced. But learning, which in the preceding age ſhone ſo bright in England, that it was the ſchool of neighbouring nations, was now reduced to ſuch a ſtate, that in the preface to GREGORY's paſtoral, tranſlated into Engliſh by king ALFRED, he laments the wretched ignorance that had overſpred the nation. "There are ſo few, ſays he, that underſtand their prayers in the Eng-
"liſh tongue, or can turn a piece of Latin into Engliſh, that of theſe,
"when I came to the crown, I do no remember ſo much as one man
"on the ſouth ſide of the Thames."

The reader will not be ſurpriſed at this account, when he recollects that the monaſteries and religious houſes which had from the beginning been the chief ſchools of learning, were for the moſt part laid in aſhes; and that all the monks were maſſacred or fled. Beſides, the monaſtic life was at this time ſo far from the reputation it had been in before in the laſt age, that when ALFRED had built a monaſtery, he was obliged to ſend to France and to pick up men of different nations to inhabit it. Such a prodigious change had time produced in the ſentiments and inclinations of the Engliſh people, that they who but an age before were fond even to a fault of a monaſtic life, could not now be prevailed on by any means to favour it. This circumſtance, it is probable, induced ALFRED to provide for the intereſts of religion and learning, in a man-

ner different from that of his predeceſſors; and well foreſeeing the difficulty of forcing the genius of a nation, inſtead of confining learning to epiſcopal colleges and monaſteries, he caſt about to promote its intereſt in another manner. To this purpoſe he invited a great many ſcholars of character to his court, and ſupported them at his own expence; among whom was J. Duns Scotus, an Iriſhman by birth, a man of great learning and figure in the diſputes of the age in France, where he was entertained in the court of Charles the bald. Being ſtrongly invited by king Alfred he came over into England, where at firſt he was the king's preceptor in languages and other learning, and afterwards made public profeſſor in the monaſtery of Malmſbury; where upon a quarrel between him and his pupils they ſtabbed him mortally with their penknives. The king, who beſides the motives of his own genius, knew the uſe and ornament of knowlege in religion, was deſirous to encourage the intereſt and to revive the ſtudy of learning. For this end he endowed three halls at Oxford, thrown afterwards into one ſociety and called by the name of Univerſity college, where he ſettled a revenue for about eighty ſcholars under certain ſtatutes and regulations. Some writers indeed have carried the antiquity of Oxford much higher than the reign of Alfred; but in the commemorations of that univerſity, he has to this day the honour of being acknowledged as their founder. To ſay nothing of Bede's ſilence about any ſuch ſeat of learning as Oxford, or of Alcuinus's calling York the place of letters at that time, and that among all the accounts of the burning libraries and monaſteries by the Danes we hear nothing of our univerſities; which I think is enough to prove that there were none ſuch then in being, yet the point of their antiquity in my opinion may be determined, by aſking only how it happened, that Alfred found no man on this ſide the Humber that underſtood their prayers in Engliſh, or could conſtrue Latin; and why he was obliged to invite and entertain learned men from other countries, if two famous univerſities had been long before eſtabliſhed? Theſe queſtions are not to be anſwered. But as I obſerved before of Cambridge, the credit of the univerſity wants no ſuch great antiquity to ſupport it; they are both of them without diſpute the moſt illuſtrious ſeats of learning in Europe, and Oxford in particular has one of the greateſt princes that ever ſate on the throne of England for its founder. He ſpared no coſt nor labour by favour or rewards to provide the moſt eminent profeſſors for it that could be drawn together. But becauſe this noble deſign muſt have loſt a great part of its uſefulneſs, if proviſion had not been made for the elements and firſt foundations of learning, therefore Alfred erected ſchools in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, and by a particular law obliged all the people of ability to ſend their children to them. Tho he did not live to ſucceed in all the great deſigns he had formed to promote learning and religion, yet poſterity has been juſt in giving him

him the honour of them. Beſides he had the pleaſure of ſharing himſelf in the benefit which he deſigned for others: and with the aſſiſtance of PLEGMUND archbiſhop of Canterbury, WEREFRID biſhop of Worceſter, ASSERIUS archbiſhop of ST. DAVID'S who wrote ALFRED'S life, and ſome other learned men, he made himſelf maſter of many parts of learning. Theſe were likewiſe the principal perſons whom the king made uſe of to recover the church and ſtate; to retrieve his ſubjects from the diſadvantages of their ignorance, to poliſh their manners, and to direct their conſciences. But leſt the learning of the preſent clergy ſhould die with them, and not deſcend upon their ſucceſſors thro the unhappy turbulency of the times, he reſolved upon making ſome proviſion for the inſtruction of poſterity. To this end he himſelf tranſlated the paſtoral of GREGORY the great into Engliſh; ſeveral copies of which were tranſcribed, and ſent to every dioceſe, with directions to the biſhop to preſerve them carefully: and thus if the clergy of future times ſhould be low in their education and unacquainted with their duty, they might learn it from thence. Nor did the piety and zeal of this great prince determine here: he tranſlated BEDE'S eccleſiaſtical hiſtory into Engliſh, to make up the misfortune which they ſuffered under from the ignorance of the age: and if the authority of ſome of our hiſtorians may be relied on, he tranſlated the pſalms of DAVID, and the old and new teſtament into Engliſh.

After a long and bloody war betwixt king ALFRED and the Danes, the latter were reduced to ſuch difficulties as that they were forced to ſue for peace: and to make it appear that he knew how not only to conquer, but to forgive and aſſiſt his enemies, he conſented that GUTHRAM, the chief and general of the Danes, ſhould ſettle with thoſe of his nation then in England, in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeſhire, and the iſle of Ely, to be held as a tributary kingdom under himſelf; on this expreſs condition nevertheleſs, that they ſhould all of them turn chriſtians. The articles which were made at the finiſhing the league between theſe princes, and which paſs by the name of the eccleſiaſtical laws of king ALFRED and GUTHRAM king of the Danes, are in truth but little elſe beſides articles of agreement, in order to ſecure the ſteadineſs, and to direct the conduct of the converts in the principal duties of chriſtianity: and that they might not relapſe into the idolatry and ſuperſtition of their former ſtate, they were to hold their favours of king ALFRED, upon no other terms than doing their duty to GOD, and adhering to the religion of CHRIST. The firſt article therefore is, that the Danes ſhould renounce paganiſm, and agree in the worſhip of the true GOD. The ſecond directs the puniſhment in caſe of apoſtacy; and the three following lay down rules for the conduct of the clergy. The ninth preſcribes the puniſhment of thoſe who withold their tithes: and almoſt all that follow provide for the regular obſervance of the faſts

faſts and feſtivals of the church, particularly for that of the Lord's day. In ſhort of the whole ſeventeen articles which this league conſiſts of, there is not one which does not reſpect the intereſt of religion, or the conduct of thoſe whoſe duty it was to attend upon it. It is ſomewhat difficult to determine, at what preciſe time this league was made; but it is probable it was made at the ſame time when Guthram and his principal officers were baptized; when the peace between Alfred and them was finiſhed; and the Danes allowed to ſettle themſelves in the eaſterly parts of England. Whilſt Alfred was thus endeavouring in his example, to give poſterity a view of the great things which may be done by the zeal and piety of a wiſe and active prince; whilſt he was labouring with all his power to eſtabliſh juſtice in his dominions and to promote learning and religion, and his noble deſigns were but in their infancy, it pleaſed God to take this good king to himſelf at the concluſion of this century after a reign of thirty years; to the great grief of his ſubjects and the prejudice of his kingdom in church and ſtate.

As great a figure as the reader has ſeen Alfred make in the pages he has juſt gone thro, yet this prince was an inſtance of as great a reverſe of fortune as ever was met with perhaps in hiſtory: and his character will deſerve a little more illuſtration than what we have met with of it already. Tho in his youth he delighted much in the exerciſes of the field, yet it did not extinguiſh his love of learning and the polite arts; of which in his infancy he was obſerved to be very fond. As he grew in years, this inclination to literature increaſed; and he preferred it to all the ſplendour and magnificence of ſovereign power. No wonder therefore that he lamented ſo much the ignorance and barbarity of the age he lived in; which was ſo barren of men of letters, that he could not procure a ſingle man in his own country to inſtruct him in arts and ſciences. It is likewiſe no wonder that he was prevailed upon with difficulty, when their dominions were ſo imbaraſſed by the Danes, to accept the title of his anceſtors. A kingdom in itſelf had no charms for Alfred; much leſs ſuch a kingdom as was involved in all the circumſtances of diſtreſs. He looked upon a crown in no other light than as an inevitable diverſion from the ſatisfactions of a calm and ſtudious courſe of life, and the cultivation of his nobleſt faculties. But however, when the public good and the juſt deſires of his people called upon him, he diveſted himſelf of all private ſelfiſh conſiderations, and exerted that invincible reſolution and magnanimity and all thoſe other virtues, which have made his name venerable to ſucceding ages. In the beginning of his reign, he was ſurpriſed with a more formidable army of the Danes than had ever appeared before; which ſtruck ſuch a terror into his ſubjects as deprived them of all their wonted courage. Some fled into Wales, others went into foreign countries, and many

revolted and ſwore allegiance to the Danes. ALFRED being thus abandoned entirely, except by a few of his domeſticks, who were then a burden to him, diveſted himſelf of all regal ornaments, diſpoſed of his family in the beſt manner he could, and taking the diſguiſe of a common ſoldier, he committed himſelf to the care of a man, who according to the cuſtom of thoſe times had the charge of keeping the king's cows. Whether he ever diſcovered himſelf to this man is not known, but I am inclined to think that he did not. The place where he lay concealed was ſurrounded with a large moraſs, thro which there was no other paſſage but a narrow foot-path leading to the neatherd's cottage which was covered with briars and thorns. In this diſmal retirement, and with theſe accommodations, he hid himſelf from his friends as well as his enemies, and was employed by his hoſteſs about her little houſhold affairs. When he had been almoſt a year in this retreat, meditating on the meaſures he ſhould afterwards purſue, if he ſhould ever have an opportunity of exerting the regal power, and perhaps deſpairing of ever attaining to the heighth he once had been in poſſeſſion of, he was at laſt informed by the neatherd, whom he ſometimes deſired to pick up what news he could, that the Danes had had a great defeat and their general was ſlain. This he thought a fit opportunity to diſcover himſelf to his beſt and moſt powerful friends; that they might come to him and conſult whether any thing was to be done for the recovery of his kingdom. After having conferred two or three times with them, and ſettled the proper meaſures for drawing together ſome ſmall bodies of troops in different parts, who might be ready to join each other at a minute's warning, he took ſuch a reſolution of being informed of the enemies ſtrength and ſituation, as never entered perhaps into the head of any other prince upon earth; which was to put on the diſguiſe of a harper, and go into their camp himſelf. Having ſtaid long enough to inform himſelf of the negligence and ill condition of the Danes, he returned to his cottage and his officers; where in a council of war he gave directions for a general rendeſvous of all his forces, to be made in ſo expeditious and ſecret a manner, as that his enemy ſhould have the only notice of it from their approach. The ſucceſs anſwered his meaſures; and he gained once more a compleat victory over them. The piety of his youth continued on thro the whole courſe of his life; and the licence of the camp made no impreſſion on his heart which was always good. His charity and magnificence was great, beyond what is poſſible for us now to imagine. He firſt divided his revenue into two parts; one of which was again ſubdivided into three; and with theſe he ſupported the ſalaries of his court and family, and the expences of his buildings, and the entertainment of ſtrangers that were neceſſitous. The other half was allotted for four different purpoſes; the one for the poor among his own ſubjects; the monaſteries had a ſecond portion; the ſcholars at the univerſity he had

founded were allowed a third; and the foreign churches of chriſtians were admitted to ſhare the fourth. There is no ſaying too much of the ſtrength and univerſality of his genius. The new way of building ſhips, by which he compleated his victory over the Danes, was owing to his own invention; his ſkill in architecture enabled him to form models with great exactneſs and beauty; and he taught the Engliſh to build with much more regularity and magnificence than they had ever ſeen before. His learning has been taken notice of in the hiſtory of his reign, and his religion may be eaſily enough collected from thence. It may be proper however to mention, that as the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition and the regularity of his morals, were not impared or injured by the exerciſes of war or the liberties of a military life, ſo neither did thoſe avocations, nor the ſplendour of a court, nor the neceſſary demands of the ſtate, prevent the conſtancy of his attendance on the public ſervice of the church every day: and from that order and devotion which his own exemplary piety had introduced into his court, he endeavoured to ſpread a ſpirit of ſerioufneſs and religion throwout his kingdom. To this end he gave the biſhops and clergy the higheſt marks of his eſteem and favour and all poſſible encouragement in the diſcharge of their holy office. And this encouragement and the particular friendſhip he ever treated thoſe with who diſtinguiſhed themſelves either by their abilities and learning or religious zeal, produced ſuch an alteration in the compaſs of his reign, that tho when he came to the crown there was not a ſingle perſon who could conſtrue Latin on this ſide the Humber, yet there were ſome he tells us himſelf, in the ſame work in which he makes that complaint, who were come to ſuch degrees of learning as to be fitted for the inſtruction of others. Such ſudden mighty changes do the ſpirit of a great and the genius of a wiſe prince produce. To all this it may be added, that his condeſcenſion, eaſineſs of acceſs, and pleaſantry of converſation in all his calm and ſocial hours, were equal to the courage and the greatneſs of his mind in time of danger or diſtreſs. The reputation he had acquired in the field of battle, was to be equalled by few, but it was to be excelled by none. He commanded in more engagements than J. Caesar; diſtinguiſhed himſelf in all of them with very uncommon intrepidity; and even fought up to the character of a hero in romance. In ſhort it may be ſaid of Alfred, that he was a prodigy of goodneſs, of underſtanding, and of greatneſs. To look at him thro his devotions, one would think he had been all his life in a cloiſter; to examine the productions of his genius, we ſhould be tempted to think that his whole time had been occupied in learning and the ſciences; and to view him as a general and a monarch, he appears to have ſtudied nothing but the art of war and politicks, the conqueſt of his enemies, and the eaſe and proſperity of his ſubjects. How much is it then to be regretted, that the Alexanders and the Caesars, and

and the other tyrants and oppreſſors of mankind, ſhould meet with ſuch noble writers to perpetuate their memory, when an ALFRED, whoſe ſuperior abilities were entirely directed to the good of his people, ſhould have the misfortune to be recorded by the loweſt and moſt inſufficient of all writers.

I return now to the courſe of affairs in the church of England, when EDWARD the eldeſt ſon of king ALFRED, and commonly known by the name of EDWARD the elder, ſucceeded him on the throne. Notwithſtanding all the wiſdom and precaution of his father in the ſettlement of the church and monarchy, yet the reign of the ſon began with the misfortunes which new governments are ſubject to. For no ſooner was the ceremony of EDWARD's coronation performed by PLEGMUND archbiſhop of Canterbury, than ETHELWALD his couſin withdrew privately to the Danes; who had with ALFRED's conſent poſſeſſed the northern parts of England, and by whom he was choſe their king. For ſome years therefore he gave a great deal of trouble and diſquiet to the new reign of EDWARD: but the length of the war his father had with the Danes, had ſo diſciplined his men and hardened their courage, that meeting at the famous trench called the Devil's dike in Suffolk, a bloody battle was fought; in which ETHELWALD and the general of the Danes were ſlain, which put an end to the rebellion, and to the troubles of EDWARD's reign. But before this war was concluded he is ſaid to have been attacked in a manner unknown in all the ages paſt, and which might poſſibly have remained a ſecret to all that were to come, if ſome of the later hiſtorians had not been fortunate in a diſcovery which eſcaped thoſe who lived before them. But I will recite the particulars, and the reader may judge for himſelf. They are given us firſt by MALMSBURY in the following manner. In the year nine hundred and four, FORMOSUS the pope having been informed, that the whole kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons had been for ſeven years without a biſhop, his holineſs, out of a zeal for the glory of GOD and the good of his church, "wrote letters into England, by which he threatened excom-
"munication and malediction to king EDWARD and his ſubjects, in-
"ſtead of the benediction formerly ſent to the Engliſh nation from
"the apoſtolic ſee. The guilt of this negligence was principally
"imputed to king EDWARD; who employing his thoughts al-
"moſt wholly on martial affairs, little regarded eccleſiaſtical mat-
"ters, and afforded not his aſſiſtance to biſhops in the diſcharge
"of their functions." "When king EDWARD heard of this he aſſem-
"bled a ſynod of all the ſenators of his kingdom, over which pre-
"ſided PLEGMUND archbiſhop of Canterbury, who earneſtly deſired
"that ſatisfaction might be given to his holineſs." In this ſynod we are told, that the kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons which had only the ſees of Wincheſter and Sherbourn, was now agreed to be divided into five; and that three new ones ſhould be erected at Wilton, Wells, and Crediton.

Crediton. This agreement being made in a great council of biſhops, abbots and noblemen called by king Edward and the archbiſhop, we are told that Plegmund haſted away to Rome; and with many rich preſents and great ſubmiſſion appeaſed the anger of Formosus, who confirmed what had paſſed in England at this ſynod. This account from Malmsbury is copied by Baronius, and from him inſerted in the collections of Spellman and Labbe; from whence it has been handed down by ſo many of our church hiſtorians, that if the inconſiſtency of the ſtory did not ſhew the falſhood of it, the number of its authorities might give it credit. To ſuppoſe that a prince of Alfred's character, whoſe piety and whoſe zeal for the intereſts of religion were ſo extraordinary, ſhould have ſuffered his principal hereditary kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons to have continued three years without any biſhop in it, when he had no diſturbance from his enemies, is an abſurdity of too hard a digeſtion. Beſides, Formosus who is ſaid by Malmsbury to have iſſued out this bull in nine hundred and four, it is well known was dead in eight hundred and ninety ſix; and ſhould the bull have been paſſed according to Baronius's correction of this miſtake, in eight hundred and ninety four when his holineſs was living, then Edward was not king. There are ſeveral conjectures advanced by Spellman and others to reconcile the inconſiſtences of this ſtory; but after all, the difficulties are ſtill invincible, and it muſt be placed amongſt the legends of the age. For whereas it is ſaid, that the biſhopricks of Wincheſter and Sherbourn had been void ſeven years, and there was not a biſhop in the Weſt-Saxon kingdom in nine hundred and four, yet it is evident that Denulphus, made biſhop of Wincheſter by king Alfred, did not die till nine hundred and nine, nor did Asserius biſhop of Sherbourn die till the ſame year. Theſe are contradictions in chronology which are never to be got over; but as to the circumſtance of the archbiſhop's conſecrating ſeven prelates in the beginning of king Edward's reign, to ſupply the vacancies that were made by a general ſickneſs then in the nation, and for the new ſees which the king had erected for the better government of the church, this is not improbable, and may eaſily admit of belief. The other parts of this ſtory, it is plain, muſt be an addition if not the fiction of thoſe writers, who making a judgment of things paſt by the rules of the age in which they lived, concluded doubtleſs that the founding biſhopricks and confirming biſhops in them was then, as they ſaw it in their own time, with the knowledge and approbation of the ſee of Rome. Whereas the doctrine of interdicting kingdoms and excommunicating kings was never heard of at the time when this is ſaid of pope Formosus. The kings of England particularly, from the firſt ſettlement of chriſtianity, it is plain through this whole hiſtory, had all along erected or divided biſhopricks as they ſay cauſe; without expecting any allowance or authority for it from abroad. The great number of eccleſiaſtical laws made by Alfred and his ſon Edward, as well as their predeceſſors, and this too with the advice and good liking of their

their clergy, leaves no room to doubt at all, that the ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical as well as civil cauſes, was hitherto eſteemed to be the abſolute right of the kings of England. But further, it may be obſerved, that ASSERIUS who lived at this time, and the Saxon chronicle, ſay not a word of this pretended interdict or excommunication, which is a circumſtance of itſelf enough to convince us that the ſtory was an addition of after ages: but if we add the inconſiſtency of it, with the time, the chronology, and character of king ALFRED, it can never be believed that he permitted the kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons to be without a biſhop the laſt three years of his life, when he was in peace, and purſuing great deſigns for the intereſt of learning and religion. Indeed in the year nine hundred and nine, the two biſhops of that kingdom at Wincheſter and Sherbourn died; when it was an eaſy matter to divide their dioceſes, and to proportion the diſtricts and revenues of the new biſhopricks; and the conſecration of theſe five new biſhops in one day with two more for the ſees of Dorcheſter and Seolſey which were likewiſe vacant, is thus eaſily enough accounted for, without having recourſe to fiction.

One would have hoped that the church of England, being thus provided with a fit number of biſhops, aided with the favour and eſteem of a wiſe and active prince and many great encouragements to learning, might have made a figure at this time, in ſome meaſure anſwerable to the care beſtowed upon it. But it ſoon appeared how eaſily the overruling hand of providence can blaſt the wiſeſt meaſures, and bring to nought the councils of the ableſt men. For about this time the war with the Danes broke out again; and tho there were always ſome ſhort intervals of peace, yet it laſted ſo long, that king EDWARD who acted a great and noble part in it, yet did not live to ſee it ended. The miſchiefs which were done by theſe frequent ravages to the intereſt of learning and religion, were ſuch as might be expected in a nation covered over with blood and rapine: and notwithſtanding all the care and zeal of the biſhops and clergy to prevent it, yet every thing ran into confuſion. But this was not the condition of the church of England only at this time; the whole Weſtern church was now in a ſtate of miſery: and if there was any difference betwixt the churches of Rome and England, it conſiſted chiefly in this, that the caſe of the church of Rome was much the moſt deploreable, and laſted ſo the longeſt. The Engliſh church was indeed chaſtized, but it was chaſtized by its enemies; it had the misfortune of ſuffering, but at that time it had not the guilt of its ruin. The church of Rome, on the contrary, had this uncomfortable circumſtance to aggravate their woe, that its miſery was from itſelf; and that their ſorrows were occaſioned by thoſe who ſhould have ſtrived, and ſtudied, or even died for its peace; their own biſhops. To recite the miſchief which the blackeſt

villanies of theſe men occaſioned, from the latter end of the ninth to the beginning of the eleventh century, thro a ſucceſſion of above fifty popes, does not fall within my deſign: but I mention this circumſtance, that the reader may be enabled to form a judgment of the figure which thoſe prelates made in that age, and of the little probability there is, notwithſtanding the fond aſſertions of ſome writers, of the power of the popes of Rome in the ninth and the tenth centuries. I think he will ſtand amazed at the confidence with which P. Virgil and ſome other hiſtorians ſpeak of England as a fee of the papacy and a tributary kingdom; in an age, when the wickedneſs of its prelates had rendered the church of Rome, the pity or the contempt of all the nations in Europe. Even Malmsbury, and ſome others whoſe authority they ſubmit to in other things, aſſert the ſcorn which the papal dignity was univerſally treated with, thro the impieties of thoſe who filled the chair in thoſe ages. At this time particularly, in the beginning of the tenth century, cardinal Baronius himſelf acknowleges, that the church of Rome was under the government of harlots; who not only created and advanced prieſts and biſhops ſuitable to the character of thoſe whoſe creatures they were, but even filled the chair of St. Peter with impoſtors.

But I return to the decay of learning, religion, and diſcipline in the Engliſh church; which had ſuch an influence on the time to come as might be naturally enough expected. Unleſs therefore it were the death of Plegmund archbiſhop of Canterbury, his ſucceſſor Athelm about two years after, and ſome other fathers of the church, there is ſcarce any thing which is pertinent to the deſign of this hiſtory which will deſerve remembrance, 'till the death of king Edward in the year nine hundred twenty-five, who left behind him the character of a great and ſucceſsful prince. Athelstan his ſon, a bold and warlike man, ſucceeded him in the throne; and by his ſucceſſes againſt the Danes, and his victories over the Britiſh and Iriſh Scots, in which he re-eſtabliſhed the Engliſh monarchy, has furniſhed the hiſtory of the ſtate with many great and memorable events. The hiſtory of the church however remains as dry and barren as it was before; affording no other entertainment than what a writer of any judgment would be aſhamed to relate, and a reader of any taſte would be diſpleaſed to ſee. I will however gather up the few imperfect remains we have of our eccleſiaſtical affairs under the buſy reign of Athelstan. His reign was little elſe indeed but a continued ſcene of war; his ſword ſcarce ever ſheathed 'till it was laid up in his grave: yet he did not forget the examples which his father and grandfather had ſet him, nor the duty he owed to God as the defender of his faith. As occaſion required he called his nobility, biſhops, and clergy together to provide for the intereſts of religion; and tho the dates and decrees of the ſeveral ſynods he convened are in a manner loſt, yet by the remains we have of the

council held at Graetly, we may form a judgment of what might have been expected had the result of the other ſynods been handed down to us.

The conſtitutions of this council in the third year of his reign, paſs under the title of the eccleſiaſtical laws of ATHELSTAN; which at the ſame time that they give us a very favourable idea of the wiſdom and piety of this prince, afford a melancholy proof of the low ſtate of the church and religion of the age in England. The firſt of theſe decrees explains the laws of ALFRED, and his father, about the payment of tithes; in which his officers are commanded to pay the tithes out of his demeſnes, as well of his cattle, as of the fruits of the ground. The nobility and biſhops likewiſe are required to make the ſame payment out of their eſtates, and to declare this as the law of England in all the courts in which they preſide. The ſecond canon, may be ſaid to reinforce the ancient, and if I am not miſtaken, the firſt legal proviſion for the parochial clergy, by a perſonal tithe or charge on every houſekeeper; which in the language of BEDE is called the church tribute. The third law enjoins the officers of the king to make a proviſion for the poor out of the eſtate of the crown. The fourth directs the puniſhment of thoſe who break into a church. The fifth is againſt ſorcery, witchcraft, and the abettors of thieves and highwaymen. The ſixth reſpects the coinage of money. The ſeventh and eighth direct the manner and circumſtances of the ordeal trials, or trials by fire and water; and give the offices of religion and the goſpel rites ſo great a ſhare in the regulation of theſe pagan practiſes, as by making ſuch a mixture of religion and ſuperſtition, will give us no great idea of the underſtanding of the age in religious matters. Buying and ſelling was forbidden on a Sunday by the ninth canon; and when any man bought a commodity before witneſs, and it happened to be challenged by a third perſon, the ſeller was to warrant the bargain and make the ſale good. The tenth preſcribes the puniſhment of perjury. And ſo little was this age acquainted with that doctrine which exempts the affairs of religion and the perſons of the clergy from the authority of the princes under whom they live, that the eleventh law eſtabliſhed in this convention, was a ſort of rubric to the biſhops and clergy in the diſcharge of their reſpective duties; in thoſe inſtances eſpecially which more immediately reſpect the peace and juſtice of the ſubject: and here according to the ancient uſage of England, the biſhops are obliged to be perſonally preſent in the courts of juſtice, to overſee and direct the conduct of the judges. The twelfth article preſcribes the religious offices which the clergy were to perform for the king and his people. The thirteenth aſcertains the fines chargeable on offenders in caſes of blood, and proportions them not by the proper nature of the offence, but by the character and quality of the perſon murdered. The fine for the murder

of

of an archbiſhop and a duke are the ſame; that of a biſhop, an earl, and a judge are equal; and that of a prieſt and of a lord or thane are ſo too, and their teſtimonies bore the ſame proportion in courts of juſtice. Thus things paſſed in this ſynod of Graetly, and the only reflexion which I ſhall trouble the reader with upon it, is, that wilful murther committed out of malice propenſe was doubtleſs not to be bought off with a fine, nor comprehended within this law; which was only to take place in the caſe of manſlaughter. From this time to the end of the reign of Athelstan, he was ſo entirely taken up in his wars with the Danes, the Scots or Britons, that except ſome inſtances of his liberality in building and repairing churches and monaſteries, and the uſual changes occaſioned by the deaths of biſhops, we have but very little account of any thing that paſſed relating to eccleſiaſtical affairs. Indeed about this time we find Dunstan, who was afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, and made a great figure in hiſtory, was introduced into the court of this prince, and baniſhed from it again before the end of his reign for a ſuſpicion of being guilty of magic. But it will be time enough to conſider his ſtory when the long controverſy that he began about the celibacy of the clergy, will make it neceſſary to relate the conduct of this hot and imprudent prelate. In the year nine hundred forty-one after a reign of ſixteen years, died Athelstan the king at Glouceſter; leaving behind him the reputation of a wiſe and juſt, of a learned and valiant prince, beloved by his ſubjects, and feared if not eſteemed by his enemies.

The death of Athelstan made way for the ſucceſſion of his brother Edmund, a prince of eighteen years of age; who entring upon a weak and unſettled government, met with ſome very rough oppoſition in the firſt years of his reign. The Engliſh and the Danes inhabiting north of the Humber, made ſo vigorous and bold an effort to ſhake off the yoke of his predeceſſor and to recover their ancient liberty, that it was with difficulty the young king ſurmounted this rebellion; and not without yielding, with the advice of the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, all that part of England which lies north of Watling-ſtreet to the government of Anlaff the Daniſh prince; to be held by him as a tributary and dependant kingdom. Odo, a wiſe and active prelate, was archbiſhop of Canterbury when prince Edmund came to the crown; and his councils ſeem generally to have conducted the affairs of the church under this reign. The firſt thing that he did was to recall Dunstan who had been baniſhed, and to receive him into favour at court; being perſuaded that his abilities would make him uſeful there. But the reſtleſs ſpirit of this aſpiring prelate made him immediately ſo many enemies, that they were obliged again to baniſh him before the end of the year. He went into France, to the monaſtery of Fleury, as it is ſaid, and acquainted himſelf with the Benedictine rule. Now whether

whether it was from the paſſion for their order which thoſe foundations inſpire men uſually with, or from the natural fierceneſs and impetuoſity of his temper, it is certain, that upon his return, that prelate brought back ſuch zeal and affection for the monaſtic intereſt, as in a little while ſet the Engliſh church and nation into a flame. I ſhall not trouble the reader with a formal refutation of that ſenſeleſs ſtory, that ODO would not accept the primacy 'till he had been into France and took the habit of a religious; pretending that the dignity of an archbiſhop of Canterbury had never been poſſeſſed by any who had not been of that order. Whoever conſiders the deſtruction of monaſteries in the preceding century, and the general failing of the monaſtic ſpirit, muſt ſee that this fiction is the product of vanity and impudence. But whether this ſtory is true or falſe is not material: the marks of ODO's wiſdom leave us ſomething more conſiderable to recommend him for to poſterity; and they are to be found, among other things, in the canons which paſs under the name of ODO's conſtitutions. They dont appear to have been the work of a provincial ſynod, but the particular advice or charges of that prelate in the viſitations of his province by his metropolitical power; and publiſhed about this time for the inſtruction of other clergy and other people. They contain many material articles; freer too it muſt be owned from the marks of ſuperſtition, than could well be expected from the age he lived in; and for the moſt part indeed ſuch, as might well become the greateſt men, even in the beſt and moſt enlightened ages of the church. As they give us ſome light into the diſcipline and ſtate of the Engliſh church at that time, they will deſerve to be particularly ſet down.

The conſtitutions of ODO in all are ten; the firſt of which aſſerts the privileges of churches, and that taxes ought not to be laid upon their revenues. The ſecond admoniſhes the king and princes of the blood by their examples in honouring their biſhops and ſpiritual paſtors to incite the people alſo to virtuous living; to oppreſs no man, to adminiſter juſtice, and to take care of the poor. The third directs the biſhops to be exemplary in their lives, diligent in viſiting their dioceſes once a year, to preach the truth boldly, to abſtain from covetouſneſs, to uſe all precaution in inflicting the cenſures of the church, and to exert the utmoſt of their zeal and care in the ſalvation of ſouls. The fourth and fifth direct the conduct of the lower clergy, and require that their lives be exemplary, their habit and demeanour decent, and that by their lives and doctrine they ſhould ſtudy to win ſouls to CHRIST. The ſixth enjoins the monaſticks to perform their vows, not to wander from place to place, and to be diligent in attending the offices of religion. The ſeventh forbids inceſtuous marriages, and the pollution of nuns. The eighth is a general exhortation to peace and unity, grounded on the ſame faith and the union of chriſtians with CHRIST the head, that the church may be one as he is. The ninth enjoins a

due obſervance of the faſts and feſtivals, eſpecially the lent and ember faſts, and the Lord's day; giving a caution particularly againſt ſuperſtition and worſhipping the creature inſtead of God: and this is enforced with the threats of damnation to thoſe who are guilty of it. The tenth and laſt directs the payment of tithes, and exhorts to that duty from the threatnings and promiſes of God to the Jewiſh church. Theſe advices have ſo much of the ſpirit of the beſt antiquity, and of the pure and reaſonable doctrine of the goſpel, that if we were to judge of the ſtate of the Engliſh church at that time from theſe conſtitutions of the archbiſhop, we muſt conclude that thoſe corruptions in faith and worſhip which became afterwards the reproach of the Weſtern church, had at this time made but a little progreſs in England. There would have needed none of this zeal to recommend the preaching the word of God, if ignorance had been thought ſo uſeful to the purpoſes of devotion as ſome have made it: nor would this prelate have ſtated the unity of the church, as conſiſting in an agreement of the ſame faith under Christ the head, if he had been acquainted with ſome modern notions of ſchiſm and communion: in ſhort he would not have cautioned the people ſo much againſt ſuperſtition, and threatened damnation to thoſe who worſhipped the creature, if the corrupt practiſes ſince allowed in ſome churches of worſhipping relicks, images, and ſaints, had been at this time received in England.

In the ſame year in which Odo publiſhed theſe conſtitutions, Dunstan was recalled once more from his baniſhment, and made abbot of Glaſſonbury. The miracles which, we are told, occaſioned this return of the king's favour, I ſhall omit for the ſame reaſons as I did that preceding his birth; becauſe no body will believe them. The fact that he was recalled and thus promoted, no body queſtions: but it would have been happy for the Engliſh nation if there had been no more truth in that fact than in theſe miraculous tales; as we ſhall ſee when we get further in this hiſtory. The ſame year in which Edmund recalled Dunstan, a ſynod was aſſembled at London, called the great ſynod; conſiſting of the two archbiſhops Odo and Wulstan, and other biſhops and nobility, for the regulation and good order of the church and ſtate. The laws relating to the affairs of religion were only ſix, of which there are ſeveral different copies and tranſlations; but what is material in them is as follows. The firſt enjoins the clergy and religious to render themſelves examples of holineſs and chaſtity. The ſecond commands the payment of tithes and dues to the church, and giving alms to the poor. The third commands that ſuch perſons as have been guilty of murder ſhould give ſatisfaction to the biſhop of the dioceſe for the offence againſt the church, before he preſumes to come into the king's preſence. The fourth pronounces the perſon who ſhall defile a nun to be unworthy of chriſtian burial. The fifth requires the biſhops to repa ir the chuches in their own lands and demeſns, and

and to inform the king of ſuch others as want repair. The laſt commands that all thoſe who are guilty of perjury or idolatry ſhall be put out of the communion of the church. Whilſt the united councils of this prince, his nobility, and his clergy, thus conducted the intereſt of church and ſtate, and every thing ſeemed to promiſe the proſperity and ſucceſs of both, an uncommon accident put an end to the life of EDMUND, after a ſhort reign of ſix years and a half. He had made a feaſt for his nobility at one of his royal manors; and ordering his cupbearer to turn a man out of the palace whom he had baniſhed for a robbery and who made reſiſtance, the king enraged at his impudence roſe up himſelf to chaſtize it, and was unhappily killed by the villain in the attempt. He left two ſons behind him, EDWY and EDGAR both very young; but whether it was the conſideration of their unfitneſs to ſupport the character, or whether it was occaſioned by the ambitious and aſpiring temper of his ſucceſſor, certain it is by the general conſent of the kingdom his brother EDRED ſucceeded him in the throne, and was ſolemnly anointed and crowned by ODO the ſame year at Kingſton. The juſtice of this proceeding which interrupted the right line of ſucceſſion ſeems ſomewhat unintelligible. EDRED however being a great benefactor to the monks the buſineſs is paſſed over without any cenſure. But whatever the reaſons of this proceeding were, certain it is the ſtate of the nation required a bold and active prince, which the character of EDRED gave them room to hope for in him: And in this they were not deceived. An occaſion ſoon offered to give proof of his martial ſpirit and abilities. For perceiving that the Northumbrians were unwilling to ſubmit to his government, he marched thither immediately with a powerful army and ſubdued the nation. From thence he went on to Scotland, which without any reſiſtance ſubmitted to him. But the next year WULSTAN archbiſhop of York, and the Northumbrian nobility who had ſworn fealty to him, conſpired together and ſet up another prince of the Daniſh race, called EIRIC. However this new conſpiracy he attempted to diſſolve by treaty, without open force; and for this purpoſe ſent his chancellor TURKETAL, to compoſe the unſettled minds of theſe people, and by his wiſdom and authority to reduce them to an obedience according to their oaths: and in this attempt he ſucceeded. Tho the king was not wanting in a juſt regard to his clergy, yet it never ſtood in the way of the public ſafety: and therefore notwithſtanding the reverence he bore to the character of the prelate, yet being well aſſured that WULSTAN, archbiſhop of York, encouraged theſe rebellions and diſorders in the North, he ſeized him and made him priſoner for almoſt a year. This confinement and diſgrace, it is thought, ſat hard upon this prelate, and was the occaſion of his death ſoon after. Notwithſtanding this ſeverity to the archbiſhop, he followed the ſteps of his two brothers in giving great encouragement to the monaſticks: and as at the inſtance of TURKETAL, who after his embaſſy took the habit and turned religious, he granted ſeveral privileges to the monaſtery of Croy-

land, rebuilt it almoſt all, and made him the firſt abbot, ſo he likewiſe favoured the zeal of Dunstan whom he made his confeſſor, and by whom he was directed in all affairs relating to learning and religion. The truſt he repoſed in him was ſo great, that not content with taking his direction in every thing and making him his treaſurer, he even ſubmitted ſometime to receive diſcipline from his hands. He was perſuaded that the blind ſubmiſſion wherein Dunstan took care to keep him was the readieſt way to heaven. To gratify this favourite he undertook the rebuilding Glaſſonbury church and monaſtery in a very ſumptuous and magnificent manner, which he had not the ſatisfaction to ſee finiſhed. The monks made uſe alſo of the intereſt of Dunstan their protector to get into the eccleſiaſtical benefices, which they could never have done without him: and tho his proceedings in this affair raiſed the clamours of the ſecular clergy againſt him, yet he minded nothing of this ſort if he could but accompliſh his ends. But if Dunstan favoured the monks at the expence of his reputation among the ſecular clergy, it was amply made up to him by the former, who took all occaſions to magnify his merit and to ſpread his fame and glory. They even proclaimed him every where as a ſaint, that heaven wrought daily miracles in his favour, and that he was frequently honoured with divine revelations: aggravated as all this was to the laſt degree, yet being ſounded ſo high and ſo often, it made an impreſſion on the generality; eſpecially as thoſe who could have undeceived them would not venture at it, leſt they ſhould draw upon themſelves the indignation of the king and his favourite. Had Edred lived any long time, it is probable that Dunstan and his great army of monks would have carried all before them. But unluckily for them he happened to die in the very point of time in which they had began to get into the benefices, in the year nine hundred and fifty five, after a reign of eight years. He was buried at Wincheſter, and his death was celebrated with the mourning of all his ſubjects; but particularly by the religious, to whom he had been ſuch a friend and benefactor. He left two ſons both of them very young; and Edwy eldeſt ſon to his brother Edmund, to whoſe prejudice he had filled the throne, was now by the conſent of the nobility and clergy made his ſucceſſor.

At fourteen years of age king Edwy came to the crown, and with thoughts very different from thoſe of his predeceſſor in regard to Dunstan. Whether he had been prejudiced againſt him by the enemies which the haughtineſs of this prelate cauſed him, and who had ſuppreſſed their hatred againſt him in the former reign, or whether the young prince had ſome particular reaſon to be diſguſted with him, it is impoſſible for us to ſay. I think it is not unlikely that the ſuppoſitions may both be true. But be this as it may. No ſooner was Edwy placed on the throne, than he called Dunstan to give an account of the vaſt ſums of money which he had been entruſted with by his predeceſſor.

deceſſor. To this the abbot replied, that the money which had been in his hands having been applied to pious uſes, he was not liable to give an account of a matter that was purely of a religious nature: and as he had had the direction of the building at Glaſſonbury which the late king had had ſo much at heart, it was thought adviſeable by EDWY's council, that the affair ſhould be puſhed no further; leſt the people ſhould be ſtirred up to eſpouſe the abbot's cauſe. The founding and repairing monaſteries, were at that time again become ſuch ſacred things, that there was no ſpeaking againſt them without being branded with the name of impious and prophane. The king's council therefore finding that there was no attacking DUNSTAN on that ſcore without running a great riſk, took another courſe to undermine his credit; which was to reverſe all that had been done in favour of the monks. To this end the religious were turned out of their benefices, and the ſecular prieſts again reſtored. This ſudden blow was given, firſt to mortify DUNSTAN, which it could not fail to do in a very ſenſible manner; in the next place to leſſen his reputation among the people, who might ſee by their pulling down what he had ſet up that the government had no great opinion of his ſanctity; and that he had acted a wicked part in depriving the ſecular clergy of their benefices. In ſhort, as DUNSTAN and the monks were linked ſo cloſe together, it was impoſſible that they ſhould undergo any diſgrace, which would not in the end reflect upon him their patron and protector. The perſecution of the moſt cruel tyrants againſt the church never extorted from the primitive chriſtians ſuch bitter invectives, as this pretended perſecution did from the monks. If we were to take their account of the matter, the chriſtian religion was never in ſo great danger. Whether DUNSTAN had ſtirred up the monks to make theſe complaints, or whether the charging him with it was made uſe of as a handle to puniſh him, we cannot learn; but he was ſoon baniſhed the kingdom.

To ſet him right however in the opinion of ſucceding ages, the monaſtic writers have furniſhed the world with another reaſon for his diſgrace. They tell us that EDWY tho but a youth, ſo abandoned himſelf to the charms of a beautiful young woman, that on the day of his coronation, as ſoon as dinner was over and the king and nobility were withdrawn to conſider of the affairs of the nation, that EDWY privately ſlipt away to the apartment of his miſtreſs; which the great men reſenting he was brought back by DUNSTAN; who had the boldneſs to penetrate into the king's retirement, and finding him on the bed between his miſtreſs and her mother, to take him by the arm and force him to return to the council chamber. Now this relation has ſo much the air and ſpirit which every where appears in the legend of this prelate, that one cannot help believing it is all of a piece; or however that this accuſation is greatly aggravated. Some of the old writers ſay, that

the young lady whom the king was ſo extremely fond of, was his wife, and that they were too nearly related for ſuch an union; which inclined the archbiſhop to ſecond Dunstan, and to put the king under the leſſer excommunication. Had the primate inſiſted on his parting with his miſtreſs if he was not married, he had acted a part becoming his character and important ſtation; but he went further in his correction, and puſhed the point to an exceſs. All the hiſtorians agree that he did not content himſelf with exerciſing his ſpiritual juriſdiction, when he found that his exhortations and reproofs had no effect; but that he cauſed the young lady to be forcibly taken away from the court, defacing her beauty by branding her face with a hot iron, and then tranſporting her into Ireland. W. of Malmsbury ſays, that returning from thence the ſinews of her hams were cut aſunder. Suppoſing the archbiſhop to have had the conſent and council of the nobility for what he did to this lady, it by no means juſtifies the ſeverity of a puniſhment ſo unbecoming his character, and ſo much beyond the authority of an eccleſiaſtic. It is no wonder that the king, if this account is true, diſreliſhed all of the monaſtic order; nor is it any wonder that the lady, who had the aſcendant over him and was thus roughly treated, ſhould preſs him to a revenge, and to give high and flagrant proofs of his reſentment. But there is another reaſon to be given for the diſgrace of Dunstan, without having recourſe to the diſſoluteneſs of Edwy, and the indecent expreſſion of the abbot's zeal againſt it; which I look upon to be all romance. We are told of an extraordinary will of Edred's, whilſt Dunstan had the direction of his conſcience, by which all the wealth of the kingdom was divided among the clergy, the monaſteries, and the poor, and the officers of the court; leaving the crown under the greateſt and moſt preſſing neceſſities without any reſource. Now theſe are ſuch inſtances of male-adminiſtration, as can never be overlooked by thoſe who hope to ſupplant the miniſters that directed them; nor forgiven by a ſucceding prince who is condemned to ſtruggle with the miſchiefs of ſuch councils. Yet if what is ſaid of the mighty ſums given away by Edred in his will, has any truth in it, this muſt have been the caſe of king Edwy when he ſucceded him in the crown. What ſtill gives more probability to this conjecture, that this was the true reaſon of Dunstan's baniſhment, is, that the diſpleaſure of the king did not determine here, and in giving his abbey of Glaſſonbury to his own friends, but that it extended itſelf to all the reſt of the monaſteries. For tho attacking a young prince in his pleaſures, and the revenge of a woman provoked thorowly by ill uſage, are ſources of miſchief which have no limits, yet when we conſider that Edwy had been kept out of the crown by his uncle Edred, under whom the abbot Dunstan had made ſo great a figure; and when we compare this with what will be ſeen of the future conduct of this eccleſiaſtic, we ſhall ſee cauſe perhaps to believe, that there was ſomething more

more in this reſentment of the king's, than can be accounted for by that unlikely ſtory of his amour, and the revenge of his young miſtreſs.

But whatever was the cauſe of DUNSTAN's baniſhment, and the ſevere treatment of his faction, the monaſticks, the effects of it were ſuch as give freſh ground to ſuſpect that we are not informed fully of the true original. The enemies of the abbot gloried in his diſgrace; and the king himſelf was highly delighted that he had got rid of a turbulent imperious man whom he mortally hated. But he ſoon learnt how dangerous ſuch enemies are; he found by fatal experience, that there is no giving offence to a body of churchmen with impunity. The monks enraged to the laſt degree at the loſs of their benefices and the diſgrace of their protector, cried down with united virulence the young king's adminiſtration, whom they looked upon as the principal author of their miſeries. By the lies and calumnies which they induſtriouſly ſpred about, they at length perſuaded their votaries that he was the vileſt miſcreant in the world, not fit to govern a kingdom. The reader ſees here was a trumpet ſounded to rebellion, by a very powerful ſet of men; and the conſequence of it was, that all the northern and midland parts of England were for dethroning EDWY, and ſetting up his brother EDGAR for their king. Perhaps the latter was made to believe by the ſuggeſtion of the monks, that it would be doing GOD ſervice to dethrone his wicked brother; or he might make uſe of that pretence to ſeize the crown which he had but very diſtant hopes of. This inſurrection was the more ſurpriſing to EDWY, as he had never given his ſubjects except the monks, and much leſs his brother, any juſt cauſe of complaint. Beſides it had never entered into his head, that the monks could have intereſt enough to raiſe ſuch great diſturbances: it was however but too true; and as he was taken unprepared, he ſaw he was not in a condition to extinguiſh the flame already kindled. In this extremity, not knowing how to recover what he had loſt, he choſe to reduce himſelf to the ſole kingdom of Weſſex, which continued faithful to him, and to deliver up all the reſt. The monaſticks in general with DUNSTAN at their head engaged in the intereſt of king EDGAR; the married clergy on the ſide of EDWY; and both were treated accordingly on the diviſion of the kingdom between the brothers. The married clergy had the countenance of EDWY their rightful prince; and this together with the baniſhment of DUNSTAN, and diſpoſſeſſing his monks of Glaſſonbury, ſeems to have occaſioned the heavy complaints of the hardſhips the monaſticks ſuffered during his reign. To this too it was probably owing, that the character of this prince has been ſo much blackened by thoſe writers: and if we place to this account the raiſing that ridiculous ſtory of his amour, and DUNSTAN's oppoſition to him in it on the day of his coronation, I believe we ſhall have hit upon the

the original of this fiction. It is certain that Henry of Huntingdon who was no party in the quarrel, paſſes over in ſilence this accuſation, gives him the character of a prince under whoſe government the country flouriſhed, and ſeems to lament that he lived no longer. In ſhort had Edwy been a favourer of the monks, he might have had as many miſtreſſes as he pleaſed, without all that clamour againſt him; as it is plain from the caſe of his brother Edgar; who, if the above ſtory is true, was much more criminal in that reſpect than Edwy; for he not only forced a virgin who was under the veil and habit of a religious from her convent, and took her to his bed, but he killed his ſecretary with his own hand that he might afterwards marry his wife. It is eaſy therefore to ſee, that the ſingle amour of Edwy, was not ſo much his crime as his ſeverity towards the monks. One of the firſt acts of Edgar's power, and even probably before the agreement about the diviſion of England, and whilſt his party lay under the reproach of rebellion, was to recall Dunstan from baniſhment, and to make him biſhop of Worceſter.

In a year or two afterwards the ſee of London becoming vacant, king Edgar conferred that likewiſe upon him without permitting him to reſign the other: and in ſhort he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed and had ſo many marks of favour conferred upon him, as would perſuade one to think, that notwithſtanding his baniſhment he had too great a ſhare in the revolution which brought Edgar to divide the crown to the wrong of his elder brother. Whilſt the nation continued in a ſtate of diſtraction from the different parties attached to the two princes, archbiſhop Odo died; and the ſee of Canterbury lying within the diviſion of Edwy, he conferred that truſt upon Elsin biſhop of Wincheſter, who going to Rome, died by the way; and as it is ſaid, was ſtarved in his paſſage over the Alps. There is a great character of Odo in all our old hiſtorians; and from all the parts of his conduct which have come down to us, which are not many, it muſt be owned that he appears to have been a very pious man, as well as a great and excellent prelate. The ſtory relating to king Edwy's lady, whether his miſtreſs or his wife, would if it was true, leave a blemiſh upon his character; but I take the whole of that tale to have been a monkiſh fiction; of which Odo's continuing in Edgar's favour to his death, is in ſome meaſure a proof. As ſoon as it was known that the new primate was dead, Brighthelm biſhop of Wells was tranſlated by Edwy to the archiepiſcopal ſee. Both he and his predeceſſor were great enemies to the monks, and encouragers of the ſecular clergy: and therefore the monkiſh writers who have the telling of the ſtory, repreſent Elsin as a man who had raiſed himſelf to the primacy by money, and by unworthy practices; and that he died under the greateſt agonies of deſpair. Brighthelm they deſcribe as a weak illiterate man, unacquainted

with buſineſs, and altogether unfit for a truſt of that importance: and whilſt they blacken the character of theſe prelates thus, in order to brighten that of their great champion DUNSTAN, they tell us that the archbiſhopric was offered to him on both the vacancies, but that his great modeſty would not permit him to accept of it. They may be equally in the right in all theſe particulars, and I believe they are ſo. For at the time when ODO and ELSIN died, king EDWY was alive; in whoſe nomination the archbiſhopric was confeſſedly by the diviſion of the kingdom. Can it be imagined then that he would offer the metropolitical power to a man whom he hated mortally, and who was his open and profeſſed enemy, to the prejudice of the biſhops of his own party, and whom he had himſelf promoted? Can it be imagined too that EDWY would act ſo contrary to his character in all other inſtances, as to raiſe men to that high and important office of metropolitan, who were ſo ill qualified as the monkiſh writers repreſent them; and of whom he had had experience in other biſhopricks? EDWY was not a prince, by their account of him, who was at all likely to neglect the intereſt of religion and the church in that particular; as great an enemy as he was to monaſtic rules. But tho it is no difficult matter to clear the reputation of the two prelates whom he had tranſlated to the primacy, it will not be very eaſy to make out DUNSTAN's modeſty which theſe writers found ſo high; as the reader will preſently ſee. The partition of the kingdom between the brothers had no long continuance. The loſs of the greateſt part of his dominions, and the triumphing of the monks over his misfortunes, ſat ſo heavy upon the mind of EDWY, that he fell into an exceſs of melancholy which brought him to his grave; after reigning four years and ſome months. The ſpirit of the monks we may be ſure would not be very complaiſant upon this occaſion: here was too fair an opportunity for diſplaying EDWY's guilt, and DUNSTAN's piety, to be overlooked. Accordingly they tell us, that the king's ſoul at his death was delivered as a prey to a legion of devils to be carried to hell, and that one of them was diſpatched with the good news to DUNSTAN. But that the holy man was ſo far from being rejoiced at it, that he inſtantly beſought GOD's mercy to him with many tears; nor did he ceaſe till he knew that his prayers were granted, and the infernal legion were defrauded of their prey. This laſt inſtance of monkiſh fiction and animoſity, renders all that they have ſaid againſt this prince at leaſt extremely doubtful; leaving us room to queſtion every thing but their own unchriſtian ſpirit.

By the death of king EDWY without iſſue, the monarchy was reunited in the perſon of EDGAR his younger brother; who notwithſtanding the prodigious character which is given of his piety and juſtice, was at the head of an open rebellion, and uſurped the largeſt ſhare of the kingdom, whilſt the king his elder brother was on the throne; againſt whom

whom there was no real cauſe of complaint. But he was too good a friend to the monks to do any wrong, and all the blame is laid upon Edwy's adminiſtration; of which however no other inſtance is given by any of thoſe hiſtorians than the baniſhment of Dunstan, and the encouragement of the married clergy. That Edgar had great abilities for government, his ſucceſs againſt his brother, and making his ſubjects obey him and his enemies fear him, are convincing proofs. But perhaps all the fine things that are ſaid of him are greatly heightened by the partiality of the monkiſh writers: at leaſt this we may be ſure of, that had he been as great an enemy to the monaſtic order as his brother, we ſhould not have had ſo many encomiums, of his mildneſs, humility, liberality and compaſſion; nor would he have been honoured with the title of ſaint after his death. One of the firſt things he did as ſole monarch of England was to bring Dunstan to the primacy; to which the deſires of his party and his own ambition, notwithſtanding what is ſaid of his modeſty and humility, had long before deſigned him. He was at this time biſhop of London, and had beſides the adminiſtration of the ſee of Worceſter; and as a proof of his great humility and of the truth of that aſſertion, that he had refuſed the offer of the primacy from king Edwy twice, Brighthelm was now by his intereſt with the king, obliged to leave his chair, as a man unfit for buſineſs, and Dunstan made archbiſhop in his room. Had this violence to a primate been committed by Edwy, without any other complaint, than that "he was a man too modeſt, humble, and benign," for that is the only complaint which they allege againſt this prelate, we ſhould doubtleſs have had a great clamour about it from theſe hiſtorians. But Edgar had done this, and he had done it to make way for Dunstan, and ſo all was right. Even blood and honour and juſtice are ſometimes all overlooked when they ſtand in the way of ſo good and righteous a deſign. The bigotry of the prince, and the patronage of the primate, were enough to conſecrate this wrong if it had been greater: and now began the golden reign of monkery.

It is ſaid that king Edgar founded forty monaſteries, and repaired and beautified many more. The treaſure of that at Croyland only in his time amounted to ten thouſand pounds, beſides ſhrines and holy relicks; and conſidering that religious houſes had not then been rebuilt above thirty years, this was indeed a prodigious ſum, and will give us ſome idea of the immenſe riches that monaſteries were poſſeſſed of in thoſe days. The king had been firſt raiſed to a ſhare of the crown in prejudice of his brother by the monaſtic intereſt, and therefore was eaſily brought by Dunstan into their meaſures; his own inclinations concurring with them. As ſoon as the archbiſhop had been to Rome for his pall, he employed all his thoughts in bringing about the deſign he had formed long before, to force the canons and ſecular clergy,

who

who were generally married, to forſake their wives and take the religious habit; or elſe to quit their ſtations in cathedral churches, monaſteries, and colleges. The king was in peace with all his neighbours abroad, and there was a general approbation of his government throwout the kingdom, which he deſerved; he was therefore at leiſure to apply himſelf to any purpoſes which the pride and raſhneſs of his bigotted governour recommended. It is impoſſible but that DUNSTAN muſt in a great meaſure foreſee the difficulties which ſtood in his way: the ſecular clergy were very numerous; they had preſcription on their ſide; and the ſentiments of the greateſt part of the biſhops and clergy were known to be in their favour. Beſides the great men of the nation looked upon it as a misfortune that the guidance of the churches ſhould be wreſted out of the hands of the ancient lawful governors. They were ſtill leſs pleaſed that it ſhould be committed to the care of the monks, who by the rules of their order and the cuſtom that had been obſerved hitherto, were excluded from the paſtoral function, in order to employ themſelves wholly in divine ſervice within the walls of their monaſteries. They were of opinion moreover, that inſtead of encouraging and enriching the monks it would be much better to put a ſtop to the people's zeal who were continually bequeathing conſiderable legacies to them, by which means eſtates were paſſed away in mortmain to the great prejudice of the nation. It was eaſy therefore to ſee that this project would meet with great oppoſition from the nobility. But all this did not diſcourage DUNSTAN: it ſerved only to whet his inclinations more ſharply to his undertaking; and his firſt care was to ſtrengthen his intereſt by filling the vacant biſhopricks with proper people. The ſee of Worceſter was void by his own tranſlation to Canterbury, and the king at his requeſt conferred it upon OSWALD a monk of Fleury in France, but an Engliſhman by birth, and nephew to ODO the late archbiſhop. The ſees of Seolſey and Mercia being likewiſe vacant by the death of their biſhops, ELFRED was conſecrated by DUNSTAN to the former, and AILNOTH to the latter. About two years after the biſhopric of Wincheſter became vacant, which by the primate's interceſſion was conferred on ETHELWALD, who had taken the habit at his hands whilſt he was abbot of Glaſſonbury, and who, as his patron expected, approved himſelf a hot and fierce aſſerter of the cauſe of the monaſticks. But to give ſtill greater life to his deſigns, and to engage the king more deeply and irrecoverably in them, he took advantage of his juriſdiction and the influence he had over him, to enjoin it him as part of a ſeven years pennance he laid him under, that he ſhould exclude out of the churches the married clergy, and introduce religious monks into their room. This pious, this devout, this merciful, this juſt king EDGAR——for ſuch are the epithets the monaſtic writers give him——had murdered his ſecretary, as it has been mentioned already, with his own hands, and immediately took the wi-

dow to his bed: and all this boaſted piety notwithſtanding, and the bold reproaches of Dunstan, and the admonitions of the reſt of the biſhops, they could not oblige him to part with her; but in deſpight of all he married her. For this crime, and for his other ſcandalous exceſſes, crimes much more heinous than they had to alledge againſt his brother Edwy, that he might not be too much incenſed and withdraw his favour, Dunstan contented himſelf with giving him an imperious reprimand, and a ſeven years pennance, with ſome other trivial particulars, to the purpoſe above mentioned.

We have ſeen what was the ancient ſtate of the Engliſh monaſteries in the hiſtory of thoſe times; and tho the controverſy which was now introduced, and which gave much trouble and diſquiet to this and the two ſucceding ages, is often miſtaken for want of a juſt knowledge of the ſtate of monaſteries in the three preceding centuries, yet I rather chuſe to refer the reader to what has been already ſaid of them than to repeat it. I ſhall only obſerve here, that whatever might be the ſtate of the Engliſh monaſteries in thoſe ages, yet all that now remained of their foundations and revenues, was ſo entirely poſſeſſed by the ſecular clergy, that it may be affirmed very truly they were at this time ſo many convents of prieſts, who attended the daily ſervice of God in their churches, who had their local ſtatutes by which they were governed; but who had the ſame liberty of marrying if they pleaſed, as the members of collegiate churches now enjoy. Thus much is certain, that when Alfred had built his monaſtery of Athelney, he was forced to ſend to France for the religious to put into it; and notwithſtanding all his care that way they had not monks enough to perform the ſervices of the monaſtery, without taking in ſome ſecular clergy to their aſſiſtance. This was likewiſe the caſe of his monaſtery at Wincheſter, and afterwards of Croyland under the chancellor Turketul, whom the reader will remember to have turned monk. But Alfred having begun the deſign of reerecting monaſteries, Dunstan, with the favour and aſſiſtance of Edred, in the beginning of this century rebuilt that of Glaſſonbury, Turketul that of Croyland, and not long after Ethelwald that of Abingdon. However, before theſe foundations were ſettled, the war between Edwy and his brother Edgar put a ſtop to them; and not only prevented the building more, but did a great deal towards ruining thoſe already built. So that at the time when this controverſy begun, the monaſteries in being were no other than thoſe mentioned under the name of ſecular monaſteries. But the monaſticks having been ſteady in the intereſt of king Edgar, they had the conduct of his councils, and all the encouragement and aſſiſtance he could give them, both to finiſh the monaſteries already began, and alſo to build others. The body of the nation, however, retained their former ſentiments, and ſeemed no way to reliſh theſe proceedings: and therefore

ſo heavily did this work go on, notwithſtanding the hot and buſy zeal of DUNSTAN, that when his friend the biſhop of Wincheſter excluded the ſecular canons from his cathedral, there were not monks enough then in England, except from Glaſſonbury and Abingdon, to inſtruct thoſe who ſucceded the deprived canons. Upon the whole of this matter the reader will obſerve, that the greateſt part of the foundations, nay almoſt all, which DUNSTAN and his party were ſtruggling to get for the monks, were by the founders themſelves originally intended for thoſe who at this time were called ſecular canons: and for about an age preceding this controverſy had been univerſally in their poſſeſſion. Having obſerved this in order to ſhew the ſenſe of the church of England as to the marriage of the clergy, and to put the firſt movements of that controverſy in a proper light, I ſhall now return to thoſe meaſures which DUNSTAN took, in order to force the ſecular canons, who were generally married men, from the wealth they were in poſſeſſion of.

There are too many facts which prove EDGAR to have been a lewd and vicious prince; and if to this character of him we add a reflexion, that the ſame intereſt which ſtripped his brother of the better half of his kingdom and raiſed him unduly to ſhare the crown was ſtill in being, which had taught him that they could unmake as well as ſet up kings, the zeal of EDGAR to oblige DUNSTAN's party, may poſſibly be better accounted for, than when it is reſolved into the piety of that prince. But from whatever motive it took its riſe, the archbiſhop, and his coadjutors in the deſign, the biſhops of WINCHESTER and WORCESTER, had the higheſt marks of his favour and entirely governed the church during his reign. To them he committed the management of all eccleſiaſtical affairs, whom he looked on as ſo many ſaints. Being therefore ſo well aſſured of his favour and protection, the biſhop of WINCHESTER ejected out of his church all the ſecular canons who refuſed to turn monks: and not content with this inſtance of his zeal, he not only began the building of ſeveral monaſteries in his dioceſe, but he obtained a grant of the king of all the ſites of the religious houſes which had been deſtroyed by the Danes; by virtue of which he reſtored the monaſteries of Peterborough and Ely. OSWALD, the biſhop of Worceſter, moved not ſo quick; but whether that was owing to his own natural temper, or to the reſoluteneſs of the canons of his church, it is not eaſy to ſay. It is certain that he found them on the ſame terms on which they were ſettled at firſt. They had been ſeculars from the beginning; and therefore having law and right on their ſides, it is probable they made a difficulty in parting with that right. However after many fruitleſs admonitions to take the habit, OSWALD forced them to quit their relation to the cathedral church: and carrying the ſame zeal into his dioceſe, he diſpoſſeſſed the canons of the monaſtery of

Pershore

~~Perthorn,~~ and of ſix others: but it ſeems the canons of Worceſter gave him ſo many obſtructions, and paid ſo little regard to the ſentences which he thundered out againſt them, that he could not force them from their houſes and the cathedral, 'till he had built another cathedral and other houſes for his monks. He then obtained a grant from the king for the endowment of his new monaſtery, and in the ſame charter in which theſe lands are granted, the king confirms the change which the biſhop had made in excluding the ſeculars, and introducing monks in their ſtead.

What ſteps, or whether any, were taken by other biſhops in the proſecution of this deſign, does not appear. But by the ſilence of the monkiſh writers who never omit to celebrate performances of this kind, by the omiſſion of their names in all the acts of Edgar, where in the names of the archbiſhop and his two brethren of Wincheſter and Worceſter are always mentioned, and by the great figure and intereſt the ſeculars afterwards made, there is all the reaſon in the world to think, that theſe three prelates excepted, the biſhops did not any of them favour this deſign; and if they did not care, or were afraid, to oppoſe it openly, it was probably their diſlike to it which clogged the work of Dunstan and made it move ſo ſlowly. It does not appear that he even drove the ſecular canons from Canterbury; and tho it is probable he ſet forward the raſh and precipitate zeal of the two biſhops his friends, yet he was afraid to follow their example in his own cathedral. For it is plain from Thorn's hiſtory, that the ſecular canons of Canterbury were not diſpoſſeſſed, and monks introduced in that church, 'till above thirty years after this; and they were ſo far then from acquieſcing in their expulſion, that they eſteemed it to be unjuſt and the effect of violence. The party of the monks however had ſuch an aſcendant over the king, that his power and treaſure were at their diſpoſal; and they diſpoſed of them accordingly. They made uſe of his wealth to build and endow ſeven and forty monaſteries; and they exerciſed his power to put out the canons of all the greater monaſteries and cathedral churches throwout England, and to place monks in their ſtead. But to give the finiſhing ſtroke to this undertaking, the archbiſhop convened a council, in hopes that their authority, together with the king's, would ſurmount all the obſtacles that ſtood in their way. At this council Edgar was preſent, and to give the matter an air of ſolemnity, was prevailed on to make a ſpeech upon the occaſion; which, from the acrimony of its ſtile againſt the ſecular clergy, ſo unbecoming the polite and gentle manners of a prince, and from ſome other particulars, is thought by many to be the compoſition of the fierce and haughty primate. As this harangue however diſcovers the diſpoſition of the king and his miniſters for church affairs, it may not

be improper to lay the whole of it before the reader; and the rather as it relates to one of the principal events of this reign.

« Since GOD has been pleaſed, reverend fathers, to ſhew his goodneſs to us in a remarkable manner, it is moſt reaſonable we ſhould exert our endeavours to make a ſuitable return. That we are in poſſeſſion of this plentiful country, is not owing to the ſtrength of our own, but to the help of his all powerful arm, who has been pleaſed to manifeſt his loving kindneſs towards us. It is but juſt therefore that we ſhould bring ourſelves, our ſouls and bodies in ſubjection to him, who has ſubdued all things for us; and ſhould take care that all that are under us ſhould be obedient to his laws. It is my office, reverend fathers, to adminiſter juſtice without reſpect of perſons, to repreſs the rebellious, to puniſh the ſacrilegious, and to protect the poor and weak from the hand of the oppreſſor. It is my buſineſs alſo to take care, that the church and her miniſters, the holy fraternities of the religious, have all things neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence and well being. But it is your duty to examine into the life and converſation of the clergy. To you it belongs to ſee that they live agreeably to their profeſſion; that they are ſober, temperate, chaſte, hoſpitable to the poor and the ſtranger, that they are careful in the adminiſtration of their office, conſtant in their inſtructions to the people; in a word that they are worthy of the glorious character of the miniſters of JESUS CHRIST. With ſubmiſſion be it ſpoken, reverend fathers, had you taken due care of theſe things, I ſhould not have had the diſſatisfaction of hearing from all hands the enormous crimes daily committed by the clergy of this land. I inſiſt not on the ſmallneſs of their tonſure, contrary to the canons of the church, on their effeminacy in their habits, on their haughtineſs in their geſtures, and on their immodeſt diſcourſes, which plainly ſhew all is not right within. I omit their negligence with regard to divine ſervice; hardly will they vouchſafe their company at the public prayers; and when they come to church to celebrate the holy myſteries one would think they are going to act a play. But the chief ſubject of my complaint, I ſpeak it with extreme regret, is what miniſters occaſion of grief to the good, and of joy to the prophane; I mean the lewd and ſcandalous lives of the clergy. They ſpend their days in diverſions, entertainments, drunkenneſs and debauchery. Their houſes may be ſaid to be ſo many ſinks of lewdneſs, public ſtages, and receptacles of libertines; there they have gaming, dancing, and obſcene ſinging; there they paſs the night in rioting and drunkenneſs. It is thus, my reverend fathers, it is thus the bounty of my predeceſſors to the church and their charities for the maintenance of the poor, and what is more the adoreable blood of our Saviour, are conſumed. Was it for this that our anceſtors exhauſted their treaſures? Was it for this they were ſo liberal of their eſtates? Was it to deck the concubines of the prieſts,

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to provide for them ſplendid entertainments, to furniſh them with dogs and hawks, that our forefathers diſplayed their munificence to the church? Theſe are the crimes which the people complain of in private, and the ſoldiers in public; which are ſung in the ſtreets, and acted on the ſtage; and yet they are forgiven, they are overlooked, they are connived at by you! Where is now the ſword of Levi, and the zeal of Simeon? Where is the wrath of Moses againſt the worſhippers of the golden calf? Where is the indignation of St. Peter againſt Simon the magician? Imitate, reverend fathers, imitate the zeal of theſe holy perſons, and follow the way of righteouſneſs ſhewn you by the Lord. It is high time for you to draw the ſword of St. Peter, whilſt I make uſe of the great Constantine's. Let us join our forces to expell the lepers out of the temple, to cleanſe the ſanctuary, and to cauſe the Lord to be ſerved by the true ſons of Levi; who ſaid to his father and to his mother, I know you not, and to his brethren, I know not who you are. Let the diſrepect to the relicks of the ſaints, and the daily prophaning of the holy altars, rouſe you up. Be moved at the great abuſe of the piety of our forefathers. One of my anceſtors, you all know, dedicated to the church the tithes of the kingdom: the glorious Alfred my great grandfather laid out his revenues in religious uſes. You are not ignorant of the great benefactions of my father and uncle, which it would be highly diſhonorable ſo ſoon to forget, ſeeing the altars are ſtill adorned with them. You, O Dunstan, father of fathers, raiſe your imagination a little I pray you, and fancy you behold my father looking down from heaven and expoſtulating with you in this manner: it was you that adviſed me to the building of ſo many churches and monaſteries: it was you I made choice of for my ſpiritual guide and the inſpector of my behaviour. Did I not always obey your voice? Did I not always prefer your advice to wealth? How frankly did I lay out my treaſures when you ſaid the word? My charities were always ready when you called for them. Whatever was deſired for the church was always immediately granted. If you complained the monks were ſhort in their conveniences, they were forthwith ſupplied. You uſed to tell me ſuch liberalities brought forth immortal fruit and were highly meritorious, ſince they were expended in ſupporting the ſervants of God and maintaining the poor. And is it not an intolerable ſhame that they ſhould be laid out in adorning and decking a pack of proſtitutes? Are theſe the fruits of my benefactions? Are theſe the effects of your glorious promiſes? --- Theſe O Dunstan, are the complaints of the king my father; what can you anſwer to this charge? I am convinced that you have hitherto been unblameable: when you ſaw a thief you conſented not to him, neither have you been partaker with the adulterers. No, you have endeavoured to correct theſe abuſes; you have argued, exhorted, threatened. But ſince theſe means have proved in vain, it is time to apply more effectual reme-

remedies. You have here ready to aſſiſt you the reverend father ETHELWALD biſhop of Wincheſter, and the venerable OSWALD biſhop of Worceſter. To you three I refer the management of this important affair. It is your part therefore to exert the epiſcopal authority in conjunction with that of the crown, to expel the diſorderly clergy from the monaſteries, and put in ſuch as live regularly in their place."

This is the ſpeech of king EDGAR celebrated by all the monkiſh writers, and ſome others; and it is no wonder. For in truth it is raiſed and poliſhed in the original ſo much above the eloquence of that age, as to make it ſuſpicious that it had a laterdate. Mr. COLLIER ſays, that he has found it in an old hiſtorian: it may be old with regard to us, and yet modern with regard to the tenth century. As to the contents of this ſpeech, if all this torrent of eloquence is poured out againſt the clergy for their marriage, as it ſeems to be, it is not to be defended; it has a contrariety in it to the ſcripture, and to the doctrine and the practice of the ancient church. If this ſpeech was made by EDGAR, it gives us no great idea of his character; who purſued his luſt into the very monaſteries, forced a virgin under the veil, murthered one of his domeſticks in order to come at his wife, beſides many other inſtances of laſcivious violence, and yet cants about the lewdneſs and diſorders of the clergy becauſe they were married men. If this ſpeech was made for him by DUNSTAN, as ſome imagine, it was ſurely by way of pennance, that he ſhould be obliged thus openly to condemn, what was righteouſneſs in compariſon of his own diſſolute actions. It is not unlikely but that the clergy had a ſhare in the ignorance and the vices of the age; but this was not the thing which drew this ſtorm upon them. Had they not been married, we had heard nothing of their ill morals from DUNSTAN and his party who placed ſuch perfections in celibacy; no more than we ſhould of the amours of EDWY had he been a favourer of the monks. It was the marriage of the clergy which gave the offence, and which their enemies would repreſent as a more heinous crime than concubinage, or any other indeed that could be laid to their charge. We muſt therefore carry along with us the prohibition againſt their marriage, in order to comprehend the reaſon of this outcry, and to judge how far the king's complaints againſt the ſeculars are to be credited. The monks were bound in gratitude to make a ſuitable return for the great ſervices which EDGAR had done their party; and accordingly they have endeavoured by their exceſſive commendations, that mankind ſhould believe that he was a ſaint. But it is no hard matter to perceive that theſe commendations have raiſed his character too high; and tho as to his political actions he was very great, yet a great king and a great ſaint are very different things. After ages, not benefited nor prejudiced by his favours, have ranked him among

more ſuitable company in a much lower claſs. Very judicious hiſtorians have unniched him as a ſaint; and have not ſcrupled even to reckon him in the number of the vileſt princes. They might be induced perhaps to this from a ſaying of Canutus the great, upon a report of his daughter Editha's ſanctity, "that he could never believe it was "poſſible for the daughter of ſo wicked a father to be a ſaint." This has made it ſuſpected, that the monkiſh hiſtorians have paſſed over in ſilence ſeveral of Edgar's actions which had come to the knowledge of Canutus; and which would have given poſterity an idea of their hero very different from what they were willing we ſhould have. But to ſpeak my own opinion, at the ſame time that they would have him believed a ſaint and extoll him as ſuch, either for want of due attention, or thro ſome other miſtake, they let ſlip ſo many inſtances of his luſtful, fierce and impetuous temper, as go a great way in deſtroying the high opinion they ſeem to deſire we ſhould conceive of him. Altho the celibacy of the clergy was the point which Dunstan aimed at, and for which he deſired the king's aſſiſtance, yet none but thoſe in the cathedrals and monaſteries were complained of and diſturbed; and even they only were diſpoſſeſſed without being obliged to put away their wives. Thus when the monks were in poſſeſſion, the proſecutors ſeem to be ſatisfied, and thought that the reformation had gone far enough. But notwithſtanding Dunstan's intereſt and addreſs and his vaſt affection for the monks, yet he could never get them introduced into the northern monaſteries: the abbies in thoſe parts were generally uninhabited for above two hundred years, and the name of a monk was ſcarce heard of there. Northumberland was expoſed to the continual ravages of the Danes; which made all the affairs of the church in that country go on very irregularly. Even the biſhopric of Hagulſtad was reduced to ſo wretched a condition, that after having been a long time without a biſhop, it was found neceſſary at laſt to unite it to the ſee of York.

It muſt be owned that the monaſtic inſtitutions and the care of thoſe who were devoted to them did too much exhauſt the zeal of Edgar and his primates; but however the common intereſts of religion and the church were not quite neglected. To ſay nothing of his laws which relate to civil matters as being foreign to our purpoſe, the eccleſiaſtical laws and canons which he eſtabliſhed would well enough become a prince who had a real ſenſe of the honour of God. The laws are but ſix. Of which the firſt not only requires the payment of tithes but ſeems to ſettle the right of parochial tithes, or at leaſt to ſettle a proportion of them, on the adjacent church. The ſecond gives us the true nature of the church tribute, and determines it to be a ſtated payment ariſing from every freeman's houſe; ſhewing likewiſe

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in what manner tithes are to be paid where there is a church that has a burying place, and on the other hand where it has none. The third appoints the time when predial and perſonal tithes are to be paid. The fourth contains the remedy in caſes of neglect. The fifth requires the payment of Peter-pence; and the laſt directs the obſervance of Sunday from three o' clock on Saturday in the afternoon till break of day on Monday morning. Several other conſtitutions were made by EDGAR for the regulation of religious houſes: in thoſe relating to the cathedral at Wincheſter engroſſed in gold letters, the king makes himſelf general, as we may call it, of the monks, and puts the queen in the ſame ſtation of government over the nuns.

Beſides theſe, Sir H. SPELLMAN gives us a body of canons, publiſhed under this prince, tranſlated from an old Saxon manuſcript in Bennet college at Cambridge. It is not known where, at what particular time, or by what authority they were drawn up; but the decrees run in the plural number, and ſeem to be the ſtyle of a ſynod. The reader will find here the moſt remarkable. The firſt injoins the clergy to be conſtant at their devotions, and particularly to pray that the people may behave dutifully to their reſpective governours, and prove firm and loyal to their prince. The third orders proper books and habits to be provided againſt the meeting of every ſynod, and that entertainment be furniſhed for three days. By the fifth if a prieſt received any injury or ill uſage the complaint was to be preferred to the ſynod; who were to treat the caſe as if the whole body had actually ſuffered, and take care that ſatisfaction be made at the biſhop's diſcretion. The eleventh injoins every prieſt to learn ſome employment, in order to get a livelihood in caſe of indigence and misfortune. The ſeventeenth and twenty ſecond order all perſons to inſtruct their children in the chriſtian faith, and to teach them the LORD's prayer and the apoſtles creed; without learning of which they were neither to be admitted to the euchariſt, nor to be buried in conſecrated ground. The twenty ninth forbids the burying in churches all thoſe that were not of known probity. The thirty ſecond commands the prieſts not to officiate without the ſervice book, leſt the truſting to their memories might make them miſtake. The thirty ſixth requires every perſon to abſtain from eating and drinking before the communion except in caſes of ſickneſs. The thirty eighth enjoins the prieſt to have the euchariſt always ready, and to take care that it did not grow ſtale; but if it ſhould happen that it was kept ſo long as that it could not be eaten without diſguſting the palate, it was then to be burnt in a clear fire and the aſhes laid under the altar. The fifty third forbids the eating of blood of any kind. The ſixtieth makes it evident that thoſe who drew up theſe canons did not allow the prieſts to marry. The ſixty fourth declares that hunting and hawking are improper diverſions for a clergyman, who is to make his books his entertainment.

tainment. The ſixty fifth injoins the prieſt to preſs thoſe under his care to confeſſion, pennance, and ſatisfaction. There is likewiſe mention made of oil to be uſed in baptiſm, and for the anointing of the ſick. After theſe canons there follows a form of confeſſion with particular directions for the prieſt. He is therein required to examine the penitent very thorowly, and to diſtinguiſh nicely upon all the circumſtances of his miſbehaviour. The pennance muſt be proportioned, not only according to the nature and degree of the crime, but with regard to the condition, temper, age, and capacity of the penitent; who is to make his confeſſion to God and his confeſſor, and pray to our Saviour for the pardon of his ſins. But in the whole proceſs of the pennance and devotion, there is no ave Maria, no addreſs to the ſaints, no appealing to their knowledge of his miſbehaviour, nor any mention made of them unleſs in a petition to God, that we may be admitted to the happineſs of their ſociety. This ſhews that the modern application to them, and the bleſſed virgin, were unpractiſed by the church of England in that age. After this the penitential proceeds to ſtate the pennance, and to determine the degrees of diſcipline and ſatisfaction, which are ſevere enough; which bring the offender to mortification and ſubmiſſion, and maintains the authority of the keys. This whole form is drawn up in the ſingular number by a different authority from that of the canons, and ſeems to have been the orders of ſome particular prelate. It is not unlikely that Dunstan had the care and overſight of that collection; which tho in ſome parts it taſtes too much of this age of monkery, yet in the general it would have been worthy of the beſt of any of thoſe ancient times.

The primate had a fierceneſs and a natural warmth, which led him out of the way of charity and even juſtice itſelf in the perſecution of the ſecular clergy; but it muſt be owned it had a bright as well as a dark ſide, as the characters of moſt men have; and where he had the good luck to place it well, it made him an uſeful inſtrument in reſtraining and puniſhing vice, in which he maintained the dignity and the authority of his character, as a biſhop and metropolitan. He had a ſignal occaſion about this time of proving this to the world. A certain nobleman of great figure and intereſt had married within the prohibited degrees of conſanguinity. The archbiſhop being informed of it admoniſhed him ſeveral times to diſengage himſelf from this inceſtuous marriage; but the earl taking no notice of his grace's remonſtrance, he put him under the leſſer excommunication, and forbade him to enter the church. The earl upon this complained to the king, accuſed the archbiſhop of having gone beyond his authority, and deſired his majeſty to releaſe him from ſuch a tyrannical ſentence. The king, believing the requeſt not unreaſonable, commanded Dunstan to take off the cenſure; which he was much ſurpriſed and concerned at. But how-

however tho he had all imaginable regard to EDGAR's pleaſure, yet he had a regard alſo to the duties of his ſtation, and to the honour and intereſt of religion, which he thought had now been injured. He therefore gave the earl another ſevere rebuke, both for continuing in the crime for which he lay under the cenſures of the church, and for applying to the king in ſuch a cauſe. But perceiving that his reproaches, tho plain and fierce, made no impreſſion, and that the earl was ſo far from relenting that he even threatened the archbiſhop for keeping him out of the church, without any regard to the king's interpoſition whom he had probably quieted, he put the earl under the greater excommunication. His reſentment being heightened very much with this puniſhment, his paſſion broke out into a fury; and he determined to make the beſt effort he could to bring DUNSTAN into diſgrace, and to get from under his diſcipline. For this purpoſe he diſpatched an agent in all haſte to Rome, who by preſents and promiſes prevailed with ſome there to ſollicit for him. JOHN the thirteenth was then in the chair, and being gained over to his cauſe, he ſent a brief to the archbiſhop to treat the ſinner with lenity, with a poſitive command to reſtore him to full communion. On receiving this order the following anſwer was made by DUNSTAN. "When I ſee "the offender penitent for his fault I ſhall willingly obey his holineſs's "command; but GOD forbid I ſhould permit him, whilſt he contiues to wallow in his ſin, to be diſcharged from the church's cen"ſures, and inſult over me: and GOD forbid, that for regard to any mor"tal man, or for ſaving my own life, I ſhould ſuffer the law of CHRIST "to be violated." BARONIUS takes notice of this paſſage: and to excuſe a conduct of DUNSTAN's which agrees ſo ill with the late opinions of the power of the pope of Rome, and in one whom they have made a ſaint, he pretends that the command of his holineſs was grounded on a ſuppoſition of the earl's repentance: but who does not ſee, that if the earl had been penitent there was no occaſion of ſending to Rome for an interceſſor? and yet it may be this is the beſt excuſe that can be made for ſo evident a contempt of the papal power, if it had been ſo great then in England as the cardinal would have it believed. It is plain the earl expected to have been reſtored without the forms of pennance and ſubmiſſion, and to have broke thro the authority of the archbiſhop: and therefore when he perceived that nothing could move the primate from his purpoſe, neither the king's interceſſion nor the pope's command, he then began to relent. The ſhame of continuing longer under the excommunication, with the apprehenſion of ſome ugly conſequences from it, brought him off from his obſtinacy; he quitted his inceſtuous marriage, and took a penitent's habit. The archbiſhop preſiding at this time in a ſynod, the earl came thither barefoot, without any appearance of equipage or quality, and caſt himſelf with tears at his feet. This public mortification procured the compaſſion of the

council in his favour, and ſoftened Dunstan to a reconciliation. To preſerve however the honour of the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and to bring the offender to a thorow humiliation, the archbiſhop concealed his tenderneſs, kept the earl in ſuſpence an hour, and then melting into tears gave him abſolution before the ſynod. This was primitive impartiality, if not right primitive conduct; and ſhews a courage equal to the nobleſt undertakings.

The biſhop of Worcester having gained a great intereſt with the king and Dunstan, by his favour to the monks and turning out the ſecular canons, he was about this time tranſlated to the archbiſhopric of York, on a vacancy of that ſee; that he might purſue the ſame deſign in that cathedral. As Dunstan had held the biſhopricks of London and Worceſter, ſo the ſame liberty was allowed to Oswald; who as Malmsbury reports, was not permitted to reſign his former ſee, leſt the monks whom he had brought in ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed. This plurality of ſees, began here by the primate, was an innovation on the primitive practiſe: and it was probably ventured on by him, who in other reſpects was a very rigid obſerver of the canons, becauſe of the ſcarcity of ſuch perſons to ſupply the vacancies as the king and the archbiſhop approved of for their deſign; a great majority of the clergy being on the ſide of the ſecular canons. The ferment which the proſecution of this deſign had ſpred over the nation, thro the violence of the proceedings, and the heavy complaints of the oppreſſed eccleſiaſticks, was very great: and beſides this unhappy affair, the death of Edgar at this time raiſed another diſpute about the ſucceſſion to the crown; which occaſioned the calling a council that met at Wincheſter. The party of Dunstan favoured Edward, a ſon of the late king's by Elfleda, ſaid by ſome to have been his concubine and not his lawful wife: but notwithſtanding this pretence, and the attempts of the queen in favour of her ſon Ethelred, the right was ſoon adjudged to Edward, and he was immediately crowned king. The other affair was debated with great warmth on both ſides, and not without many ſevere reflections on the archbiſhop. At laſt the cauſe of the eccleſiaſticks ſo far prevailed that the council were of opinion the canons ſhould be reſtored, and have at leaſt the favour of a further trial. This unexpected motion put Dunstan to a ſtand, and made him pauſe for an anſwer; therefore whilſt a general ſilence was kept expecting what he had to reply, a crucifix hung up in the room is ſaid to pronounce with a loud voice, "It ſhall not be done, it ſhall not be done; you have ordered things "well, and you will do wrong to change them." This, the ſame writers tell us, filled the council with conſternation, and gave occaſion to the archbiſhop to ſay, my brethren what would you have more? you have heard the matter decided by the divine ſentence. The ſtory of this miracle is told with different circumſtances; the Saxon chronicle, which

which for the moſt part is an excellent and authentic record, makes no mention of this council; and FLORENCE, who gives an account of the council, is ſilent about the pretended miracle of the image. Some writers place this ſynod in the reign of EDGAR: and others, with more reaſon I think, at the preſent time: but yet they who agree in ſcarce any other particular, for the moſt part agree in that which was moſt certainly a fraud and impoſition. One would be very unwilling to charge DUNSTAN with the management of this miracle, and would charitably ſuppoſe it was an artifice of the monks without his privity; but one cannot help obſerving what care there was taken to ruin ſo many families of the ſame religion and the ſame profeſſion; and that the common ſupports of life which the feelings of humanity procure for ſtrangers in diſtreſs, were here withheld by chriſtians from their miniſters in the name of GOD. But whatever credit this impoſture of the ſpeaking crucifix may have met with in after ages, the following tranſactions of this time ſhew it had then no great reputation. The clergy were ſo far from acquieſcing in this miraculous deciſion of the diſpute againſt them, that their party were not content with arguments; but tired with the artifices and delays of DUNSTAN, they betook themſelves to another courſe, and driving the monks away by force they reſtored the ſecular clergy to their antient ſtations.

As the ſynod abovementioned thus divided the Engliſh nation, and produced a ſort of civil war, ſo this war in its turn produced other ſynods. One of theſe is ſaid to aſſemble at Kirtlington; the tranſactions of which are as little known as the place itſelf: a ſecond is ſaid to have been held at Calne in Wiltſhire, which ended ſo much in favour of the monaſticks and to the honour of DUNSTAN, that it muſt not be paſſed by in ſilence. The ſecular clergy being apprehenſive of the weight and intereſt of their enemies, who were backed by the royal authority of which DUNSTAN had the command, were determined to make one vigorous effort for the effectual recovery of their ancient rights. The controverſy had already occaſioned a great deal of blood and violence, and therefore this meeting was agreed upon, in order to find out ſome temper which might determine, or at leaſt quiet it for a time. The canons procured BERNHELM a Scotch biſhop, a man of great elocution, to plead their cauſe. By the aſſiſtance of this prelate, and the great appearance of nobility and biſhops in their favour, the point was ſo ſtrongly urged and the debate ſeemed to bid ſo fair for their ſucceſs, that DUNSTAN was in danger of being vanquiſhed; as we may collect from the weakneſs of his reply. He ſaid that the claim of the ſecular canons had been already overruled by a miracle, and therefore he did not think it ſhould be made the ſubject of another conteſt. Beſides he himſelf was an old man, and deſired not to be harraſſed with controverſy under that diſadvantage, but to ſpend the remainder of his days

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in peace and quietneſs. He had taken pains he ſaid they knew whilſt his ſtrength laſted, but being diſabled now by age he ſhould no more engage in diſputes of this kind, but commit the cauſe of the church to the divine protection. Whatever charitable conſtruction is to be made in favour of the archbiſhop in the management or contrivance of the pretended miracle at Wincheſter, there does not ſeem to be any room left for the ſame favourable opinion of him here. This anſwer in which he evades the diſpute becauſe of his age, when at that time he was not above four and fifty, and referring the cauſe to providence, would incline one to think that he had a reſerve which he depended on, to change the fortune of the day, and give him the victory. Be this however as it may; whilſt the heat was great on both ſides and neither party was inclined to yield, on a ſudden the timber which ſupported the floor gave way, except the beam on which the archbiſhop's chair was placed; by which means he was preſerved without being hurt, whilſt many of the canons were killed and many more were bruiſed or wounded. This was looked upon as a judgment on the ſecular clergy for renewing ſo unreaſonable and vile a conteſt; and convinced the people that the monks muſt be the favourites of heaven, ſince their head and protector was thus wonderfully preſerved. Others reſolve the accident into magic, and charge Dunstan with it; and the moſt favourable of his enemies ſay, that contrary to cuſtom he had prevented the king from being in the council that day. It is certain there is no need to have recourſe to magic, miracle, or contrivance, to account for the floor of a room falling when it might be old and overloaded, and the main beam to remain: but it was ſuch a ſeaſonable relief to the archbiſhop who was foiled in the diſpute, he had in his anſwer ſeemed to reſt it upon ſome ſuch iſſue, and he had the aid of ſo many miracles in this controverſy, that if the matter of fact be true, one can ſcarce help thinking that it was a contrivance, and that his grace was privy to it. But to whatever cauſe the accident is to be aſcribed, it is evident it ſignified nothing as to the iſſue and conſequence of the diſpute; as it only interrupted, and did not end it. For the ſecular clergy would not give it up, nor allow that a misfortune was the ſign of a bad cauſe: they had therefore another council the ſame year at Ameſbury; the particulars of which are not related any further, than that here the canons were overthrown.

But Dunstan and his party loſt more by another inſtance of the unſearchable ways of providence the following year, than they gained by that which has been related in the laſt. It pleaſed God to permit the king to be murdered by the appointment of his mother-in-law Elfreda, which gained him the title of Edward the martyr, and the fame of working many miracles after his death, by curing all the diſeaſes of thoſe who came to his grave. He was a prince of great hopes and an admirable

mirable diſpoſition, and who treated the queen with great regard: but ſhe was impatient to ſet her own ſon ETHELRED on the throne, tho but about twelve years old, and the kingdom he was to govern in a very diſtracted ſtate. How it happened that ELFREDA, who was the wife of EDGAR, ſhould be in the oppoſite intereſt to the monks and upon ill terms with DUNSTAN, is not related. Whether ſhe thought that he governed her huſband in too abſolute a manner; whether he treated her with too little ceremony whom he could have no good opinion of, or whether ſhe had any zeal for the ſecular clergy, it is certain that ſhe engaged on their ſide in the quarrel, or ſhewed a diſpoſition to it, before the primate and his party oppoſed her ſon's ſucceſſion, and took EDWARD's ſide, at his father's death. It will eaſily be imagined therefore that ETHELRED was not their friend, and that it was no ſmall mortification to the archbiſhop to ſet the crown upon his head. The legendary writers who attribute every thing to their ſaint which they think great and marvellous, tho it be againſt probability and common ſenſe, tell us the archbiſhop did his duty at the coronation of the prince, but prophetically foretold, that as he had aſpired to the crown by the death of his brother, the ſword ſhould not depart from his family 'till the kingdom ſhould be given to another. The prince had certainly no hand in his brother's death, which he bitterly lamented with many tears, to the provocation of his mother who beat him for it; nor could be ſuppoſed to have any ambition for the crown at twelve years of age: he poſſeſſed it however thirty-ſeven years; which is the longeſt reign, I think, that is to be met with before the Norman conqueſt.

It does not appear from any author, what progreſs, or whether any, was made in the deſign againſt the ſecular canons, during the ſhort remainder of DUNSTAN's life. It is probable that that affair continued much in the ſame ſtate in which it was at the death of EDWARD: and indeed within a few years after ETHELRED's acceſſion, the depredations of the Danes, who had given ſo much trouble to the preceding age, were again renewed. Theſe would certainly put a ſtop to all the diſputes about the diſcipline of the church, and therefore here I ſhall end the account of this controverſy. Upon the whole it muſt be obſerved, that the parochial clergy had no ſhare in this diſpute, and therefore that it was not, whether it was lawful or not lawful for the clergy in general to be married; but whether the cathedrals and monaſteries ſhould be poſſeſſed by ſecular canons who were under no vows of celibacy, or by the monks who were. We ſhall meet with this diſpute again in a new dreſs in the twelfth century; and we will now therefore return to the affairs of the church under the reign of ETHELRED.

About this time died one of the friends, and the coadjutor of DUNSTAN in his grand deſign, ETHELWALD biſhop of Wincheſter. This

was a great blow to the monks whom he had ſettled there; and conſequently raiſed the hopes of the ſeculars whom he had diſpoſſeſſed. Both ſides exerted all their intereſt for a ſucceſſor; the former to have a biſhop who might confirm them in their poſſeſſions, and the latter to have one who would reſtore them to their rights and eject the uſurpers. The event of this ſtruggle was of too much conſequence to the intereſt which Dunstan had laid to heart for him to remain neuter; he exerted himſelf therefore in behalf of Elpheg abbot of Bath, and he carried his point; to the great joy of the monks, and the great diſappointment of the eccleſiaſticks. The reader will be ſurpriſed perhaps that the archbiſhop who ſtood upon ill terms with the king and his mother, ſhould have had intereſt enough to recommend a monk to the ſee of Wincheſter. But he muſt remember that that party never wanted a miracle to prevent their defeat on any occaſion. We are told therefore that when the primate was full of ſollicitude about this event, the apoſtle St. Andrew, to whom he bore a ſpecial devotion, appeared to him in a viſion, and admoniſhed him that without delay Elpheg ſhould be conſtituted biſhop of Wincheſter. This is the laſt act that we meet with of Dunstan's power; for the frequent invaſions which the Danes made on the coaſt, and the murders, conflagrations, plundering, and other devaſtations which they committed, had called off the minds of the people from eccleſiaſtical diſputes to their own misfortunes. Beſides, they began to call in queſtion the ſanctity of the monks; thinking it wholly unaccountable that men who had obtained from heaven ſo many miracles on their own private account, could not by their holineſs and devotion ſecure the kingdom from theſe calamities. Whatever reputation their credit with the two preceding kings had given them, the coolneſs of Ethelred rather diminiſhed than added to it. The thoughts of this prince were turned to nothing leſs than religion; and he put the monks and all the other eccleſiaſticks upon the ſame foot with the reſt of his ſubjects. But to give a convincing proof of his diſregard of the clergy he quarrelled about ſomething, that was not thought worth relating, with the biſhop of Rochester; who refuſing to comply with the king's demand, he immediately marched an army againſt the city, and ordered the ſoldiers to lay waſte the lands belonging to the cathedral. When the archbiſhop heard that Rocheſter was beſieged, he ſent to the king to entreat him to withdraw his forces, and not to provoke St. Andrew the protector of that church. In vain did Dunstan entreat the king; and to as little purpoſe did he threaten him with the vengeance of the apoſtle: Ethelred regarded neither, and carried on the ſiege. Finding theſe ſort of menaces from the other world made no impreſſion, the archbiſhop ſent him an hundred pounds to raiſe it, which the king accepted on that condition. Surpriſed at his avarice, and diſguſted to the laſt degree with his obſtinacy and contempt, the archbiſhop denounced

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the judgments of GOD againſt him, for preſuming to lay hands on the property of the church. But he was then little regarded; and his credit was ſunk ſo low, that he died quickly after; not ſo much, ſays the hiſtorian, of old age, as of vexation and ſorrow, to find all the intereſt of the monks was vaniſhed, and that he who had governed the two preceding kings, had no influence, authority, nor even reſpect.

Was the character of this prelate, who filled the ſee of Canterbury about ſeven and twenty years, to be taken from the ancient writers, we ſhould believe him to have been a ſaint indeed: we ſee nothing there but ſanctity of manners, great appearances of devotion, an immediate intercourſe with heaven, and the power of working miracles alive, and dead. But yet without knowing any thing more of him than what appears in the courſe of the ſtory in which DUNSTAN bears a conſiderable part, we ſhall ſee reaſon enough, I believe, to degrade him from that high rank in which they have placed him. He was moſt certainly a man of good natural parts, and had a great deal of knowlege in many ſciences which he took much delight in; but his temper, as we may judge from his frequent baniſhments in the former part of his life, was boiſterous, haughty, and overruling. In his exile he had acquired a prodigious fondneſs for a monaſtic life; and when he was recalled and reſtored to favour, he made uſe of all his intereſt very intemperately, without any caution, and without any charity, to drive out the ſecular canons and to introduce the monks into cathedrals and even benefices; which confirms the charge of his ill-temper, and made him many enemies all his life. This was the great point of view to which all his conduct, from the time of his baniſhment under EDWY, ſeems principally, if not wholly, to have been directed. A zeal without knowlege when it is confined within proper bounds, abſurd as it is, will admit of ſome excuſe, tho not of praiſe or merit: but a zeal even in holy things, not reſtrained by the ties of conſcience or religion, and when purſued to the deſtruction or the hurt of others, is wicked and antichriſtian. There is too much reaſon I am afraid to accuſe this father of the Engliſh monks of ſuch a zeal. He was forced to quit the kingdom as we have ſeen in the reign of EDWY; but his party ſoon began a revolt and levied an army againſt the king. If theſe commotions, which were no other than downright rebellion, were not ſtirred up by DUNSTAN who was then in Flanders, yet they were not condemned by him but abetted at his return. The hiſtorians who make providence a party in this inſurrection, and modeſtly affirm our Saviour to have diſpoſed the people to rebell, give this reaſon for it; that DUNSTAN might be recalled, and the Engliſh once more be put under his conduct and protection. Now if this does not incline one to think that there had been ſomething of a practice and concert between him and the rebels; yet if he had ſo great an aſcendant over them, and they

they were ſo much attached to him as they pretend, why did not the holy abbot employ his intereſt with them to ſtifle the inſurrection, and to keep the people within the terms of duty to their prince? None of the writers, as much a ſaint as they repreſent him, are kind enough to his memory to give us any account of the pains he took to ſuch a purpoſe. His inclinations plainly led him another way; and the ſanctity of his heart did not prevent them. As ſoon as Edgar was proclaimed by the malecontents, he ſummoned a convention in which Dunstan was recalled; and the abbot was entertained at the uſurper's court with more regard than ever. But how is this ſtep to be reconciled to the conſcience of a ſaint? Why did he not ſtay for Edwy's order who was his only lawful ſovereign; and why did he reſide at the court of a rebel prince who had by violence ſeized a part of the king's dominions? Why did he countenance this rebel, by receiving his favour and careſſes, and by accepting the biſhopric of Worceſter at his requeſt, who had no right to give it him? Theſe are queſtions which the friends and admirers of this prelate would find it impoſſible I believe to anſwer, conſiſtently with the character of a ſaint, or even a pious worthy eccleſiaſtic. It will lie hard upon them to clear him likewiſe of avarice and ambition; in keeping the ſees of London and Worceſter without any precedent for ſuch a plurality; and in turning out honeſt Brightheln from the chair of primate, becauſe he was too meek and humble to go all the lengths which he taught the king to think were neceſſary for the good of the church. The whole ſeries of his behaviour whilſt he was metropolitan ſhew him to be a man of great ſpirit and reſolution and of invincible firmneſs. Had he always made uſe of this diſpoſition to proper purpoſes and no other, he would have deſerved in a great meaſure the high encomiums that have been given of him. The ſame ſpirit and reſolution that emboldened him to put his ſovereign under a ſeven years pennance for his amours, would have inclined him, if he had been thorowly right at heart, to have chaſtized him for his rebellion againſt his elder brother and king, and wreſting the greateſt part of his dominions from him. But then the expedient of his project for reſtoring the monks would have been defeated: and therefore Edgar, who was not allowed to debauch a nun without a pennance, was permitted to head a rebellion and uſurp the crown not only with impunity, but with the countenance of Dunstan, even to the open breach of his own allegiance. Upon the whole then I believe it may be ſaid of this prelate, that he was very far from deſerving the character of a ſaint; that if it had not been for his patronage of the monks he would never have had that title; and that with ſome qualities which would have enabled him to have done a great deal of good to religion and the church of England, he did an infinite deal of miſchief to the great prejudice of both. He had a great ſhare of art and cunning with but little wiſdom or prudence; and had he not been ſo infatuated with his

his zeal for monkery, which has alone advanced him to the title of ſaint, he would have been a much greater man, a much better chriſtian, and a much more uſeful metropolitan. He was buried at Canterbury, but the monks of Glaſſonbury in the next century pretending that his bones had been privately ſtolen and brought to his old monaſtery, great devotions were paid to them by the people, and many miracles were ſaid to be wrought at his grave. This the monks of Canterbury ſhewed evidently to be falſe; but the others perſiſted in their claim to his relicks; and as late as in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, they had a new ſhrine made in which they pretended to depoſit them, to which many oblations and many prayers were offered. This notorious impoſture was ſo ſcandalous, that archbiſhop WARHAM cauſed the grave at Canterbury to be opened, where his coffin was found entire, and ſuch of his bones as were not conſumed. The truth of this was atteſted and ſent with a letter of the archbiſhop's to the abbot of Glaſſonbury; but inſtead of ſuppreſſing the impoſture, the convent perſiſted ſtill in their pretence, and the abbot anſwered WARHAM, that if it was true what he ſaid, yet if they ſhould forbear ſhewing the bones as the bones of DUNSTAN and forbid the people to worſhip them, they ſhould be guilty of ſacrilege againſt the ſaint, and the boldeſt wickedneſs againſt GOD. "For whoſoever, ſays he, ſhall ſee the daily con-"courſe of people, without their clothes and barefooted, daily praying "at the ſhrine, would without doubt ſay to us, what is ſaid by GA-"MALIEL, let theſe men alone leſt perhaps ye ſeem to fight againſt "GOD." Thus their wicked impoſition was made the reaſon for the continuance of it; ſo hard a matter is it to ſet men right when intereſt and ſuperſtition go hand in hand. This is really ſuch a deploreable inſtance of the corruption of the Engliſh church, that one cannot think of it without pity, nor relate it without regret. It is related however, that I might caution the reader by this inſtance, againſt being too forward in giving credit to men that abandon themſelves to ſuperſtition and miſtaken zeal. It may ſerve likewiſe to give him a taſte of what he might expect, if I could ſuffer myſelf to copy the whole of what is given us for the hiſtory of the church. But it is time now to return to the affairs which ſucceded upon the death of DUNSTAN.

OSWALD biſhop of Worceſter and archbiſhop of York, one of the triumvirate in the management of all eccleſiaſtical affairs in the former reign, ſoon after followed the other two. By the death of theſe prelates by a contagious diſtemper which carried off a great number of people, and by the continual invaſion of the Danes, ſuch an end was put to the quarrel between the monks and eccleſiaſticks that it never was heard of more. The immediate ſucceſſor of DUNSTAN in the ſee of Canterbury was ETHELGAR biſhop of Seolſey, of whom we are told no more than that he died in about a

year, and was ſucceded by Siricius biſhop of Wilton in Wiltſhire. Aldulf abbot of Peterborough ſucceded Oswald in the ſees both of York and Worceſter; a practiſe which would have been thought an unpardonable irregularity among the ancients; and what occaſioned it here it is not eaſy to determine. The church of England as well as the churches abroad, had little trouble in this age with any diſputes about points of doctrine, and her councils were chiefly occupied in the ſettlement of tithes, in cenſuring thoſe who uſurped the property of the church, in prohibiting the marriages of near relations; and ſome of them in diſcountenancing the marriage of eccleſiaſticks. I am now drawing to the concluſion of this age of ignorance, and the remainder of it is ſo poor and empty a ſtory, as to furniſh little or nothing for a hiſtory of the church. The ſtate indeed has too many events to tranſmit to after ages, but they are what we have reaſon, as men and chriſtians, and much more as Engliſhmen, to wiſh had never been; the miſery, ſhame, and deſolation of our country: and as tho heaven had thought that this was not a ſufficient puniſhment, without our anceſtors becoming parties to their own undoing, it pleaſed God to give them up to ſloth and falſhood and ſtupidity, by which means they defeated their own meaſures, blaſted their deſigns, and made their arms of no effect. It muſt be owned it is not without grounds that ſome of our hiſtorians aſcribe the wretched defence of the Engliſh at this time and their diſhonourable ſubmiſſion, to their zeal for monaſtic inſtitutions revived by Dunstan, which had exhauſted the wealth of the nation and emaſculated her people. It is certain that ſuch a cauſe has a natural tendency to ſuch effects: and when the ſame ſpirit prevailed in the beginning of the eighth century, even Bede himſelf did not ſtick to ſay, as the reader muſt remember, that it rendered ſo many men unfit for arms as to make it doubtful if there would be enow to defend their country; and the event was anſwerable. The building, endowing, and adorning ſo many religious houſes, muſt not only draw away a great deal of wealth, and deprive the public of many uſeful people, but it muſt alſo influence the public councils, and turn the ſpirit of the nation to pilgrimages and pennance, to practiſes which might do honour to theſe foundations, but which would call men to ſloth and eaſe, and the neglect of order and military ſkill. If theſe were not the immediate cauſes of that miſery which at this time overſpred the Engliſh nation, it is certain that after this monaſtic zeal had prevailed about forty years, the Danes and Norwegians made new attempts upon England, and at the cloſe of this century had near thirty thouſand pounds given them to grant a peace. The new archbiſhop of Canterbury, Siricius, filled the ſee but a little while, and was ſucceded by Alfrick, tranſlated likewiſe it is ſaid from Wilton, and who had a great character from the chapter who choſe him, "as a pious man, and as "one learned beyond the cuſtom of the age." How it happened that the

the king did not appoint, or recommend the primate, no hiſtorian tells us; the continual ravages of the Danes, his inattention to religion and eccleſiaſtical affairs, and his natural indolence, may perhaps account for it. All that we know is, that the chapter in the preamble to their inſtrument of election, take notice, that the mother church of England by reaſon of many events has been deprived of a paſtor for a long ſeaſon; to the great detriment not only of that but of all other churches in the iſland, the care of which is committed to the metropolitan. To remedy which inconvenience they have at laſt choſen ALFRICK, a man ſufficiently known for the nobleneſs of his deſcent and integrity of his manners. There is but one event more to be recorded in this century, which is, that ALDHUN biſhop of Holy iſland, to ſecure himſelf from the Danes, took up the corps of CUTHBERT buried in Cheſter in the ſtreet, and removed them to Durham; where he built a cathedral, and fixed his ſee.

At the beginning of the eleventh century, king ETHELRED had reigned about two and twenty years, amidſt a continued ſcene of war and devaſtation: and ſo far had he and his nobility abandoned themſelves to ſloth and careleſſneſs, that his views at this time were not a little unpleaſant and diſcouraging. That he might have ſome reſource however againſt the fierce and formidable power of his enemies, his queen ELGIVA dying, he endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf with a marriage about this time with EMMA, daughter of RICHARD duke of Normandy; hoping by the intereſt of that prince to put a ſtop to the ravages of the Danes. But alas! this promiſing expectation, tho the marriage ſucceded, came to nothing; or rather, to ſpeak properly, this match which he had projected to preſerve his crown, was the means of depriving his poſterity of it, by opening a way to the Norman conqueſt. But amidſt the diſtractions of the ſtate, it pleaſed GOD to raiſe up in this age, ſome conſiderable men in the church; among whom ALFRICK the archbiſhop, has very deſervedly the firſt place; not only from his poſt as metropolitan, but alſo from his learning and many excellent virtues. It is diſputed by ſome of our antiquarians, whether ELFRICK called the grammarian, under whoſe name there are ſeveral tracts, ſermons, and canons, is the ſame man that was primate; or whether it was not ALFRICK PUTTA made archbiſhop of York about twenty years after this. It is unneceſſary to trouble the reader with the particulars of this diſpute, which will neither inſtruct nor entertain him: the prelates were both men of conſiderable learning for their time; and till Mr. WHARTON in his Anglia Sacra aſcribed theſe writings to the laſt, the honour of them had always been given to the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY; to whom, notwithſtanding the reaſons offered by that learned critic, I am ſtill inclined to give it. The diſpute however is of no conſequence as to the truth and authenticity of the books themſelves; for

for when the works of private men are received into a church, and are placed by authority in its public and ſtanding offices, the doctrines contained in them are no longer the ſentiments of private men, but are become the doctrines of the church which has thus received them. This was the caſe of the homilies, or ſermons, which go under the name of Alfrick; and which were publicly red in the churches for the inſtruction of the people: and theſe ſhew very plainly, that whatſoever attempts have been made to prove the antiquity of that abſurd and monſtrous doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, yet it was not the doctrine of the church of England even at this time of ignorance. The order of time requires me to take ſome notice of theſe compoſitions which were now received into the church.

The miſeries which the Engliſh nation had for a good while groaned under, had occaſioned ſo general a decay of learning, that it was not thought proper the inferior clergy ſhould be truſted altogether with the inſtruction of the people. The better therefore to provide againſt the dangers which might ariſe from their neglect or inſufficiency, courſes of homilies or ſermons containing an account of ſuch doctrines and duties as were moſt neceſſary to be believed and practiſed, were appointed to be publicly red in the church. In the beginning of this century a great number of theſe homilies were compoſed by Alfrick, no matter by which of the two prelates of that name, among which there is one on the ſacrament appointed for Eaſter day: and ſince the advocates of tranſubſtantiation found its antiquity very high, and charge us now who oppoſe it with departing from the ancient church, it will not be improper to give the reader an extract from this homily; which will convince him that the church of England was in thoſe days far enough from believing this unaccountable doctrine. The old Engliſh tranſlation of this collection of homilies is ſtill in manuſcript in the Bodleian library, and in that of Bennet college in Cambridge: it has been many years ago publiſhed in Saxon, Latin, and Engliſh; and in a diſcourſe upon the ſacrament for Eaſter day we may certainly expect to find the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, if it was at that time the doctrine of the church of England. The homily propoſes in the beginning to inſtruct the people in the meaning of this myſtery; and having ſhewn how this inſtitution was typified and reſembled by the paſchal lamb under the law, and that ſome things are ſaid of our Saviour literally and others by way of figure, the following words explain how the bread and wine are called his body and blood.---"The bread and wine which are conſecrated by "the prieſt, repreſent one thing to the exterior ſenſes, and another "to the minds of thoſe who believe. There is a great deal of differ- "ence between the inviſible virtue of this holy ſacrament, and what "it appears to us in the qualities of its own nature. In its own nature "it is corruptible bread and corruptible wine; but by virtue of the di-

" vine inſtitution, it is truly the body and blood of CHRIST upon " conſecration, not in a corporeal but ſpiritual manner. The body in " which he ſuffered, and the euchariſtical body are widely different: the " firſt was born of the bleſſed virgin, and conſiſted of blood, bones, " nerves, and limbs, animated with a rational ſoul: but the body which " we call euchariſtical is made up of ſeveral grains of wheat, without ei- " ther blood or bone or nerve or limb or ſoul. Moreover the body of " CHRIST which ſuffered and roſe from the dead is eternal and impaſſible, " and no more liable to decay or death; whereas the euchariſt is not eter- " nal but corruptible, ſubject to the force of time, and diviſible into " many parts. The ſacrament is a type and a pledge, but the body " of our LORD J. CHRIST is the truth and reality of the repreſentation. " GOD has vouchſafed to give us this pledge or earneſt 'till we come " to the truth itſelf, and then the pledge will diſappear." There is no need of troubling the reader with any further extract from this homily, to ſhew what the ſenſe of the church of England was at this time concerning the preſence of CHRIST in the ſacrament. In an epiſtle of the ſame prelate to his clergy on this ſubject, he again tells them, " that this ſacrifice is not the body in which CHRIST ſuffered for us, " nor the blood which he ſhed, but it is made his body and blood " ſpiritually." Thus were the prieſt and the people taught to believe in the church of England at this time of the doctrine of the preſence.

But the archbiſhop was not only careful to ſet the people right as to this matter, but alſo to prevent the abuſes which ſome miſtaken opinions had led them into relating to the elements themſelves, and the manner of celebrating the holy euchariſt. He takes notice in his canons of a ſuperſtitious opinion among ſome men, that there was a more particular efficacy and virtue in the elements conſecrated on Eaſter day than on any other, which had led ſome of the clergy to keep them till they were mouldy or quite decayed. The canon therefore expreſsly forbids this practiſe, and condemns the opinion on which it is founded; declaring that there was no difference between the elements that were conſecrated on Eaſter day and thoſe conſecrated at other times. There was another practiſe more injurious to the end of this holy inſtitution, which for ſome time had been growing up in the church of England, and which the archbiſhop endeavoured to put a ſtop to: this was a practiſe of private ſacraments uſed in ſome places when they wanted company to communicate, contrary to the deſign of this ſacred rite; which was not only intended as a ſeal of the covenant between GOD and man, but alſo as a ſymbol of communion and love one with another. There was a canon therefore to require, " that no prieſt alone preſume to celebrate maſs; for the words of our

" Saviour who inſtituted the ſacrament of his body and blood, the direc-
" tions of St. Paul relating to that inſtitution, and the uſage of the apoſtles,
" allow no ſuch practiſe." Theſe are ſuch inſtances of the zeal and wiſdom of this prelate to preſerve the doctrine of the ſacrament uncorrupt, and to keep the celebration of it in the ancient channel, as makes poſterity much indebted to him for leaving theſe teſtimonies againſt the corruption of the following ages.

It muſt be owned indeed that Alfrick was a great aſſertor and patron of the celibacy of the clergy; but neither his doctrine nor authority can be made uſe of by thoſe who contend againſt their marriage as unlawful. For in his diſcourſe upon that ſubject, his addreſs to the clergy plainly ſhews, that whatever opinion he had of the inexpediency of their marriage, yet he did not believe it to be unlawful. " We do not compell you, ſays he, to put away your wives, but in-
" form you how you ought to behave." This is a pattern of temper and moderation which does as much honour to his underſtanding and his charity, as it reproaches the extravagant folly of thoſe bigots, who ground the neceſſity of a ſingle life in eccleſiaſticks, from the authority of an apoſtle who was a married man; and who, without remembring that St. Peter, and ſome of the greateſt biſhops of the firſt ages did not practice celibacy, preſume to determine the marriage of their ſucceſſors to be unlawful. But whatever might be the opinion of after ages on this topic, it is evident that the Engliſh clergy were at this time ſo far from believing their marriages to be criminal and antichriſtian, that they juſtified themſelves upon all occaſions by the example of St. Peter: they were ſo far from being convinced, or thinking themſelves obliged by Alfrick's canons to renounce their wives, that when he urged theſe againſt them, their uſual anſwer was, they had Peter for their example. In one of his charges therefore he ſpeaks to them in theſe words. " When I re-
" mind you who are the clergy of my dioceſe of the injunctions of
" the holy canons, you are ſurpriſed at what I ſay, and think it
" almoſt incredible. Even marriage is a thing ſo common with
" you, that you think it no ſin for a preſbyter, a deacon, or clerk,
" to live in a ſtate of matrimony as the laity uſually do; and are
" ready to ſay upon all occaſions that St. Peter the apoſtle was a mar-
" ried man and had a wife and children." This remonſtrance of the archbiſhop ſhews, that what had hitherto been done in favour of the regulars had no influence on the practiſe of the parochial clergy; he acted however up to his principle; and notwithſtanding he did not compell them to put away their wives, yet he diſpoſſeſſed the canons of the church of Canterbury, and by his intereſt with Ethelred obtained a confirmation of the change he had made, together with a new charter and many additional privileges to the monks. This fact

is denied by W. of MALMSBURY; and I think if the chapter of Canterbury had been ſecular canons they would not have elected, as it is certain they did, ALFRICK their archbiſhop, a monk, and a favourer of that order; neither would it be conſiſtent with the good heart and the virtues of this archbiſhop, to ſtarve the very men who had thus elected him to the higheſt poſt in the church. It was a great loſs to religion and the church of England that a prelate of ALFRICK's abilities and diſpoſition ſate ſo little a while in the primacy: by the few things that we have ſeen of him during the nine years he was archbiſhop he appears to have been in all reſpects the beſt and greateſt Engliſhman that had ever filled that ſee. ELPHEG biſhop of Wincheſter ſucceded ALFRICK in the primacy; ſoon after which a great council was convened by the king at Engſham in Oxfordſhire; which, tho it ſeems to have been occaſioned by the neceſſities of the ſtate, yet according to the cuſtom of thoſe ages it had a reſpect to the regulation of the affairs of religion and the church. There is nothing new or material enough, I think, in the decrees of this council to trouble the reader with: they are generally a repetition of ancient eccleſiaſtical laws; and the times were too full of diſorder and confuſion to permit any great things to be reſolved or executed. From the beginning of the reign of ETHELRED the ſecond to the Norman conqueſt, we meet with but two councils. In all probability the wars with the Danes prevented the biſhops from coming together oftener, or elſe occaſioned the deſtruction of the acts of thoſe conventions. Beſides this I have mentioned, there was another council at Haba; the orders of which have nothing particular in them, but enjoining faſting and maſſes, in a ſuperſtitious manner, for protection againſt the pagans.

In the beginning of this century, the city of Canterbury being beſieged, and the Engliſh nobility perceiving it to be in danger they deſired the archbiſhop to provide for his own ſecurity, telling him his death would be a public loſs and adviſing him therefore to retire. To this ELPHEG anſwered, "that he was reſolved upon a different me-
"thod; the meaſures they ſuggeſted being neither ſuitable to his paſt
"conduct, nor ſerviceable to his expectations. You would have me,
"ſays he, throw away a noble opportunity, and reject an offer for
"which I have the greateſt value: but GOD forbid that I ſhould tar-
"niſh my character by a practiſe ſo inglorious, and that I ſhould be
"afraid to go to heaven becauſe a violent death may lie croſs the paſ-
"ſage. Immortality is ſo great a privilege to man, that he ought to
"graſp at it upon any terms whatever: but now ſince GOD is pleaſed
"to give us ſo honorable a call into the other world, who would not
"be in love with dying? Who would not break from the company
"of his beſt friends to ſeize ſo glorious an advantage? GOD be thanked
"I am not conſcious of any ſuch miſbehaviour, as to give the enemy

"any

" any juſt occaſion to uſe me ill. It is true, I have converted ſeveral " of the moſt conſiderable of them to chriſtianity; but if this be a fault " in their opinion I ſhall be happy in ſuffering for it. What then, " ſuppoſe I have diſobliged them by ranſoming ſome of my country- " men, and by ſupporting thoſe in their captivity whom I was in no " condition to redeem? If they count this a crime, I ſhall be proud " to be puniſhed for it, tho it were by a wound in every part of my " body. But if you think the Danes are particularly enraged againſt " me for reproving them for their immorality and injuſtice, I cannot " help it; I am bound to theſe remonſtrances by my commiſſion, and " unleſs I give a wicked man warning, his blood will be required at " my hands. If this is all the provocation I have given them, I muſt " indeed think it very unbecoming my ſtation to deſert my worthy " countrymen in time of danger, and make an ignoble proviſion for " myſelf. What can I be leſs than an hireling, if when I ſee the wolf " ready to devour my ſheep, I preſently run away and leave them to " ſhift as they can for themſelves? It is therefore my reſolution to ſtand " the ſhock and ſubmit to the order of providence." I have given the reader this ſpeech entire, that I may do honour to the memory of this truly chriſtian prelate. Had this been ſpoke on ſuch an occaſion by an ancient Roman, his name and valour would have been ſounded very high; but coming out of the mouth of a chriſtian and a churchman, it is ſcarce taken notice of by any writer, and I dare ſay little remembered by any reader. There is however in this ſpeech of Elpheg, as much courage and contempt of life, as much diſintereſtedneſs and greatneſs of mind, and as much ſanctity and reſignation, as is to be met with from the mouth of the moſt renowned ſaint or hero of antiquity. But the magnanimity of this prelate did not expire in words; nor did his valour ſink in the midſt of danger. The enemy having made themſelves maſters of the town, where ſuch inhumanity was practiſed without regard to age and ſex, as is enough to harrow up the ſoul of any one to relate, the archbiſhop was no longer able to contain himſelf; but breaking out of the church from amidſt his monks, and preſſing thro the Daniſh troops he made way to the place of ſlaughter: then turning about to the enemy he deſired them to forbear, and not to blemiſh their manhood by deſtroying infants. He told them that the cradle could afford no triumphs; that it was no victory to fall upon an age and ſex which were in no condition to make reſiſtance; and that when people ſubmit and throw down their arms it was by no means honourable to refuſe giving quarter. He owned that he had converted ſeveral of their troops, and had frequently inveighed with bitterneſs againſt the injuſtice of their enterprize. It is I too, ſays he, who fed and clothed and redeemed your captives: turn your rage then from theſe; and if you have a mind to do any thing great, let me who am in a poſt of eminence be the victim of your revenge. This was a freedom which

which theſe barbarians had not been uſed to; they dragged him loaded with chains all thro the city, and confined him ſeven months in priſon. Four of their chiefs were then ſent with an offer, that if he would pay threeſcore talents of ſilver each of which ſhould weigh fifty pounds, and perſuade the king to pay two hundred talents more, there might then be an accommodation between the Danes and Engliſh; but if he refuſed to comply with theſe conditions there was neither life nor liberty to be expected for him. The archbiſhop replied, that the propoſals were impracticable; the deſolation of the country by their frequent ravages having made it impoſſible to raiſe ſo vaſt a ſum; beſides if they thought him ſo mean a wretch as for the ſake of ſaving his life he would either plunder the church, or perſuade his ſovereign to make a peace that was diſhonourable, they ſhould find they were much miſtaken. His friends ſeeing him thus reſolute, and being very unwilling to loſe ſo good a man and ſo great a metropolitan, importuned him to ſoften his anſwer a little, and to give them an authority under his hand and ſeal to make a collection for him, and to take the remainder of the treaſure of the church. But the archbiſhop, who had always had the reputation of a charitable prelate, and a patriot of his country, looked upon this expedient as a very wicked thing; and told them that he had much rather give up his life, than ſave it in this unjuſt and ignominious manner. "What, ſays he, can be more unſuitable to the character of a chriſtian "biſhop, than to make a preſent of thoſe things to pagans which are "deſigned for the honour of GOD's religion and the benefit of the "poor? Would you have me thus betray my truſt, impoveriſh the "church, and rob the indigent, to ſave my life? No, by the grace "of GOD I will never preſerve myſelf by ſo great a prevarication." The Danes perceiving him determined not to redeem himſelf at the price they ſet, reſolved to execute him with all the torture and diſgrace that could be inflicted. They beat and wounded him 'till he was almoſt dead, and then ſent him to a very loathſome and offenſive priſon. In a day or two after he was brought to the tribunal; and again refuſing the offer of his ranſom with ſo great a ſum of money as he was not maſter of, and reproving them for injuſtice and helliſh cruelties with great ſpirit and freedom, they firſt knocked him down and wounded him with their axes, and then overwhelmed him with ſtones, and bones of oxen. Like a good man and a chriſtian, he prayed for grace and forgiveneſs to his enemies, and recommended his church to our Saviour's protection and defence; but being in dreadful agonies with the wounds they had given him, one of the Daniſh ſoldiers whom he had converted, in pity to him, ſtruck his halberd into his head and put him out of his miſery. Thus died ELPHEG archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the fifty ninth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his tranſlation from the ſee of Wincheſter. He was moſt certainly an honour and an ornament to the age he lived in, and deſerved much better the title of ſaint, than

moſt of thoſe who have been canonized. But as much as his behaviour on this occaſion gives a glory to his reputation, it leſſens extremely that of the king; who could ſuffer the primate of his kingdom, ſo good and uſeful a man, and one of his ableſt councellors, to lie ſeven months in a dungeon without giving him any aſſiſtance, and at laſt to loſe his life without offering to redeem it.

Soon after the death of Elpheg, who was ſucceded by Lyving biſhop of Wells, king Ethelred made a peace with the Danes, by a preſent of eight and forty thouſand pounds; which ſhews that his wealth was not exhauſted, and that he might have ſaved the archbiſhop if he had been pleaſed to do it. The peace however laſted no longer, than 'till thoſe perfidious people could return home with their plunder, fit out a great fleet and army to invade this miſerable kingdom afreſh, and having firſt entirely devaſted it of its ſtrength and treaſure, to conquer it and make it their own. Such a progreſs was made in this conqueſt under Swane the king of Denmark, that in three or four year's time the Danes poſſeſſed themſelves of the greateſt part of England. Ethelred, a prince of neither valour nor activity, ſent his queen and two ſons to Normandy, and ſoon after was obliged to follow them. Things being brought to this paſs, the greateſt part of England ſubmitted to the king of Denmark, and ſwore allegiance to him. But his reign which was founded in perfidy, violence, blood, and rapine, was not the reign of a year, nor had the ceremony of inauguration. For whilſt he was at St. Edmund's Bury, demanding heavy contributions, threatening to lay the town in aſhes, to pull down the martyr's church, and to put the eccleſiaſticks to the torture, it pleaſed God to take him off by a ſudden death; ſome ſay by poiſon, others by being choaked with rheum, and all the legendary writers by a mortal wound given him miraculouſly by St. Edmund. It is certain that he died here of a ſudden death, and that his ſon Canute when he came to the crown and was converted, paid an extraordinary regard to the memory of St. Edmund; built a ſtately church over his grave, founded a large abbey at Bury, and endowed it with a very conſiderable revenue. It is probable from hence, that there were ſome remarkable circumſtances in Swane's death; which when the monks had got poſſeſſion of Canute, they interpreted as a judgment for his father's prophanation of St. Edmund's corps which lay interred there; and this, out of fear of the like fate, or to make attonement for his father's impiety, might incline him to give theſe public teſtimonies of his reſpect. Upon the death of the Daniſh king, the nobility ſent commiſſioners into Normandy to invite Ethelred to return, on condition he would reform his adminiſtration. The king accepted their offer, and brought aſſiſtance with him from Normandy to drive Canute out of his kingdom. At firſt he had a great advantage over the Dane, and forced him to

retire; but after many conteſts, none of which proved deciſive, and whilſt the country was in a manner deſolated by the war, king ETHELRED died at London; leaving behind him the character which he deſerved, of a weak, and trifling, an inactive, and cowardly prince. His eldeſt ſon EDMUND ſucceded him in the throne, who was juſt the reverſe of his father, a bold and warlike prince of great conduct and reſolution: but he found the affairs of his kingdom ſo much embroiled, and CANUTE had got ſuch a footing in it, that if he had not died the firſt year of his reign after obliging the Danes to ſubmit to a peace, it is hard to ſay whether he would have been able totally to have driven them out. This great prince was aſſaſſinated by the contrivance of his brother-in-law, and with him fell the glory of the Engliſh-Saxons.

At the death of EDMUND, CANUTE being in poſſeſſion of a good part of England by the late agreement, the nobility and the biſhops conſented to acknowlege him as the ſole monarch, and to put by the ſons of ETHELRED and EDMUND. But to quiet the duke of Normandy, who could not but reſent the wrong done to his nephews, CANUTE made an application ſoon after his acceſſion to EMMA the duke's ſiſter then at his court, and widow of ETHELRED, to whom he had been a mortal foe. This woman, however, pleaſed I ſuppoſe with the ſtate and pomp of royalty, was baſe enough to admit his addreſſes; and before the end of the year to marry the man who had harraſſed and ſhook the throne of her huſband as a pirate and a robber, and had now uſurped it to the prejudice of two of her own children whom he had then kept in exile. This was a behaviour which is not only a reproach upon her ſex, but it is a blemiſh on human nature, and not to be accounted for I think upon any principles that we are acquainted with. But ſhe went further than this: ſhe even conſented that the ſucceſſion to the crown ſhould be ſettled by the marriage articles on the heirs of her body by CANUTE; to cut off as far as lay in her power from her children by ETHELRED all hopes of ever mounting the throne which was their right. To attone, I ſuppoſe, for the injuſtice he had done to ſome part of the royal family, and for cauſing others of them to be diſpatched out of his way, he pretended a great regard to the church. Beſides what I have mentioned at Edmondſbury, he granted a charter to the archbiſhop and the church of CANTERBURY, confirming the primacy and exempting the church lands from ſecular ſervices. He made good the damages done to the monaſteries by his own and his father's troops; and where a battle had been fought, he built chapels, and ſettled a maintenance upon prieſts, to pray for the ſouls of the ſlain. But it is probable that this revolution in the government added ſomething to the corruptions already brought into the Engliſh church. For CANUTE was king of Denmark and Norway, which for the moſt part continued in paganiſm: and altho the Danes whom he brought with him

him by whole armies to ſhare the plunder, followed the example of their king and became chriſtians, yet if we conſider what they were and by whom they were converted, one is apt to think they were ſuch chriſtians as Bede deſcribes ſome of the Engliſh to have been at their firſt converſion; who were ſo addicted to their ancient rites as to mix paganiſm with chriſtianity, and of whom it may more properly be ſaid, that they corrupted the chriſtian faith, rather than that they ſubmitted to it. If this was not the caſe of the Danes, and in ſome meaſure of the Engliſh who intermarried with them, it is however certain that Canute was obliged to make a law againſt the ſorceries, and enchantments which the northern people were much addicted to, and to forbid the Gentile idolatry; in particular the worſhip of the ſun, the moon, the fire, the fruits of the ground, the waters, or ſtones of fountains, or any kind of trees or wood; and requiring that all his ſubjects ſhould unite in the worſhip of the true God. Now if the vices and errors which are here prohibited had not prevailed, we ſhould ſcarcely have heard of any laws againſt them. May we not therefore ſet to the account of the corruptions in the Engliſh church, the undergoing pilgrimages, viſiting ſhrines, and an adoration of relicks which began at this time to revive? May we not ſay that chriſtianity never ſhone ſo bright as in its firſt natural plainneſs; and never looks more unlike itſelf that when it engages men in ſuch inſtances of zeal as its original author has no where directed? In ſhort, may we not affirm that the chriſtian worſhip is always moſt agreeable to its primitive pattern, when its ceremonies go no further than what is neceſſary to decency and to order? I think we may.

But on whatever grounds a zeal for the exterior of religion may be founded, it is certain that the procuring the arm of ſome ſaints from abroad and the tranſlating the relicks of other ſaints at home, the building and adorning monaſteries, and making pilgrimages to tombs and churches, make up a great part of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of this time. I might take notice of ſome other laws of this prince beſides what I have mentioned, of an eccleſiaſtical nature: but beſides thoſe which are in confirmation of the laws of his predeceſſors; they are ſo trifling as not to deſerve a a particular account in hiſtory. Lyving archbiſhop of Canterbury, after ſeven years filling the primacy, ſometimes in priſon and bondage by the Danes, and ſome time abroad to eſcape their fury and the fate of his predeceſſor, was now ſucceded by Agelnoth called the good; the ſon of an earl, and dean of that church at his election. At this time the monks of the church of Canterbury lived with the latitude of prebendaries; they wore the religious habit, but with little obſervance of the rule. For when the city was beſieged and ſlaughtered by the Danes, as we have ſeen in the time of Elpheg, all the convent except four were maſſacred; and the clergy that were taken in to fill up the vacancy

vacancy, continued in ſome part of their former liberty, refuſing to be tied up wholly to a monaſtic life, and calling their ſuperior by the name of dean. AGELNOTH, upon his election, went to Rome, and received the pall; and at his return is ſaid to have raiſed the ſee of Canterbury to its ancient luſtre. He was much in the favour of king CANUTE, and made uſe of his intereſt to good purpoſes; the king being not only prompted to acts of piety, but reſtrained alſo from exceſſes by the regard he had for the archbiſhop. The ſee of Durham being vacant by the death of ALDHUN, the chapter met for a new election but could not agree: and tho it was the cuſtom of that church for the biſhop to be a monk, yet the chapter themſelves were all ſecular clergy. While they were debating this matter, one EDMUND a prieſt whom no body thought of came into the church, and hearing their diſpute and being a man of humour, aſked them why they did not chooſe him their biſhop? The chapter, in their great wiſdom, looking on this motion as an extraordinary impulſe, took him at his word; and made him firſt a monk, and then a biſhop, tho much againſt his will. The king approved his election, and he was conſecrated at Wincheſter by WULFSTAN archbiſhop of York. He was deſcended of a noble family, and managed the buſineſs of his dioceſe with the higheſt character. No anchoret went beyond him in a contempt of riches; and his courage which did not permit him to flatter the great, enabled him to make uſe of the authority of his ſtation with the utmoſt impartiality.

The zeal of running to Rome under pretence of devotion, and which had a great reputation in England, as the reader muſt remember, in the eighth century, was cooled ſo much by degrees and ſo little in faſhion amongſt our princes, that I believe there is not a ſingle inſtance of it from ETHELWULF, 'till a journey of CANUTE's in one thouſand and thirty one. He had quite eſtabliſhed himſelf in England, and given what he thought were viſible proofs of his devotion at home: he was therefore determined now to carry them abroad; and to efface the remembrance of him as a prince, who to poſſeſs himſelf of kingdoms that did not belong to him, had cauſed ſo much blood to be ſpilled, and had trampled religion and juſtice under foot, he now became modeſt, humble, juſt, and if we may believe the monkiſh hiſtorians gave daily marks of piety. Whilſt he continued at Rome he made many large preſents to the churches, and confirmed all the acts of his predeceſſors in behalf of the ſee of Rome, and the Engliſh college. He complained of the exactions of the officers of that court, and obtained an aſſurance from the pope, that for the exceſſive charges our archbiſhops had been put to in demanding the pall ſhould be greatly leſſened. What benefit the preſent age might reap from this promiſe of JOHN the twentieth does not appear; but it is very certain that this favour was ſo far from extending itſelf to after ages, that

tho the oppreſſion and greedineſs of that court were a conſtant topick of complaint, yet it was never cured 'till the wiſdom of ſucceding ages found out a remedy of their own, and by keeping their archbiſhops at home ſaved the fatigue as well as the expences which uſually attended on that journey. The king obtained alſo ſome privileges for the Engliſh churches, and ſome advantages for thoſe who came to viſit the apoſtles tombs. But to give all poſſible encouragement to this ſort of devotion, he procured leave of all the princes thro whoſe dominions the Engliſh pilgrims were to paſs, that they ſhould be excuſed from tolls and taxes and other inſults and oppreſſions they had before been liable to. We have a large account of theſe tranſactions in a letter which this monarch wrote from Rome to the aſſembly general of the Engliſh nation; in which he profeſſes a great deal of piety, and a fixed reſolution to govern his kingdom after the moſt exact rules of juſtice: and the courſe of his government after his return was ſo confirmable to this reſolution, that all hiſtorians have agreed in giving him the character of a good prince. It is true the end of his life was widely different from the beginning, and his ſubjects enjoyed peace and eaſe under his government: but had he been the good and pious man whom they repreſent him, he muſt be conſcious that he had invaded the rights and properties of other princes, to which he had no ſort of claim but conqueſt; and he would therefore moſt certainly have reſtored to the right owner what he had uſurped with blood and violence. There is a ſtory of him which all the hiſtorians of that time, I think, agree, and which they tell as a demonſtration of his good ſenſe and piety: but it is ſo far in my opinion from doing him honour, that it ſerves only to ſhew his vanity, and to what an exceſs his courtiers had carried their flattery of it. The ſtory I refer to is told by the archdeacon of Huntingdon in the following manner. King Canute being arrived at the height of temporal glory, on a certain time while he was at Southampton, commanded the chair in which he ſate to be placed near the ſea which was then flowing; ſitting down in it he ſaid, "thou, O ſea, "art under my dominion, and the land on which I ſit is my own; "nor is there any one who can reſiſt my will without danger. I "command thee that thou come no higher upon my land, nor pre-"ſume to wet the feet of thy lord and maſter." Having ſaid this he ſat ſtill for ſometime as if he expected the ſea ſhould obey his commands. But the tide following its courſe, without any regard to his orders, and wetting his feet and his royal robes, he leaped out of his chair, and ſaid, "let all the inhabitants of the earth know, that the "power of kings is vain and frivolous; and that none deſerves the ti-"tle of king beſides him to whoſe look the ſea, the land, and hea-"ven itſelf by an eternal law are ſubject and obedient." The writers who record this ſtory are pleaſed to tell us, that it was to repreſs the inſolence of a flattering courtier, who had ſaid all things were obedient to him: and to humble himſelf in the ſight of his people. Now ſuppoſing

poſing this to have been the caſe, it was a ſtrange, and I will add, a ridiculous method; and if it ſaves the honour of his piety, it gives no reputation to his underſtanding. But they have added a circumſtance, which is to me a convincing proof, that he had carried his vanity ſo high, as to believe that the elements were ſubject to him: for after that time they tell us he would never put a crown upon his head; but ſent it to Wincheſter, to be hanged up on the image of our Saviour fixed on a croſs, and there to remain continually to the praiſe of GOD the ſupreme king. Take it how we will, it is a moſt ridiculous tale; and has ſo much of the legendary turn, that one would rather chooſe to give no credit to it, than to believe ſo great a prince could be guilty of ſuch an abſurdity. He died in the nineteenth year of his reign, leaving three ſons behind him, all of an age to govern, to whom he bequeathed his three kingdoms by will. To SWANE the eldeſt and a natural ſon, he gave the kingdom of Norway; to HAROLD another natural ſon by the ſame miſtreſs, he bequeathed the kingdom of England; and to HARDICANUTE whom he had by EMMA he left the kingdom of Denmark. I have called the two firſt his natural ſons, becauſe whilſt ELFGIVA was living he took EMMA to wife: FLORENCE, and other writers ſay, that ſhe was his wife; but that being barren, in order to bind the king's affections to her the more, ſhe had feigned a lying in, and got a ſhoemakers ſon newly born to be impoſed on her credulous huſband, repeating the ſame trick a ſecond time with HAROLD who was the ſon of a prieſt. If we acquit this pious prince of putting away his wife to marry EMMA, by ſaying that ELFGIVA was only his concubine, there is no getting rid of the breach of his marriage articles with EMMA, that his children by her ſhould ſuccede him here, in leaving the crown of England to HAROLD his ſecond ſon by the other woman. If to this deliberate perfidy on his death bed, we add the rapine and ſlaughter he occaſioned to poſſeſs a kingdom which he had no right to, the baniſhing ſome of its lawful heirs, and the murdering others by his direction; notwithſtanding the wiſdom juſtice and moderation with which he governed, notwithſtanding his pilgrimages, and his liberality to churches and monaſteries: CANUTE could never I think deſerve the character of a pious prince, which all hiſtorians give him.

The beginning of the year following was formidable to the whole kingdom, becauſe of the many pretenders to the crown. The will of an uſurper made no great impreſſion on thoſe who had a regard to truth and juſtice. There were two ſons of ETHELRED by this very EMMA whom he had married, and two ſons of EDMUND the laſt Engliſh king, ſtill alive; and there was HARDICANUTE his own ſon by EMMA, who by the marriage articles had a claim to ſuccede his father, as far as his father had any right to bequeath the crown: and all theſe competitors had their ſeveral factions. But as CANUTE had intended

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England for his ſon Harold, he had taken care that no other pretender ſhould be in the kingdom to make him uneaſy. In the beginning of his reign, he had ſent the two ſons of Edmund, as being neareſt the title, under the care of a domeſtic, to Denmark to be murdered: but the ſervant being much more pious than his maſter, taking pity upon the princes delivered them up to the king of Sweden, who ſent them to the king of Hungary. The ſons of Ethelred by Emma whom he himſelf afterwards married, were from the beginning in Normandy under the care of their uncle; and another ſon Edwy whom Ethelred had by a former wife, he took care to have privately murdered, after having firſt baniſhed, and then invited him back in order to be reconciled. His own ſon Hardicanute by Emma, to whom the crown ſhould have been bequeathed by the marriage ſettlement, he had fixed in Denmark; and thus he had paved the way, as he thought, for his ſon Harold to ſuccede him without trouble. But human foreſight is vain and ſhallow. The Engliſh in general looked on Hardicanute born in England, and of the widow of one of their kings, as the proper ſucceſſor; and Harold they conſidered as a foreigner and illegitimate. The laſt however had the advantage of being at the head of his party, and being a bold and reſolute prince, he ſeized upon the crown without giving his competitors time to cabal againſt him; and as the beſt means of ſecuring it he immediately got poſſeſſion of his father's treaſure. The ceremony of coronation belonged to the archbiſhop of Canterbury; but Agelnoth refuſed to perform the ſervice, proteſting that as long as any of queen Emma's children were alive, he would never give his vote or benediction to any other. Harold omitted no motive that he thought would win over the primate; neither careſſes nor prayers, neither promiſes nor threats were omitted to carry this point: but the archbiſhop was firm to his purpoſe, alledging that when the late king was near his end, he had committed his children to his care and fidelity, which he would never violate. Having made this declaration, he took the crown and ſceptre and laid them upon the altar; denouncing a curſe againſt the biſhops if any of them ſhould preſume to perform the ceremony; and charging the king not to attempt by his own authority to take them away. Whether he was ever crowned at all, or by whom, is very uncertain; but he omitted no addreſs to bring over the nobility and the clergy to his intereſts.

The inclinations of the people were chiefly to the Engliſh line; and as this gave the greateſt umbrage to Harold, ſo he applied himſelf chiefly to prevent the dangers which might ariſe from thence. In the mean time Hardicanute his half brother king of Denmark, was elected and proclaimed king of Weſſex; tho he was ſo dilatory in his motions, that the ſame intereſt which had ſet him up, being won over by Harold, got him depoſed. The ſtory of Harold's getting the two ſons of Emma by Ethelred into his poſſeſſion, and putting out the

eyes of the eldeſt which occaſioned his death and made the other ſecure himſelf by flight, is told ſo many different ways, that there is no knowing what to make of it. All that can be depended on with any certainty, is that the eldeſt either died or was murdered, and that EDWARD the youngeſt was reſerved by providence to mount the throne of his anceſtors. But tho HAROLD maintained his poſt, yet he could never deliver himſelf from the diſquiet and jealouſies which attend a broken and diſtracted ſtate; and may more properly be ſaid to have worn out, than to have reigned, three or four years. It is no wonder when the ſtate was in ſuch a perpetual ferment, that we ſhould find no eccleſiaſtical laws, nor any footſteps of a council held on the ſcore of religion. Some hiſtorians have ſaid that this ſon of CANUTE was upon ill terms with the clergy, who were generally in the intereſt of the ſons of ETHELRED of the Engliſh line; and this might be another reaſon, beſides the unſettled ſtate of the nation, for his neglect of the church, and of the intereſt of religion. He had however an opportunity of making the clergy ſurer to him; for the ſee of Canterbury and three other biſhopricks fell in the compaſs of this year.

In the third year of HAROLD died AGELNOTH ſirnamed the good; after ſitting in the chair of the primacy above eighteen years; and as far as he appears on the ſtage, approving himſelf a very able and a very uſeful prelate. He was ſucceded by EADSIUS king HAROLD's chaplain; and the other biſhopricks were filled up with men that were devoted to him. In the following year the king died himſelf, leaving no iſſue, nor any memorable or worthy action; and by the unanimous invitation of the great men, CANUTE ſurnamed the hardy, from the ſtrength of his conſtitution, ſucceded him in the throne. At the time of his brother's death he was concerting meaſures in Flanders with his mother EMMA, whom HAROLD had baniſhed, for the recovery of his kingdom: and as he was therefore in a condition to have made himſelf their king, this might probably give a turn to the inclinations of the Engliſh which lay towards EDWARD, to agree ſo generally in the choice of CANUTE. But whatever was their motive to a choice ſo prejudicial to the Engliſh line, it pleaſed GOD, when it was leaſt expected, to reſtore it. For CANUTE indulging himſelf in a courſe of great intemperance, met his death at an entertainment at Lambeth, in an apoplectic fit. Perhaps his death was haſtened on by poiſon; but his cruelty and his gluttony were carried to ſuch a monſtrous heigth as made him odious to all the people; nor was any enquiry made into his death. Having left no iſſue, EDWARD, ſon of ETHELRED and EMMA, was the only prince in England that had any pretenſions to the crown; but he was not the only one remaining of the Engliſh line. There was in Hungary EDWARD the ſon of EDMUND; and it was but juſt to place him on the throne before his uncle, who

was one degree further removed. But whatever advantage that prince had from his birth, it was overballanced by the temper of the other Edward, and his preſence in England at the vacancy of the throne. Our hiſtorians all agree, tho they ſay nothing of the manner in which it was brought about, that the Danes were about this time driven out of the kingdom and never more recovered any intereſt in it.

Edward, afterwards named the confeſſor, coming to the throne without any commotion, was crowned at Wincheſter the year following by Eadsius the metropolitan: and the conſequence of this change was ſuch as might be expected with ſuch a ſudden turn of affairs. The reader will perceive that I have been obliged to depart from the original purpoſe of this hiſtory, in giving this detail of civil affairs, in order to make the following tranſactions more intelligible, and to bring down the ſucceſſion to the laſt of the Engliſh line of princes. But I ſhall now return to the affairs which more immediately regard the church. The firſt thing which we have to mention of this kind in the reign of Edward, is the retirement of Eadsius and the adminiſtration of the primacy by Seward abbot of Abingdon, who was for that end conſecrated biſhop. This is ſaid indeed to have been occaſioned by a dangerous and incurable diſeaſe of the archbiſhop's; but when it is conſidered that Eadsius lived ſix or ſeven years after this indiſpoſition ſeized him; that he had been chaplain to king Harold, and was ſo ill provided for during his retirement, that he complained of the want of a ſufficient maintenance; when it is likewiſe conſidered that upon the death of his coadjutor he reſumed the exerciſe of the primacy, one can ſcarce forbear thinking but that his retirement had ſomewhat of diſgrace and force in it, and that his engaging in the Daniſh intereſt in the two laſt reigns was the true reaſon of the hardſhips which fell upon him in this. It is ſaid that Edward owed his advancement to the throne in prejudice of his nephew, to the favour of earl Godwin, a nobleman of the firſt rank and influence in the kingdom; on condition that he married his daughter. The people of England, from what they had ſuffered before, foreſaw the miſchiefs which might enſue if the king ſhould die without iſſue; and were therefore very ſollicitous to have him married. To comply with his promiſe, and with the advice and entreaties of his ſubjects, it is true he married Edgitha, Godwin's daughter; a young lady of uncommon beauty, learning and natural parts, and of a ſweetneſs in her diſpoſition which made her beloved by every one. But whether it was out of averſion to her family, or to a vow of celibacy which he is ſaid to have made in the former part of his life, that he did not conſummate his marriage, is not at all clear from the hiſtory. But certain it is that when ſhe came to die in the following reign, ſhe proteſted voluntarily with an oath to thoſe who were with her, that tho the king had married her

her and lived with her as with his wife in outward ſhew, yet he never admitted her to his bed nor exerciſed any matrimonial act with her. This does not ſeem to favour the account of thoſe hiſtorians who ſay that he had perſuaded her to put herſelf under the ſame vows as he had done, and that they lived thus by conſent. Take it which way we will he deſignedly prevented the ends for which the nation deſired his marriage; and choſe rather to expoſe his people as a prey to a foreign power, than advance a family whom he diſliked, or break a vow made raſhly and which had no good end to anſwer: and yet there have been men, who to raiſe an eſteem of themſelves and their own way of living, ſo magnify the unhappy conduct of this prince as if it was an inſtance of the higheſt and moſt celebrated piety that was ever heard of. But ſo far was it from an act of piety, that it was the higheſt injuſtice to the nation and the queen. If to ſave his honour we ſhould impute it to monkiſh fiction, yet what can be ſaid in his favour for putting away his wife, when he had quarrelled with her family, without alledging or pretending to alledge any thing wrong againſt her? It is true he took her again afterwards when her family were reſtored to power, becauſe he could not avoid it; but by her own account he never behaved to her as a wife. But to return.

EDWARD having lived a great while in Normandy, and being much obliged to that people, whilſt he was in a manner given up, or at leaſt neglected by his countrymen, he returned to England with ſuch affections for the Normans, as long continuance in a country and a ſenſe of gratitude are apt to inſpire. As this occaſioned an introduction of the language and cuſtoms of that people into his court, ſo it inclined him very much to favour the pretenſions of thoſe who had followed his fortunes hither. Of all theſe, one ROBERT, a Norman monk, had the greateſt and moſt particular ſhare in the king's favour. This man had for ſome time made a figure at court at the head of the Norman faction, and the ſee of London becoming void by the death of ALWORD, he was promoted to that biſhopric. This was a ſtation which not only gave him a new aſſurance and reputation, but threw a better grace on the favors which he had before enjoyed. But to let the world ſee how abſolutely he reigned in the king's affections, and being intoxicated with his power, he laid aſide his character as an eccleſiaſtic, ſupplanted GODWIN and his family to whom EDWARD owed his crown, and became chief miniſter of ſtate thro whoſe hands every thing was ordered to paſs. Not content with this ſacrifice to his pride and inſolence, he treated queen EMMA the king's mother with an incredible degree of contempt: and having a pique againſt ALWIN biſhop of Wincheſter, who refuſed to ſubmit to all his arbitrary meaſures, reſolved upon a revenge. The king it ſeems had not forgot his mother's ſcandalous marriage with CA-

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NUTE, and favouring the ſucceſſion of her ſon by him to the prejudice of himſelf and his brother. He therefore made her a ſudden viſit, at the inſtigation of his favourite, and ſeized all her lands, her jewels, and her treaſure; under a pretence that ſhe had enriched herſelf by avarice and injuſtice. Being thus deſtitute of ſupport ſhe took ſhelter with her relation the biſhop of WINCHESTER; which gave a handle to her enemies to accuſe her of an inceſtuous correſpondence with him. If the biſhop of LONDON was not the inventor of this calumny, he was certainly the promoter of it; and by his importunity with the ſimple king, againſt the advice of the reſt of all the biſhops, the queen, according to ſome hiſtorians, was obliged to prove her innocence, by undergoing the ordeal trial of walking over nine red hot plough-ſhares blindfold and unhurt. The queen having thus purged herſelf with honour before a great aſſembly, the king repented his credulity and aſked her pardon. The more honour which accrued to the queen by this trial, the more diſgrace it brought on the biſhop who had been the means of bringing her to it. But tho this advice was laid up for the day of wrath, and was remembered when he who gave it deſired it ſhould be forgotten, yet for the preſent the biſhop of LONDON not only ſtood his ground, but carried all before him. He placed HERMAN a Lorainer in the ſee of Sherborn, LEOFRICK a Burgundian in the ſee of Crediton in Devonſhire, and STIGAND he tranſlated to the ſee of Wincheſter; which were all void in a year or two by the deaths of their ſeveral biſhops. In ſhort he left nothing unattempted which he thought likely to defeat the intereſt of his enemies, and to fix himſelf in the power he had acquired over the king. Thus having broken to pieces the party which was headed by GODWIN and his ſons by forcing them out of England, in order to prevent any motions that might be made in their favour by the queen, he prevailed on the king to put away his wife, without any other pretence but that of reſentment againſt her family; and having ſtripped her of her jewels in a mean and ſhameful manner ſhe was ſent into a monaſtery.

About this time the king went to Exeter, to give a greater luſtre to that church which LEOFRICK had with his conſent erected into an epiſcopal ſee, in the room of that at Crediton; where it has ever ſince remained. He likewiſe had the king's authority for compelling the monks at Exeter to quit their monaſtery and remove to Weſtminſter, that he might put canons in their room. Having accompliſhed this change and obtained many poſſeſſions and privileges to his church, he compoſed a ſet of laws for the government of his canons different from what was practiſed by other eccleſiaſticks in England. The monks whom he got ſettled at Weſtminſter had a great advantage from this change: for on this monaſtery the king thought fit to pour forth his liberality in a very extraordinary manner. The occaſion of it was this. During the exile of EDWARD and the many difficulties he had to ſtruggle with in

in it, he had made a vow, it ſeems, to GOD, that if it ſhould pleaſe him that he ſhould be reſtored to the kingdom of his fathers he would render his thanks to him at the apoſtles tomb, and undertake a pilgrimage of devotion to Rome. He had now emerged out of all his difficulties; and the dangers which threatened the kingdom being all blown over, he began to recollect himſelf of his vow. Wherefore calling an aſſembly of his biſhops and nobility, he declared to them the obligations which lay upon him; deſiring they would adviſe him how the kingdom ſhould be governed in his abſence, who ſhould command the caſtles, cities, and armies, to whoſe care the public affairs of war and peace ſhould be committed, and who ſhould adminiſter juſtice and execute the laws. The nobility were much diſſatisfied with this reſolution of the king; being apprehenſive that the Danes might take an occaſion from his abſence to renew their ravages; the common people were more alarmed and more diſſatisfied than the nobility; they broke out into all the indications of grief as men that thought themſelves undone; and the king being thus beſet with the clamours and entreaties of all ranks of people, condeſcended at laſt, with great reluctance, to defer his voyage, and ſend an embaſſy to Rome to get himſelf abſolved of his vow. Purſuant to this reſolution, ALDRED biſhop of Worceſter, with two or three other eccleſiaſticks of ſome figure, were pitched upon for the negotiation. When they came to Rome, they found LEO the ninth preſiding in a ſynod; and being introduced into the council, they repreſented the impracticableneſs of the king's vow, that it could not be performed without great danger to the kingdom; and therefore deſired his holineſs that a temper might be found out to ſatisfie the king's conſcience, without expoſing the nation to any hazard, and making all his ſubjects uneaſy under it. The requeſt being thought reaſonable by the pope and ſynod, they agreed that the king's conſcience, which they were glad no doubt to ſee was thus in their power, ſhould be made eaſy, and that he ſhould be abſolved from his vow by commutation. To this purpoſe the pope acquaints him in a letter, that from the conſideration of the damage which his kingdom might ſuſtain by ſo long an abſence, he with the holy ſynod abſolved him from the ſin of not performing his vow, and from all his other negligences and miſbehaviour. But then he enjoins him on his obedience, as part of the pennance he was to undergo, that all the expences which would have been incurred in a voyage to Rome ſhould be diſtributed to the poor, and that he ſhould either found a new, or make himſelf a benefactor to an old monaſtery, in honor of St. PETER: declaring that whatever privileges his majeſty ſhould grant upon this occaſion ſhould be all confirmed by the holy ſee. At the return of the embaſſadors a ſynod or convention was called at London; where they made a report of their negotiation to the entire ſatisfaction of the king and his people. The king was ſo pleaſed with theſe conditions, that he added another

out of his own liberality, the diſcharging his ſubjects of a burdenſome tax for paying a tribute to the Danes in his father's reign; and which had ſtill continued to be levied and brought into the exchequer. He then pitched upon Weſtminſter as the monaſtery which he intended to endow in conſequence of this commutation: he pulled down the remains of the old monaſtery which had been almoſt totally ruined by the many wars in England, and rebuilt it; the abbey church was particularly magnificent, and much exceeded the buildings of that age; and having granted a charter of lands and privileges he ſent to Rome for his holineſs's confirmation.

In the middle of this century and within a very ſhort ſpace of each other died the two archbiſhops, Eadsius of Canterbury, and Alfrick Putta of York. The laſt was a man of learning, but did nothing remarkable, except building the tower at Beverly and endowing the church; and was ſucceded by Kinsius the king's chaplain. Eadsius the metropolitan, we have already mentioned, as being either ſuſpended by authority or by diſtemper from adminiſtring the functions of the primacy for ſome time, and reſuming it again before his death. There is not enough ſaid of this prelate in hiſtory, tho he filled the ſee of Canterbury about thirteen years, to let us into his character. The reader will eaſily ſuppoſe that the great favourite, Robert biſhop of London, ſoon filled his chair, and appeared at the head of the church, as he had for ſome time done at the head of the ſtate. Having raiſed himſelf to this dignity, he went away to Rome to demand his pall; and finding at his return the following year, that the abbot of Abingdon was nominated to ſuccede him in the ſee of London, he pretended that the biſhop of Rome had forbid it. In ſhort he did not approve that any one ſhould preſume to obtain the king's nomination without his knowledge or conſent: and therefore when the abbot came to deſire his conſecration, he delayed it with the pretence of the pope's diſlike till the meeting of a ſynod at the latter end of the year; when he prevailed on the king to recal his nomination, and to advance William, a Norman, in his ſtead, who came into England with queen Emma. The minds of the Engliſh were extremely exaſperated againſt the primate, and not a little alienated from the king, for ſuch exaltation of the Normans to all the poſts of profit and dignity in the kingdom. This ill humour which had been for ſome time gathering to a head, and which Robert had given an opportunity to ſpread by going to Rome, ſoon after broke out in many places. There were ſo many of the nobility and biſhops diſguſted by having foreigners preferred before them, and it was ſo eaſy a matter to work upon the king's mind whilſt his governor was ſo long abſent, that a revolution was made at court in a manner which ſurprized every body. It is no uncommon thing for the people of power in a court, to be in the greateſt danger of

of losing it when they think they stand the safest. Power is always insolent, and security makes it carried to a heigth that is insupportable; on the other hand as resentment is the soul of faction, so the parties oppressed are usually most vigorous when most heated by the insolence of those in power. If this was not the reason of the sudden turn of affairs at the court of EDWARD, it is evident this was the case of the Norman faction: they fell on a sudden without expecting it, and the party was ruined when it was most confident of its strength. The primate had made himself so many enemies in his departments, as a favourite, a prime minister, and a metropolitan, that all the English nobility and most of the bishops were in resentment engaged against him; the cause of GODWIN and his family was made national; and according to the violence with which a party that has been oppressed usually exercises its power at first, the other side was obliged immediately to flie abroad for their security. This was in particular the case of the archbishop; who knowing that he was the person who had most disturbed the kingdom, and prejudiced the king against his subjects, no sooner heard of a treaty between him and GODWIN, but he made his escape into Normandy; taking with him WILLIAM whom he had made bishop of London, and ULF whom he had promoted to the see of Dorchester. But WILLIAM being a prelate of excellent qualities and of a meek obliging behaviour, against whom there lay no other objection but his being raised by the primate, was very soon recalled and restored to his bishopric. He not only lived to see the Norman conquest, but to make use of his relation to that people and of his interest with the king, to do many good offices for the city of London; particularly in procuring that charter for them which is the foundation of the privileges which they now enjoy. As for ULF the bishop of Dorchester, he was once at a synod in France held by the pope; where, as HUNTINGDON says, "his episcopal crosier had "like to have been broken, and he divested of his bishopric, if he "had not redeemed himself with a good sum of money: for he was "unacquainted with the duty which became a bishop." So that it seems his only crime was ignorance. The archbishop finding himself safe out of the hands of his enemies, went away to Rome; in hopes, no doubt, by his holiness's interception to be restored at least to the primacy, if not to his former interest with the king. But whether the pope refused his good offices on this occasion, or whether ROBERT could not bear this reverse of fortune, at his return to Normandy he died, unlamented by the English, and tho a monk even unsainted by the historians of that order.

It requires a much greater share of understanding and good temper, than ROBERT appears to have been possessed of, to lessen the envy which is conceived against us for attaining to great dignities, and to behave

behave with curteſy and condeſcenſion in them. From being an obſcure and a little monk in Normandy, this man had raiſed himſelf by his own artifices, the king's ſimplicity, and earl Godwin's imperious treatment of him, to the head of the church and ſtate of England. This was too great an encreaſe of fortune, for a common underſtanding, and a temper that had any ſpirit in it, not to be overſet in a ſhort time: and thus it proved with Robert. He had a ſpecies of underſtanding which is called cunning, but he had no ſolid ſenſe; or if he had, it was not cultivated by an acquaintance with men and things. He had a very weak king, it is true, to govern, but he had made himſelf enemies, by his pride and inſolence, of men of much greater abilities than himſelf. His aſſuming to himſelf when biſhop of London only and a foreigner, the chief direction of all affairs civil and eccleſiaſtical, would naturally make him enemies enow among the Engliſh courtiers: his buſineſs therefore, if he had had two grains of ſenſe, was to win upon them as much as poſſible, by affability, condeſcenſion, preventing their application to him by acquainting himſelf with their wants, and gratifying them of his own accord; inſtead of which he treated them with the higheſt inſolence, and took a pleaſure in bidding a defiance to their attempts againſt him. As to religion, there is no account of his having had the leaſt thought about it: he was too much taken up with the government of the king, in contriving inſults to his enemies, and in advancing himſelf and his Norman friends, to take any care of the intereſt of religion or the church of England. We ſee nothing at all done in favour of either in the nine years which he held the adminiſtration: his fall however is a leſſon, againſt the raſhneſs of thoſe who take offices upon them that are beyond their abilities; and it will alſo teach us, how dangerous it is for miniſters to exerciſe their power with pride and inſolence. He had neither underſtanding enough for a ſtateſman, complaiſance enough for a favorite, nor religion enough for a churchman. In ſhort he may be ſaid to have been a worthleſs man, and a bad prelate.

Whatever were the expectations of Robert from his appeal to Rome, the king of England it is plain did not think himſelf obliged to wait the iſſue; but taking the primate's flight for an abdication of his ſee, without any delay filled it up with Stigand biſhop of Wincheſter. This was a prelate of little learning, but of good natural parts, and of great courage and activity. He had been very inſtrumental in making up the breach between the king and his Engliſh courtiers; and was for that reaſon probably advanced to be metropolitan. But ſuch was the covetous and unchriſtian ſpirit of this prelate, that notwithſtanding the archbiſhopric he ſtill retained the ſee of Wincheſter, and ſeveral abbeys; for which he is very juſtly blamed by thoſe hiſtorians, who yet have paſſed over the ſame infamous practiſe in Dunstan one

of his predeceſſors. The Saxon chronicle ſpeaks of this biſhop as a wiſe man, and all the hiſtorians allow him to have been a man of buſineſs and conduct; but it was ſix years before he made any application to Rome for a pall, during which time his authority as metropolitan was owned by the church of England: and if he received any pall at all from Rome, it was from BENEDICT a ſchiſmatic and uſurper of the papacy. But after all the noiſe which the Romiſh writers have made upon this point, the moſt probable thing of all is that STIGAND had no pall from Rome, from BENEDICT or any one elſe; but that as occaſion ſerved he made uſe of the pall which his predeceſſor ROBERT had got, and which he left behind when he made his eſcape out of the kingdom: and if the reader will conſider the exorbitant demands of the ſee of Rome for the privilege of the pall, and the baſe and covetous temper of the archbiſhop, he will find the probability to be well grounded; eſpecially when he comes to know that in the profeſſion of canonical obedience to his ſucceſſor by the biſhop of Lincoln, one of the reaſons of STIGAND's depoſal is ſaid to be, becauſe he had invaded the ſee of Canterbury, and made uſe of his predeceſſor's pall. There were other and better reaſons for depoſing him than this, as we ſhall ſee in the due order of time: but this is enough for my preſent purpoſe, to ſhew that in all probability the archbiſhop continued to exerciſe his metropolitical juriſdiction without any pall but ROBERT's for the ſpace of nineteen years; during all which time he was not only acknowledged as the rightful metropolitan by the Engliſh government, but alſo in the beginning of the Norman reign. Indeed he was often warned by the papacy of this neglect, frequently cited to Rome to procure his pall, and at laſt condemned and excommunicated: "but yet he continued in his obſtinacy nineteen years, "and deſpiſed the prohibitions of admitting any perſon into orders, "altho ſuch prohibitions had been ſent to him by the legates of five "ſucceſſive popes". This is the charge againſt him in the biſhop of Lincoln's profeſſion; and yet it is notorious that during all this time, the greateſt part of which was in the reign of EDWARD the confeſſor a favourer of the ſee of Rome, archbiſhop STIGAND was acknowledged as the true and canonical primate of England by the whole church; and they joined in all acts of communion with him. Thoſe therefore who aſſert the indiſpenſible neceſſity of being united to the biſhop of Rome, will have a hard taſk to perſuade the world that the church of England was at this time poſſeſſed of any ſuch doctrine; and an accident which happened not long after will rather encreaſe than leſſen the difficulty.

The ſee of York being vacant by the death of KINSIUS, the king appointed ALDRED biſhop of Worceſter to ſuccede him, with a power of retaining his former biſhopric. When he went to Rome for his pall,

he was accompanied by Tosti earl of Northumberland, Gisa a Lorrainer newly made biſhop of Wells, and Walter his countryman chaplain to the queen, juſt promoted to the ſee of Hereford; as embaſſadors from the king for the pope's confirmation of what he had done for the abbey of Weſtminſter. At the time when they came to Rome, they found the pope employed in a ſynod to extirpate the ſimoniacal hereſy. He received the earl with great marks of diſtinction, ſeating him next himſelf in the ſynod; and the two new prelates he confirmed in their epiſcopal ſees, ſay the Romiſh writers, finding them indifferently learned and clear of ſimony. He then granted a bull of confirmation to the king according to his requeſt of the lands and privileges which he had beſtowed on the monaſtery of Weſtminſter; "permitting that for ever hereafter it be the place of the king's con-"ſtitution and conſecration, the repoſitory of the royal crown and "enſigns of majeſty, and a perpetual habitation of monks who ſhall "be ſubject to no other perſon but only to the king." But as to Aldred made archbiſhop of York, finding by his own converſation that he had been guilty of ſimony, the pope not only refuſed him the pall, but with great ſeverity deprived him of all his dignities. But in the firſt day's journey upon their return from Rome, they met with the banditti who ſtripped the whole company of all they had, which obliged them to turn back again. This misfortune, added to the ill treatment which Aldred had met with from the pope, ſo ſowered this prelate and his companions, that the earl of Northumberland made a bold remonſtrance to his holineſs, and told him with great ſpirit, "that his cenſures and excommunications would ſignify little in "countries at a great diſtance, when a band of thieves were permitted "to brave him almoſt at his gates; adding that tho he was rigorous "to ſtrangers who came as ſuppliants, he was tame enough to thoſe who "had the courage and reſolution to reſiſt him. He adviſed him there-"fore to give them ſatisfaction in their demands, or at his return "to England he would make ſuch a report of Rome as he did not "doubt would induce the king to do himſelf right by witholding "the Peter-pence uſually paid to the holy ſee." This rough and undutiful addreſs to the holy father, ſo terrified the whole college, that they all thought it expedient that Aldred ſhould have the ſee of York, and the pall; on condition, ſays Cressy, that he ſhould place a fit perſon in the ſee of Worceſter. Whether this was a condition made then at Rome, whether the conſcience of the prelate was awakened by the ſtiffneſs which he met with there, or whether the inclinations of the king had brought him to part with the ſee of Worceſter, is uncertain; but we know that Wulstan ſucceded him there not long after his return from Rome, tho not without great compulſion; for he was much averſe to accept the charge.

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It would be endleſs to recite the ſeveral public acts of devotion, and the many miracles which are ſaid to have been wrought by EDWARD: the former would only ſerve to convince us of his ſuperſtition, and the latter would ſurprize us only with the profound credulity of the age he lived in. But the laſt of his pious works was the ſolemn dedication of that magnificent church he had built at Weſtminſter; to which he ſummoned the nobility, the biſhops, abbots, and principal officers of ſtate and juſtice. The ceremony was performed on Innocents day with all the ſplendour and magnificence imaginable; when the charter to the abbey, giving them all the advantages of tenure, privilege, and juriſdiction, was ſigned by the king and queen, the two archbiſhops, ten biſhops, and ſeveral earls, and abbots. The king had been ill for ſome days, and had on Chriſtmas eve a ſlight touch of a fever; but having his heart much ſet on going thro that feſtival both with his devotions and entertainments, and that his new church ſhould be conſecrated with all poſſible pomp, he concealed his indiſpoſition till that was over; and then taking to his bed he died in five days after. A little before his death, ſome of the great men who were aſſembled on account of the conſecration, went to him to deſire that he would name his ſucceſſor; but inſinuating at the ſame time, that if he named any other than HAROLD the queen's brother, who was univerſally beloved by the people, he would infallibly embroil the kingdom in endleſs troubles. EDWARD was not then in a condition to examine a propoſal of this nature: he therefore only ſaid that ſince they were now met in a body, he left it to them to chuſe a king whom they thought moſt worthy to rule over them. EDGAR ATHELING was the undoubted heir, as being the grandſon of EDMUND, the elder brother of king EDWARD; and if he had juſtice done him ſhould have inherited the crown before him. But having been born abroad during the exile of his father, and his party being kept under by the factions of the court in the time of EDWARD, his intereſt went no further than to the good wiſhes of thoſe, who regarding only right and juſtice, ſtood affected to the Engliſh line. The king was certainly in his own mind for the duke of Normandy, but HAROLD had the hearts and hands of the Engliſh. The caſe ſtanding thus, the difficulties which he could never bring himſelf to determine, whilſt he was in health, were become inſurmountable in his laſt illneſs; and therefore he reſolved to leave the deciſion of the matter to GOD alone.

Thus died EDWARD the third; for his extraordinary piety called the confeſſor, after a reign of three and twenty years and ſix months. But if we will judge of him with an impartiality that the monkiſh writers were ſtrangers to, we ſhall find no qualities in this prince to deſerve

that

that glorious title. He had ſuffered nothing in the world on account of religion, neither in his exile abroad, nor in his reign at home; and there is no other pretence that I know of for giving him this title, but that he gave vaſt ſums in charity which other princes commonly laviſh away in their pleaſures. The monks particularly reaped great advantages from his liberal diſpoſition; and to this bounty alone we are to place the many extraordinary accounts of his piety, and of his intereſt with heaven in working miracles. Had he been the ſaint which they repreſent him, he would at leaſt have forgiven his mother her ſecond marriage, culpable as it was, and permitted her to live in affluence all her days; whereas he certainly confined her to the city of Wincheſter, ſtripped her of all her jewels and treaſure, and ſuffered her rather to wear out her life in difficulties, than to live in eaſe and ſplendour. Had he been the ſaint which they repreſent him, he would not have uſurped the crown in the life time of the ſon and grandſon of his brother Edmund who had the right before him; nor when he had enjoyed it above three and twenty years to their prejudice would he have refuſed, as he did, to bequeath it to the latter whoſe right it was, as the leaſt attonement that he could make for ſuch an unjuſt detainder. But further, had the piety of this king, which is founded ſo very high in his hiſtory, conſiſted in any thing beſides devotion, and liberality to monks and churches, he would not have done ſo much injuſtice to the lady whom he made his queen, at the ſame time that he was determined not to live with her as a wife. He could never have ſucceeded to the crown but thro the intereſt of her father, and who gave him his intereſt on the condition that he ſhould marry his daughter. His daughter was one of the fineſt young ladies then in England; remarkable for her beauty, underſtanding, learning, and good temper: and whatever objections there might be againſt earl Godwin, it was a mean and a wicked thing in Edward to revenge himſelf on his daughter, who had no ſhare in his crimes, and who was worthy of a better huſband than he was, tho he was a king. The views of the earl in advancing him to the throne and obliging him to marry his daughter, to be ſure, were that ſome of his family from this marriage might come to the crown: and it was a prevarication in the king, little ſhort of perjury, to marry the young lady and entirely to abſtain from her as a huſband. But beſides all this which is to be ſaid in abatement of Edward's piety, his ſubjects were injured greatly by his living thus ſeparated from his wife; they had entreated him to marry in hopes of his having heirs, and by this prepoſterous conduct their hopes were quite defeated; a revolution was the conſequence of his dying without iſſue, and the Engliſh were ſubjected to a foreign yoke. If to cover all this iniquity, his vow of celibacy ſhould be pleaded, which was a plea I believe invented for him by the monks, yet this will not mend the matter

with any but the monks themſelves. A vow made ſo contrary to the deſign of GOD, and which had ſo plain a tendency to create miſchief and confuſion was in itſelf iniquitous; and if it had been made, it was his buſineſs to get himſelf abſolved of it, as he did from one of a much leſs conſequence, his going on a pilgrimage to Rome. Upon the whole it may be ſaid of EDWARD, that he was weak but not ill natured, timorous but not quarrelſome, bountiful but not forgiving, devout but not juſt; and tho not virtuous enough to be canonized for a ſaint, yet not vicious enough to be enrolled in the liſt of wicked princes.

The methods of providence are dark and intricate; and whilſt the revolutions of ſtates and kingdoms amaze and confound us, the ſprings by which they are moved are often ſecret and imperceptible. But that men ſhould not miſtake and challenge that to themſelves which the counſels of the moſt high only form and his power only can accompliſh, he hath thought fit to let us know, that it is he who ruleth over the kingdoms of men and gives them to whomſoever he pleaſes. Indeed the marks of his almighty wiſdom are ſo viſible in ſome revolutions of ſtates and nations, that if the eyes of men were not blinded by pride and unbelief, they could not poſſibly be miſtaken in the hand which guides them. Such was the ſurprizing turn of affairs brought about by providence in this kingdom by the death of EDWARD. The pretenders to the crown I have already mentioned: and as EDGAR ſaw no likelihood of ſucceding to it and gave no trouble to any one, ſo HAROLD mounted the throne without oppoſition; and the day after the death of EDWARD was proclaimed king of England. Whether he thought that the ſuſpenſion which the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY lay under from Rome, might make the legality of the ceremony be called in queſtion if it was performed by him, we are not informed; but he was crowned at Weſtminſter by ALDRED archbiſhop of York, probably for that reaſon: and the proofs which he gave of his courage and conduct in the ſhort time he reigned, have led poſterity into an opinion that he wanted nothing but a title to fit him for the crown he wore. But WILLIAM duke of Normandy invaded England with a powerful army; and before the king had taſted the ſweets of royalty or was ſeated well in the throne, he was obliged to put his life and kingdom upon the hazard of a battle, which proved very bloody to both armies, and by the death of HAROLD decided the diſpute in favour of WILLIAM. Thus fell the laſt of the Saxon kings with his ſword in his hand, in defence not only of his own but of his country's cauſe, againſt the unjuſt ambition of the duke of Normandy. He had given many ſignal proofs of his valour and conduct in the courſe of his life, and had gained the love and eſteem of his countrymen whilſt he was a private man. The hiſtorians indeed who wrote in the time of the conqueror and his

ſons, have endeavoured greatly to blacken the memory of this prince, in order to juſtify in ſome meaſure the pretenſions of the duke: but the only blemiſh upon his character was his ſeizing the crown to the prejudice of Edgar the lawful heir; and even this will admit of ſome mitigations, if the weak and unwarlike genius of that heir is conſidered, and that the duke of Normandy would therefore have wreſted the crown from him, if Harold had not taken it; who was the greateſt Engliſh nobleman, whoſe family had been injured by Edward's refuſing to take his ſiſter into his bed, and who had himſelf the good wiſhes of the Engliſh nation. He was naturally honeſt, obliging, affable, exceeding generous; and in ſhort was endowed with all the virtues which are neceſſary to the forming a great and a good prince.

With Harold ended the empire of the Saxons in England, which had began about ſix hundred years before, in the perſon of Hengist the firſt king of Kent. It had been indeed interrupted by the Danes in the beginning of this century, and was become quite extinct: but when the hopes of the Engliſh, and the fears of the Danes, were thought to be at end, the great diſpoſer of all things on a ſudden changed the ſcene: the royal line of England was in a moſt ſurprizing manner reſtored; an end was put to the race of Daniſh kings; and with the Daniſh government the intereſt of that people in England was quite determined; an intereſt which had coſt a great deal of time and blood and violence to plant and cultivate. This great turn of affairs was conducted ſo ſilently, that the Engliſh hiſtorians who all agree in the thing, have not left us light enough however to judge with any certainty, how an intereſt ſo ancient and ſo well eſtabliſhed, was ſo ſoon and ſo quietly broken, and finally diſappeared. Next to the pleaſure and good providence of God, it ſeems to be chiefly owing to the bent of the Engliſh nation: for tho the government had been entirely Daniſh for ſome time, yet the bulk of the people being Engliſh, their weight might turn the ſcale; as ſoon as the external force was removed which had put their affections under reſtraint. But whatever occaſioned this turn in favour of the Engliſh line in the perſon of Edward, it was not more ſudden nor more ſurprizing than that which followed his death, the Norman revolution; which did not occaſion a greater change in the ſtate than it did in the church; and which was particularly fatal to the privileges and immunities of the Engliſh clergy. With theſe alterations in eccleſiaſtical affairs the next book ſhall begin; and I will cloſe this with an obſervation, which tho it may do no honour to our anceſtors may be of uſe to their poſterity, which is the great end of hiſtory. The obſervation I mean is this. We have ſeen, in the courſe of this work, our country that we boaſt of, tho ſeparated from the reſt of the world, and on all ſides defended by ſeas and mountains as a bulwark, yet obnoxious to more invaſions, and more frequent and entire

tire revolutions than any other kingdom. To this obſervation let us add, that not any of the nations which conquered and poſſeſſed it, except the Roman, were ſuperior to it in numbers and in power; and it will teach us that if we expect any ſecurity from ſuch calamities, it is neceſſary that we ſhould cultivate righteouſneſs in ourſelves and peace and union with one another. The people of England, in thoſe times of deſolation, were waſted with factions, and overrun with wickedneſs of every kind; for theſe abominations it pleaſed GOD to withdraw his favour, and to give them over as a prey to their devouring enemies. Let us therefore take warning by their example; and whatever the pride of politicians, or the vain boaſt of thoſe who delight in war, may ſuggeſt, yet we have ſeen enough to convince us, that a nation of libertines can never be the favourites of a righteous providence, and that unleſs the LORD ſhall direct it feeble and unavailing will be the help of man.

THE

THE

ECCLESIASTICAL

HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK V.

THE death of HAROLD, together with the great numbers of nobility and gentry which periſhed with him, ſtruck ſo general a terror thro the nation, that without giving time to their fears to wear off, they preſently entered into meaſures with the conqueror, and unanimouſly reſolved to place him upon the throne. It is ſaid that all his efforts, notwithſtanding the battle he had won, would have availed but little, if the clergy had judged it proper to put their eſtates and tranquillity to the hazard of a war, by aſſiſting the pretenſions of EDGAR ATHELING. It is certain that this prince, tho he had an undoubted right to the crown, yet was in no condition to protect them: the duke of NORMANDY had the name of a religious prince, who was well diſpoſed to the church; and his enterprize tho it was againſt the right hereditary ſucceſſion, had been favoured and countenanced by the pope. They were in hopes therefore that their ſubmiſſion would turn to a better account than a war; which in all probability would be of long continuance, in caſe they were to reſiſt him. But however it came to paſs, yet ſo it was, that every difficulty fell before the conqueror; and ſo haſty were the ſteps of his good fortune, that tho he landed in England but in October, yet he was crowned as king on Chriſtmas day; and generally then received the homage of the nobility, biſhops, and clergy of the kingdom. The office of coronation was performed by ALDRED archbiſhop of York, and not as uſual by STIGAND the metropolitan. Our hiſtorians give various reaſons for this refuſal of the primate; tho none of them ſay a word of what occaſioned the ſame refuſal by HAROLD. Some of them tell us, that as STIGAND was ſtill under ſuſpenſion and upon ill terms with the pope, as he had been with two of his predeceſſors, that the king who had been

been countenanced in this expedition by his holineſs, had a mind not to diſoblige him by accepting the crown from the archbiſhop. Others ſay, that this prelate had his ſcruples on this occaſion, and looking on the conqueror as a man that had ſtained his hands in blood, refuſed to ſet the crown upon his head. But neither of theſe reaſons I think appear ſatisfactory. The conqueror, if he had been inclined to be crowned by STIGAND, would have had no difficulty in ſatisfying the ſee of Rome, as far as the ſubmiſſion paid to that ſee made it neceſſary; and the conſcience of the primate does not ſeem to have ſtood in his way. He was at the head of that faction which had drove out ROBERT his predeceſſor, and the other Norman biſhops and favourites from the court of EDWARD; and his conduct in that affair had advanced him to the ſee of Canterbury. Let us add this to the reaſon which I have before given why HAROLD might chuſe to be crowned by the archbiſhop of York, and we ſhall then probably come at the reaſons why this prelate performed the ſame ceremony for WILLIAM. Beſides, one of the duke's motives for invading England, he ſaid, was to revenge the injury done to ROBERT archbiſhop of Canterbury; he might therefore well be excuſed in refuſing to be crowned by STIGAND who had thruſt him out, and poſſeſſed himſelf of his ſee; and he had probably from the beginning reſolved to depoſe him for it. I dont ſay that he might not make his ſuſpenſion a pretence for taking the crown from the archbiſhop of York: but it could only be to cover the true reaſon of his refuſing it at the hands of the primate.

In all probability king WILLIAM intended great alterations from the firſt, in the church as well as the ſtate; but every thing went on ſmoothly for a time, as if nothing was further from his thoughts. He took the uſual oath at his coronation; he made many magnificent promiſes to the nobility whom he moſt ſuſpected; he cajolled EDGAR with honors and eſtates; he laid the foundations of a church and abbey in the very place where HAROLD was ſlain, called Battle-abbey by his own order; and he confirmed the privileges of the people, and the promiſes he had made upon that ſcore, by a public edict. The three firſt months of his reign paſſing in this manner, and the king's proceedings having procured him an univerſal ſubmiſſion, he went over in the ſpring to Normandy, to compleat his happineſs by appearing there in his new grandeur. But whilſt he artfully covered his fears by ſeeming to place ſo much confidence in the fidelity of his new ſubjects, yet he omitted no precautions neceſſary to his ſecurity; he therefore carried over with him EDGAR who had the lawful right to the crown, STIGAND the primate, and the popular nobility among the Engliſh. This pretence of favour and particular reſpect for the perſons of theſe great men, was ſo ſlight a cover to his real meaning, that all the addreſs of that inſi-

nuating and artful prince could not conceal it. But theſe mutual jealouſies were not without foundation. For notwithſtanding the promiſes of obedience, the many efforts made by the Engliſh to recover their liberty, ſhewed plainly that they were uneaſy in their preſent circumſtances, and wanted nothing but an opportunity to ſhake off the yoke. On the other hand the promiſes of the king at his coronation, to protect the church and his people, did not alter his intention of bringing the Norman laws into the ſtate, and of promoting his followers into the higheſt ſtations in the church. The firſt proof he gave of his deſign to promote his own eccleſiaſticks was the advancement of Remigius a monk of Normandy to the ſee of Dorcheſter; which at this time contained all the midland parts of England. This prelate was conſecrated by Stigand, and by a formal profeſſion of canonical obedience acknowledged him as his rightful metropolitan. Why the king permitted his biſhop to be conſecrated by the primate and to pay obedience to him, and why he continued to treat him with the greateſt reſpect when he refuſed to let him perform the ceremony of coronation, are reaſons of ſtate which we are not acquainted with: it might be all an artifice intended to lay him aſleep, till he had a proper opportunity to pull off the maſk and to ſhew his determination. For the ſeverity with which he afterwards treated the archbiſhop, gives but too much ground to ſuſpect the king's inſincerity in the eſteem which he had pretended to have for him before. But whatever were the true intentions of that prince, during his ſtay in Normandy he made choice of Lanfrank abbot of Roan, and one of his privy council, for an embaſſy to Rome; to concert meaſures with pope Alexander for reforming the Engliſh church. But that this affair might be kept a ſecret, it was covered with a pretence of tranſacting with the court of Rome the tranſlation of one of his Norman biſhops to the archbiſhopric of Roan, and procuring a pall for him from the pope. But tho the buſineſs of the embaſſy was adjuſted there to his mind, and the pope was to ſend his legates into England at the king's deſire, yet every thing was kept in ſilence for three years. In truth, notwithſtanding the calm with which William began his reign, the Engliſh made ſo many efforts to recover their liberty with the aſſiſtance of the Danes and Scotch, that on the beſt judgment which could be made he was more likely to periſh under his crown than to ſupport it. But ſo great was the conduct and capacity of this monarch, he not only ſurmounted all the difficulties which embarraſſed the three firſt years of his reign, but he made all his misfortunes turn to account. For the attempts againſt his government diſengaged him from all his promiſes to the Engliſh, to which he could not have been juſt, without breaking thoſe he had made the Normans; and by giving him a pretence to ruin the former, put the means into his hands by which he could reward the latter.

But under the colour of ſeizing the eſtates of ſuch as had rebelled againſt him, the king at once deſpoiled all the monaſteries and collegiate churches; becauſe, as being more defenſible than common houſes, and more ſecure from violence by the received opinion of their ſanctity, they were the chief repoſitories of the wealth of the nation, during the war and confuſions of the preceding years. Thus their imagined ſecurity only haſtened on their poverty and oppreſſion. Some hiſtorians affirm, that he did not ſpare ſo much as the ſhrines of the ſaints, and the conſecrated veſſels: it is certain that he ordered all the religious houſes to be ſearched, and every thing of value to be carried off to his treaſury, on pretence it belonged to the rebels. Under the name of the forfeited lands of the nobility, ſome of thoſe belonging to the religious and ſecular canons were taken from them. The Saxon kings had granted to ſeveral biſhops and abbots, fees exempted from all military ſervice, denouncing in their charters imprecations againſt their ſucceſſors who ſhould dare to violate theſe immunities. But WILLIAM, diſregarding the ſettlement of his predeceſſors, cancelled them all. Church lands as well as the reſt, were obliged to find in time of war, a certain number of horſemen, notwithſtanding the clauſes in their ancient charters to the contrary: and ſuch of the clergy as refuſed to comply, he turned out without any ceremony, and placed foreigners in their room. In ſhort to fill up the meaſure of the ſorrows of the eccleſiaſticks, ſuch of the Normans as had no rewards in lands or effects, were quartered upon the monaſteries, where they were maintained without any expence to the king, and ſerved as a ſort of guard or ſpies upon thoſe ſocieties.

But to cover theſe oppreſſions, which were too open to be excuſed, with a zeal for the Engliſh church, his majeſty deſired pope ALEXANDER to ſend over his legates as it had been before agreed between them: and under a ſhew of prodigious veneration for the holy ſee and a particular reſpect and deference to the legates, he ſerved all the purpoſes of his own intereſt. His affairs were too much embroiled with the revolts of the Engliſh to admit of this before; but having made himſelf maſter of the lives and fortunes of his people with a particular ſeverity towards the clergy, this farce of a correſpondence with the court of Rome could be no longer delayed with ſafety. The Engliſh clergy had a great intereſt in their country; and the king could not but know, that the cruelties which they ſuffered from him would encreaſe this intereſt, and make their perſons dearer ſtill to the people. All this is natural. The danger therefore of beginning his government with an extreme ill treatment of ſuch a body of men muſt lie open I think to his view; but then on the other hand, how dangerous ſoever

ver the undertaking might appear, it was not eaſy for him to ſee how he could be ſafe without it. Thus it was then that this prince, who was as tenacious of the royal power as any prince had been, and who thro all the reſt of his reign kept the court of Rome at a diſtance, determined for the preſent to take ſanctuary for his injuſtice and oppreſſions in that court; by permitting, what had never been attempted in this kingdom, and what his ſucceſſors had great cauſe to lament, the legates from Rome to ſummon the clergy of England to a council which was held at Wincheſter. The king had fixed upon that place to keep his Eaſter in; and according to ancient cuſtom, the great men of the nation attended their ſovereigns at their feſtivals, and the crown was ſolemnly put on their head by ſome of the biſhops. At this time it was put on William's head by one of the legates; and ſome of the popiſh bigots are extravagant enough to ſay, that the legates were ſent for from Rome to crown the king of England. The tranſactions of this ſynod at Wincheſter were ſuch as the king had before reſolved upon, and ſuch as the Engliſh clergy had too much reaſon to expect. For there could be no doubt that he had determined to put the chief eccleſiaſtical power into the hands of his Norman friends whom he could confide in, and to diſpoſſeſs the Engliſh who ſtood in their way. But he met with a prelate, who, ſevere and tyrannical as the monarch was, made no difficulty to remonſtrate againſt his violence. This was Aldred archbiſhop of York who crowned him; and whilſt he governed with clemency and a regard to juſtice, was continually ſounding his praiſes very high. But when he ſaw that his majeſty began to pull off the maſk, he ſent an agent to court to repreſent to the king in his name the injuſtice he was doing the Engliſh, and the ill conſequences that might follow. The haughty monarch was ſtung with this remonſtrance, and ſharply rebuked the perſon who durſt deliver it to him. The report being made to the archbiſhop, he was ſo incenſed at the king's proceedings that he heartily curſed him and his race; ſaying, that he might well be excuſed in giving his curſe to thoſe who had miſbehaved themſelves under his bleſſing. The king being informed of the archbiſhop's reſentment, was adviſed to give him ſome ſatisfaction, and aſk his excuſe: but tho the king condeſcended to this ſuggeſtion, and diſpatched a gentleman to York for that purpoſe, the good old archbiſhop had taken the calamities of his country ſo much to heart, as that he was dead before the meſſenger from the king arrived. The ſame regard was not ſhewn by the king to Stigand. The crimes laid to his charge before this council at Wincheſter, were his holding that biſhopric after he was advanced to Canterbury, his aſſuming the primacy whilſt Robert his predeceſſor was ſtill alive, the making uſe of his pall for ſome years, and taking another pall from Benedict an uſurper of the popedom. For theſe reaſons the council

ſay

ſay they depoſed him; and notwithſtanding the reſpect the king had paid him all along, he was immediately clapped into priſon where he continued the reſt of his life.

There is no excuſe to be made for the avarice of this unfortunate archbiſhop, which created him many enemies while he lived: and the oppoſition and contempt that he ſhewed the ſee of Rome, inclined the monks to blacken his character ſo much after his death, that his diſgrace ſeems to have had but a little ſhare in the pity of ſucceeding ages. But yet who can think that the crimes laid to his charge were the real cauſes of his depoſal? The men who make a ſaint of DUNSTAN, who led the way to this infamous practiſe of holding two biſhopricks together, and who magnify LANFRANK who took the primacy whilſt STIGAND was yet alive, can never pretend that the two firſt mentioned were any part of the reaſons why STIGAND ſhould be depoſed, tho they are mentioned as ſuch. As to the article of the pall, the very examples of LANFRANK and ANSELM his immediate ſucceſſors, who performed all the functions of the primacy before they ſent to Rome for the pall, will ſcarcely ſuffer one to believe that there was any weight in that objection. Indeed we may reaſonably enough ſuppoſe, that the pope would reſent his favouring the pretenſions of his competitor, and his obſtinate contempt of the papal ſummons. But the true, and only reaſon, on the part of the king, for depoſing STIGAND, was probably a reſolution to put the power of metropolitan in the hands of a Norman; and ſo the other reaſons, which in fact were novel and inſignificant, were ſet up againſt him. The council itſelf was novel and irregular; there was no canon in being which allowed the biſhops of Rome to convene councils out of their own province; and at the meeting of this ſynod it does not appear that any one biſhop was required to give his vote in this affair; and the legates themſelves, it is very probable, were only tools to the king. But whatever might be the caſe in regard to STIGAND, it is on all hands agreed, that the pleaſure of the king alone determined this council, in the depoſition of the other biſhops and abbots, as well as the council which was held at Windſor not long after; the decrees of which, as it is acknowledged by the hiſtorians, were contrary to all laws divine and human. In ſhort matters were ſo ordered by this artful prince, that before the year was finiſhed, there was not a man left in any ſtation in the church, who was capable of hurting the preſent government; but on the contrary, partly by death, partly by the addreſs of the king, and partly by the Norman faction in EDWARD'S reign, all the great poſts in the church were put into the hands of men devoted to his intereſt. In this great turn of affairs his favourite LANFRANK was inveſted with the primacy; the ſee of York was given to THOMAS his chaplain; WALKLIN was made biſhop of Wincheſter; and WALKERINE biſhop of Durham; the ſees of Norwich and Chicheſter were filled with HEREFAST,

and Stigand another chaplain; Litchfield was given to Peter; the ſee of Wilton transferred to Saliſbury was filled by Herman, and Dorcheſter transferred to Lincoln was given to Remigius; every one of them divines out of Normandy. The biſhops who were allowed to continue in their ſees, were chiefly ſuch as had been advanced by that faction in the reign of his predeceſſor, and were foreigners; ſo that except Wulstan biſhop of Worceſter, and Siward biſhop of Rocheſter, who were ſpared for their innocence and ſimplicity, there was not one biſhop in England before the third year of the king's reign was finiſhed, who was not in the Norman intereſt.

The alterations in the monaſteries and religious houſes kept the ſame pace with the biſhopricks; and Norman abbots were placed in all which the Engliſh were diſpoſſeſſed of. By ſuch partial meaſures was the judgment of this king directed, that Ingulphus, who was his creature and preferred by him to the abbey of Croyland, acknowledges "that "no merit was thought ſufficient to advance an Engliſhman, or "ſo much as to ſecure him in his former poſt; and that the moſt "unworthy foreigner was preferred before him." It is the faſhion among modern writers, taken up I ſuppoſe from Sir W. Temple, to ſpeak of the moderation and gentleneſs of this prince; and to ſay that he never acted as a conqueror, but made the ancient laws and conſtitutions of the realm the conſtant rule of all his actions. From what hiſtorians, or from what part of his conduct, they learn this account of him, I dont know. If the reader will be at the pains to conſult the original writers, he will be convinced that I have not aggravated his ill uſage of the Engliſh clergy; nor affected to follow thoſe who made it their buſineſs to blacken his reputation. He will ſee that there is not a ſingle circumſtance related here, that is not to be met with in the hiſtories which were written before his death, or quickly after; even by authors who have endeavoured as much as they could to juſtify and commend him. But his oppreſſions and injuſtice to ſecure his government were ſo notorious, that they could not be concealed, nor could admit of any excuſe. It is highly probable, as I have ſaid before, that the alterations which took effect about this time in the church, had been deſigned from the beginning of king William's reign; and that this was the reformation of the Engliſh church which Lanfrank was ſent to Rome to concert three years before. If this prelate had not been in the ſecret, and intended then for the primacy which he afterwards was promoted to, with the approbation of the pope, we cannot account for his aſcribing his advancement chiefly to his holineſs, which he does in a letter to him, nor for his being conſecrated archbiſhop in the Auguſt of that year in which Stigand was deprived at Eaſter. But however that may be, the election and conſecration of this Italian to the ſee of Canterbury, were remarkable and ſolemn. He was firſt elected by the church of Canterbury, and then this

this choice was agreed to by the biſhops and nobility at the king's court. His conſecration was performed at the metropolitical church, at which all the biſhops in England were either attending in perſon, or elſe excuſed themſelves by meſſages and letters. The reader will obſerve that this primate did not wait for a confirmation of his election from the biſhop of Rome, nor for bulls to empower the biſhops of the province to conſecrate him when he was elected; as was uſual in after times. Being poſſeſſed of the ſupreme dignity in the Engliſh church, he wrote a letter to the pope, to complain of the difficulties and the burden he had plunged himſelf into by accepting it: and whilſt he purſued his duty with the zeal and vigour which became his ſtation, he faintly aſked to be excuſed, and to have the liberty of retiring to his old monaſtery.

Whatever has been ſaid by the later canoniſts of the neceſſity of the pall to qualify for the functions of a metropolitan, yet this able prelate applied himſelf immediately to diſcharge that office, without waiting for this qualification. But however that he might not ſeem totally to ſlight what the court of Rome was pleaſed to think an eſſential point of duty, he ſent a meſſenger thither to demand his pall. He had very lately diſcharged an office of that ſort himſelf for the archbiſhop of ROAN, without giving that prelate the trouble of a journey to Rome: and the court of Rome was ſo far from thinking themſelves ſlighted by this way of addreſs, that they not only granted it to his grace of ROAN, but the agent was in ſuch favour with ALEXANDER, who was then in the chair, that he was obliged to promiſe him to return in a little time to Rome, and to make him a viſit of ſome months in his palace. Therefore an example ſo freſh of ſending the pall, added to his perſonal intereſt with the pope, made it unneceſſary, as he thought, to go to Rome in perſon, and ſolicit it. But the pope led a reſerved and retired life, and under his name the church was governed at that time by HILDEBRAND; to whom LANFRANK as his friend wrote a letter by his legate, deſiring his aſſiſtance and good offices. As ſure as the archbiſhop thought himſelf of ſucceeding in this buſineſs, the pall was refuſed to be ſent, and he was required to come to Rome to receive it, as well as to concert meaſures relating to other affairs. In the letter which HILDEBRAND wrote him on this ſubject, he endeavours indeed to ſoften his being refuſed, by telling him that if there had been any precedent in granting the like favour to any of his predeceſſors he would not have met with a denial. But they muſt both of them be very ignorant of the eclceſiaſtical hiſtory of England; the one to make, and the other to be ſatisfied with this excuſe, ſince the pall was ſent to AUSTIN by GREGORY, and to JUSTUS and HONORIUS by his ſucceſſors, as we have ſeen. There is no doubt but that the head of HILDEBRAND was at that time full of thoſe great deſigns, with which not long after he ſet all Europe in a flame. He did not think fit indeed

to let the archbiſhop know what thoſe other affairs were, the meaſures of which he wanted to concert with him; but the ambitious ſcheme of that eccleſiaſtic which was ſoon after public, to ſet up a ſpiritual monarchy and to force all chriſtendom to ſubmit to it, inclines one to think that this was the ground of that reſolution to oblige the archbiſhop to come for the pall; and that Lanfrank his friend, and the pope's friend, was then denied it. But be this as it might; it is certain that the neceſſity of the pall was carried afterwards ſo very high, that it was laid down as a law of the Roman church, that an archbiſhop could not conſecrate a biſhop, nor convene a provincial council, till he had received his pall. Theſe were doctrines indeed of a later date; and it is therefore no wonder, if Lanfrank, who was in the intereſt of the ſee of Rome, and one of the greateſt men of the age, was not enlightened yet ſo far as to diſcern the importance of an uſage, which had hitherto paſſed as a matter of ceremony. We ſee him upon this account keeping on in the courſe of the ancient church; and without waiting for a confirmation or a pall from Rome, applying himſelf to the exerciſe of his metropolitical power. Among other acts of this power, he convened a council, wherein the new biſhops were conſecrated, and in which the piety and innocence of Wulstan biſhop of Worceſter, could no longer prevent his being depoſed. The conduct of the archbiſhop in thus going on with the buſineſs of his office, without waiting for the return of his agent with the pall, was ſo agreeable to the preſent ſentiments of the Engliſh church, that all the biſhops of his province made a ſolemn recognition of his authority, as their rightful metropolitan, in their profeſſions of canonical obedience; as well thoſe who had been conſecrated before, as thoſe who received their conſecration from him. Indeed the new archbiſhop of York, when he came for his conſecration, and was required to make profeſſion of canonical obedience to the primate, and to ſwear to the performance of the contents, as a cuſtomary acknowledgment made by his predeceſſors, refuſed them both; and upon this his conſecration was for a time ſuſpended. But this affair being brought before the king and his great council, where Lanfrank is ſaid to have made out his claim with great ſtrength and clearneſs, it was reſolved that the oath ſhould be omitted for the preſent; but that Thomas ſhould make profeſſion of his obedience to the ſee of Canterbury in writing, which ſhould not be drawn however into example for his ſucceſſors; unleſs it could be made appear that it was the ancient practiſe. Though this affair was thus quieted for a time, and the archbiſhop of York ſubmitted to receive his conſecration on this condition, yet it afterwards broke out again, and became a laſting ſubject of diſpute.

Soon after this agreement the two archbiſhops ſet out together for Rome, accompanied by Remigius biſhop of Lincoln; where the primate was received with the higheſt marks of reſpect. The pope at his admiſſion

admiſſion roſe up to embrace him, declaring however that he did it, not on the ſcore of his ſtation but of his great merit and learning. But the entertainment of the other two prelates is very myſterious and ſurprizing: they were received indeed at firſt with great civility, but they were immediately after both depoſed; the archbiſhop of YORK as the ſon of a prieſt, and the latter as having been guilty of covenanting with the king, that in conſideration of his aſſiſting him in his expedition againſt England, he ſhould be advanced to a biſhopric if the king ſucceeded. The paſtoral ſtaff and ring being thus taken from them by the pope, LANFRANK made uſe of his intereſt in their favour: he repreſented them both as men of letters and merit, and of great uſe to the king in the beginning of his new government; upon which, it is ſaid, that the pope delivered the enſigns of their authority to him, with a power if he thought fit of reſtoring them to their ſtations; which he did accordingly. This ſtrange unaccountable ſtory has been ſo generally copied by one writer from another, that one does not know how to call it into queſtion, at the ſame time one does not know how well to believe it. It is certain that this ſummary way of depoſing biſhops was a thing unknown at that time in Rome itſelf; and what the papacy never arrived to when it had carried its authority to the greateſt height. The being ſon of a prieſt was likewiſe ſo far then from being thought a juſt ground of deprivation, that a decretal was made, as cardinal BARONIUS ſays, by this very pope againſt it. It is an extravagant abſurdity to ſuppoſe that an archbiſhop ſhould be depoſed for an infelicity which he could not help, and which the canons of the church had never made a crime; and all this too without any proceſs, by an authority which had no foundation then, either in law or fact, over an Engliſh biſhop. As little ground does there ſeem to be for the pretence of charging the biſhop of LINCOLN with ſimony in order to depoſe him. By the conſtitutions of Normandy, the abbies were obliged to aſſiſt the duke in his expeditions with men and horſes; and one of the monks always attended to preſent them in the name of the abbey, and to ſee that they were provided with all things neceſſary. It was obedience therefore, and not choice, which brought RIMIGIUS into England: and if we add to this the character which is given of his humility, charity, and great piety, and how unlikely it was that a man under the vows of poverty ſhould be able to aſſiſt the king at his own expence, we muſt either conclude that there was no ground to charge that prelate with ſimony, or elſe that ſomething more is meant by ſimony in our ancient writers than the purchaſe of a biſhopric. But this matter which our hiſtorians have left ſo much in the dark, the profeſſion made to LANFRANK by RIMIGIUS may in part explain. Having recounted the depoſal of archbiſhop STIGAND and the reaſons for it, he adds, that the ſentence paſſed upon him involved all that had received conſecration at his hands, requiring that they ſhould either be ſuſpended or depoſed: that this particularly had been his own caſe, who had been

conſecrated by that prelate; but having aſked pardon of the pope during his ſtay at Rome, he had by Lanfrank's interceſſion obtained it of him. This is the account which he gives himſelf: and had the ſtory been, as almoſt all our writers relate it, he could never have offered this falſhood to his metropolitan who knew and was concerned in the whole affair. There muſt therefore be a difference, in what the ancient hiſtorians, and what we call ſimony; which our later writers who have tranſcribed the ſtory have never ſtaid to conſider. The kings of England for ſome ages paſt, not only nominated their biſhops, but by delivering them a ſtaff and a ring, as ſupreme ordinaries, had put them into the poſſeſſion of their reſpective truſts. This was the ceremony known afterwards by the name of inveſtiture, which occaſioned ſo much trouble and contention in this and the ſucceeding age; and which Hildebrand, when he was pope about two years after, declared to be hereſy and ſimony to accept from a lay hand. A lay inveſtiture therefore going by the name of ſimony, when Malmesbury and Diceto wrote their hiſtories, has in part accounted for this myſterious ſtory: the depoſal of the biſhops, and their reſtoration, is expreſſed too by taking away, and giving back, their ſtaff and ring; which makes it probable that the court of Rome had ſome further meaning than what is commonly thought of, and that the pretences of illegitimacy and ſimony were made uſe of only to prepare the way to an uſurpation, which Hildebrand appears then to have ſat his heart upon; the taking the inveſtiture of biſhops out of the hand of princes.

It may be concluded, I think, that Lanfrank complied ſo far with the ſcheme of the court of Rome, as to aſſiſt in covering the ſecret of this affair from the king, by bearing a part himſelf in this tranſaction: and in what way ſoever our hiſtorians ſpeak of it, the whole conduct and circumſtances of the affair, and the ſpirit of the court of Rome at that time being conſidered, one cannot help ſuſpecting, that the myſtery is unravelled, by ſaying it was the firſt fruits of that uſurpation on the royal power, which the humility of the apoſtolic ſee ſo paſſionately breathed after. The two archbiſhops however having received the pall, their next buſineſs was to get their controverſy decided about the canonical obedience from the ſee of York to Canterbury, and the juriſdiction over the biſhops of Litchfield, Lincoln, and Worceſter, which Thomas claimed. But the pope was too wiſe to embroil himſelf in an affair which he knew he had nothing to do with; and therefore wiſely declining the matter adviſed them to refer it to the king and his council. Thus the two archbiſhops returned to England, with their controverſy undecided; but being equally deſirous to put an end to it, at the next great feſtival after their arrival, when the biſhops and abbots always attended upon the king, the cauſe was brought before them at Windſor; and being then undetermined, was finally argued in another council at Wincheſter.

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The archbiſhop of YORK inſiſted on the model of GREGORY the great; which had fixed the primacy of all England in the perſon of AUSTIN, and not on the ſee of Canterbury: becauſe at his death, the ſee was to be transferred to London, the ſees of London and York were to ſtand upon an equal foot of privilege and independance, and the reſpective archbiſhops were to take place according to the priority of their conſecration. Had he gone no further in his plea, it would not have been in LANFRANK's power to have anſwered it. But THOMAS laid claim to the dioceſes of Lincoln, Worceſter, and Litchfield, as within his province, and pretended that the biſhops had been anciently ſubject to his predeceſſors; which he could not prove. It is true the midland parts of England were converted by the biſhops of the kingdom of Northumberland, or by ſuch of the clergy as had received their orders and miſſion from them; and not from AUSTIN or his companions: a king of Northumberland had the honour to be the firſt founder of the ſee of Lindeſey; but there was no pretence for ſaying, that the biſhops of Lincoln, Worceſter, and Lichfield were ſubject to the ſee of York. In anſwer to this plea, it was urged by LANFRANK, that the primacy was to be conſidered the ſame as if the ſee had been fixed at London, the metropolis of the kingdom, ſince GREGORY had decreed it ſhould be ſo; that he had the conſtitutions of ſeveral popes to confirm the privileges of his ſee; that ſome of his predeceſſors had exerciſed juriſdiction within the province of York; and that he had the judgment of the kings and biſhops of England and an uſage of near four hundred year on his ſide. The laſt was his beſt and ſtrongeſt anſwer, and upon a full hearing of the whole matter, it was determined that the primacy did of right belong to the ſee of Canterbury; that the archbiſhops of York ſhould be obliged to make profeſſion of canonical obedience to it at their conſecration; that on the death of an archbiſhop of Canterbury, the archbiſhop of York ſhould reſort to Canterbury upon the king's nomination to the vacant primacy, and together with the biſhops of the province aſſiſt at the conſecration of the new archbiſhop. The archbiſhop of York was to hold his title and authority of metropolitan; but he and his ſuffragans were obliged to attend the ſynods convened by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to be governed by his directions. As to the bounds of the two provinces, THOMAS was obliged to drop his pretenſions to the three dioceſes; and all the north of England from the dioceſe of Lichfield on the Weſt, and from the Humber on the South, was declared his province. Thus the controverſy between the two metropolitans was determined for that time; and a writing in form of an agreement was ſigned by the king and queen, the pope's legate, the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY, thirteen biſhops, and eleven abbots. The reader perhaps will be of opinion, that this controverſy between two archbiſhops about their juriſdiction was not of moment enough to require ſuch a minute account of it; but it was abſolutely neceſſary that he ſhould

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know the grounds of it, becauſe of the frequent alluſions to their differences in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

The diſpute being thus ended and the aſſembly broke up, LANFRANK ſent two epiſtles to Rome, the one to the pope and the other to HILDEBRAND; in which he gives an account of his ſucceſs with ſuch marks of ſatisfaction, as plainly enough ſhew that he had ſet his heart upon it. Amidſt his exaltation, he had forgot the caution and reſerve which he was forced afterwards to make uſe of in all his diſpatches to the court of Rome; and gave a greater ſhare of this affair to the pope in his ſtrains of flattery than in truth his holineſs had any right to; for he had refuſed to meddle in it. But however this prelate might for the preſent comply with the deſigns of the court of Rome, yet it is plain he changed his ſentiments when he had time to conſider the conſequence; and took part with the king againſt the holy ſee, as will appear a little further. At preſent we are to view him on the ſide of the pope, entring into meaſures which were probably concerted when he was at Rome, to break a deſign of diſpoſſeſſing the cathedral monks, and bringing ſecular canons in their ſtead. A change of that kind was about this time projected by ſome of the biſhops, with the king's conſent: and had he taſted of thoſe miſchiefs which the bigotry and ſtiffneſs of the monaſtic ſpirit drew upon ſome of his ſucceſſors, it is probable that this deſign would have been accompliſhed. Whether it was the intereſt which the ſee of Rome had in the preſervation of the religious, or the particular affections of the primate which led him to it, I dont know; but he was much againſt the deſign, and at his return to England brought a letter from the pope to recommend the monaſtic order to the king. The letter of ALEXANDER, together with the firmneſs of the archbiſhop in refuſing to give his conſent, might occaſion the deſign to be laid aſide; but it did not alter the ſentiments of the king and the biſhops: they ſtill thought that the placing monks in cathedral churches, who were for the moſt part laymen, was contrary to the primitive deſign of thoſe inſtitutions; which were to be as colleges of prieſts to ſerve as council and aſſiſtants to the biſhops in all the offices of their function. Beſides, the monks of England had fallen in with the vanity and luxury of the age; indulged themſelves in all ſorts of diverſions. in fine horſes, equipage, and a pompous way of living; and ſo far gave themſelves up to a licentiouſneſs of every kind, that except a name, they had little to diſtinguiſh them from other men. The archbiſhop, perceiving that almoſt all the Norman biſhops here as well as the king were in theſe ſentiments, and fearing leſt they ſhould prevail againſt the monks notwithſtanding the pope's epiſtle in their behalf, applied immediately to him for a reinforcement. The pope taking advantage of a pretended epiſtle of GREGORY the great to AUSTIN, in which he confirms the monks of Canterbury in their

places

places, ſent a decretal epiſtle directed to the archbiſhop and condemned the intended change. This affair of the religious was not the only article recommended to the king in the pope's letter to him. He tells him that AGELRIC biſhop of Chicheſter was not regularly depoſed by his legates; and therefore deſired that his cauſe might be heard over again by the archbiſhop, whom he made his legate on that occaſion. There is no doubt but that the judgment of the pope in this affair was a very right one, and that the depoſals, to ſerve the intereſt of the Norman revolution, were all irregular: but the ſame reaſons which made that proceeding neceſſary to the king's affairs, made it no leſs neceſſary to defend it; and whatever deference the conqueror might pay to the biſhops of Rome, yet his whole conduct ſhews that he was not ſenſible of any duty but ſuch as was conſiſtent with his right and intereſt: this affair therefore, notwithſtanding the recommendations it brought along with it, was laid aſleep, and the depoſed biſhop continued a priſoner as long as he lived; whilſt his ſucceſſor ſate quiet and undiſturbed from the ſee of Rome. As little regard was paid to the pope's recommendations in the ſame epiſtle about the boundaries of the dioceſe of York and Lincoln, which had been a matter of diſpute between their reſpective biſhops, and carried to the court of Rome. His holineſs recommended this affair particularly to the king; but it does not appear that it was ever conſidered during his life; at leaſt it is certain, that it was never finally adjudged till the reign of his ſon WILLIAM. The conqueror was of a different ſtamp from the devout and ſubmiſſive Saxon princes; and governed the clergy of his kingdom, as well as the reſt of his ſubjects, with an abſolute ſway. Tho he ſuffered the pope's legates to preſide at a council, it was only that he might get rid of ſome biſhops who gave him diſturbance, with greater eaſe; but when he found that the ſame council had ſcruples about concurring with him in all his meaſures, he then exerted his abſolute power, without troubling himſelf to wait for a canonical ſentence.

It was not long that pope ALEXANDER was mortified with this contemptuous uſage from the king of England: he died in the year following, and was ſcarcely cold, before HILDEBRAND who had governed him, thruſt himſelf into his chair. Whether it was by military force, or by election, for the hiſtorians are not agreed, that he was advanced to the papacy on the very day his predeceſſor died, yet the haſt he made to poſſeſs it, and the proofs he had before given of his aſpiring enterprizing temper, made it eaſy to foreſee what the world had to expect from him. He was a man of a low ſtature, the ſon of a carpenter, and took upon himſelf the name of GREGORY VII. in honour of the ſixth who had been his ſchoolmaſter; and in whoſe fortunes he had been a partaker, as well during his pontificate, as after his abdication. The new pope had been bred to buſineſs, had a juſt

knowlege of men and things, and was perfectly well acquainted with the preſent ſtate of the Weſtern churches, and with the courts of princes. He had a natural pride and haughtineſs of temper, which was ſo elated by his opinion of the great character he had aſſumed, that he could bear no counſels which ſeemed to leſſen the idea he had of it; or to thwart his deſigns which were as vaſt and boundleſs as his ambition. He had the ſole honour of conceiving and beginning theſe deſigns, which the moſt daring ſpirit of any of his predeceſſors had never attempted, whatever they might incline to. Theſe deſigns it ſeems were nothing leſs, than to become lord ſpiritual and temporal over the whole earth; the ſupreme judge and determiner of all affairs civil and eccleſiaſtical; the diſpoſer not only of biſhopricks, archbiſhopricks, and other church emoluments, but alſo of ſtates and kingdoms, and revenues of particular perſons; or as Du Pin expreſſes it, his aim was to bring all the crowned heads under his ſubjection, and to oblige them to hold their kingdoms as fiefs of the holy ſee, and to govern them at his diſcretion. From this little ſketch of Gregory the ſeventh's character, the reader will be able to judge of the ſpirit by which he acted in the affairs of the Engliſh church. He was no ſooner advanced to the papacy, than he notified it to king William; who returned his compliment, by ſending an ambaſſador to congratulate him on his acceſſion. But in order to underſtand the reaſons which led Gregory to ſet all Europe into a flame, it will be neceſſary to digreſs a little from the affairs of England, to take a view of the deſigns of the court of Rome. The firſt and great ſubjects of the pope's application and addreſs were to take the diſpoſal of the revenues of the church out of the hands of princes, and then to bring the clergy from their dependance on their ſovereigns to a dependance on the ſee of Rome. There were many other particulars of great moment in his thoughts; but for the moſt part they were only branches of theſe two great heads, and ſuch as of courſe would fall into his hands if he ſucceded in theſe to his wiſh. In order to colour over his deſign of taking the diſpoſal of the wealth of the church into the hands of the biſhops of Rome, the pretence of ſimony, and the great corruption in beſtowing eccleſiaſtical preferments, were made uſe of; as being totally inconſiſtent with the honour of God, and the diſcipline of the church. To the other part of his ſcheme, he thought it neceſſary, to ſet the clergy looſe from the civil governments they lived under, by deſtroying the conſideration of wives and children, their uſual pledges to the ſtate; and therefore he immediately began by all poſſible means to force the preſent clergy to forſake their wives, and to prevent the marriage of their ſucceſſors; for which a canon of the council of Nice, and the example of antiquity were pretended. Theſe great deſigns being thus artfully covered, and all the ſkill of Gregory being employed to poſſeſs the world with an opinion of the great advantages which would accrue to religion and the

the church from theſe alterations, a great many whoſe good diſpoſitions got the better of their judgments, were drawn into his ſnare.

The king of England, the better to make his court to his holineſs, who began his pontificate in the loudeſt outcries againſt ſimony, paſſed a canon at a council which he held in Normandy for the extirpation of it: but ſeeing perhaps into the reaſon of GREGORY's conduct, the canon was formed as cautiouſly as if he had intended to counteract it; being confined to the diſpoſal of abbeys, archdeaconrys, deanrys, and parochial churches, without any notice at all of biſhopricks: and to make it go down the better, the king went ſo far into the other part of the pope's deſign, that he made uſe of his authority to compel the clergy to leave their wives. Thus ſtood the harmony and agreement between the pope and WILLIAM. But the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY had been on ſuch terms of intimacy with the former before his advancement, that the pope made himſelf ſure of all the aſſiſtance which it was in LANFRANK's power to give him. In this confidence his holineſs ſent a meſſenger over to the primate, not only to notify his acceſſion to the papal chair, but alſo to acquaint him by word of mouth, with thoſe affairs which he ſays he durſt not truſt to the keeping of thoſe about him; to whom he gave in appearance the marks of his higheſt confidence. The ſecret, whatever it was, we may be ſure, was of the greateſt moment: but notwithſtanding the ſingular confidence which he repoſed in the archbiſhop, LANFRANK ſeems to have trod exactly in his maſters ſteps, and to have been true to his intereſt, and the character which he had honoured him with. Tho GREGORY therefore, preſſed him very importunately to come to Rome and concert matters with him, yet the archbiſhop would not ſtir: and when he exerted his power, and again and again commanded him to attend his councils at Rome, LANFRANK not only refuſed to go, but anſwered his commands in ſuch a manner as in effect amounted to a denial of his authority over him. For whilſt he perſiſted in a refuſal to obey the ſummons of GREGORY, he told him that he would obſerve the canons of the church, and obey him ſo far as they required him. How well ſuch an anſwer as this was received at Rome, the ſpirit and deſign of this haughty pontiff make it eaſy enough to conjecture. An authority founded in divine right without any limitation, is ſo different a thing from an authority ſet up by human inſtitutions and circumſcribed by canons, that the leaſt inference we can draw from LANFRANK's conduct, will convince us that he knew of no authority which the biſhops of Rome had over the primate of England by any canon of the church, and much leſs by any divine right.

But whilſt the king and the archbiſhop ſeem to have acted thus in concert to break the meaſures of GREGORY, they played the ſame art-

ful game which his holineſs had diſcovered, and made the moſt ſolemn profeſſions of a profound veneration for the holy chair. The ſkill in the game on each ſide was ſo equal, and it was played with ſuch addreſs, that it is hard to ſay which of the parties gained the moſt. Theſe ambitious deſigns, however artfully covered, drew upon him many enemies; who denying the canonicalneſs of his election ſet up the archbiſhop of Ravenna in oppoſition to him. The acknowledging Gregory therefore as the rightful pope, which depended merely on the pleaſure of the king as one of the prerogatives of the crown, was ſo neceſſary a piece of ſervice to him at this time, that the haughty prelate thought it his intereſt to conceal his reſentment, and to ſtoop a little to the reſolute and ſteddy temper of William. During the abſence of the king in Normandy, the archbiſhop called a council to meet in London, that there might not ſeem to be any neglect of the affairs of the church of England. The council conſiſted of the two archbiſhops, eleven Engliſh, and one Norman biſhop, the archdeacon of Canterbury, and one and twenty abbots: and becauſe the uſe of ſynods in England had been many years intermitted, there were ſeveral proviſions made in conformity to the ancient canons. The firſt thing agreed upon was the precedency of the biſhops, wherein the right hand of the primate was aſſigned to the archbiſhop of York, the place on the left to the biſhop of London, next to the archbiſhop of York was the place of the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the reſt according to the priority of their conſecration. The better to preſerve a full decorum in ſuch aſſemblies, it was decreed, that except the biſhops and abbots, no one ſhould preſume to ſpeak in council but with the leave of the metropolitan: a decree which very naturally leads one to think, that the lower dignitaries and clergy of England had at this time neither ſuffrage nor place in provincial councils. Indeed the mentioning the archdeacon of Canterbury as the only perſon of that order preſent, and even he is omitted by Ingulphus, makes it plain that archdeacons were not yet generally eſtabliſhed in the Engliſh church. The Benedictine order was in part confirmed in this council; and the canons of Sardice and Laodicen, which direct the ſettling of epiſcopal ſees in the moſt conſpicuous places in the dioceſe, were received. The king having given his conſent before, the ſee of Sherburn was removed to Saliſbury, Seoſly to Chicheſter, and Lichfield to Cheſter: but the removal of the reſt, which by this decree of the council ſhould have been made, were deferred till the king's return. Marriages to the ſeventh degree of blood were prohibited; ſimony was condemned; divination, caſting lots, ſorcery and enchantments were diſallowed; and the ancient canons forbidding eccleſiaſticks to be judges in caſes of blood, were revived and put in force. Theſe are all the acts of this council that are extant; and they contain nothing new.

In

In the following year another council was convened at Wincheſter; in which the marriage of the ſecular canons was forbid. The parochial clergy already married were not obliged to leave their wives, but their future marriages were not allowed. There are ſuch different copies of this council, that tho they have the marks of the age upon them, and were certainly produced at that time, yet would incline one to think that they are not the acts of the ſame council. The fifth decree in the Worceſter copy requires the biſhops to conſtitute archdeacons and other miniſters in the church; which probably led to the change that not long after was introduced into the eccleſiaſtical polity. But in the copy from the Cotton library, the fifth requires that altars ſhould be made of ſtone; the ſixth forbids the uſe of beer or water unmixed in the adminiſtration of the ſacrament, and requires wine and water: the ſeventh confines baptiſm, unleſs in caſes of danger, to the feaſts of Eaſter and Whitſuntide; the ninth prohibits burials in churches; the thirteenth enjoins biſhops to hold their ſynods twice a year; and the ſixteenth forbids chalices made of wax or wood. No pariſh prieſt was to ſuffer any burden or encumbrance on his church more than had been laid upon it in the reign of EDWARD the third. If the laity were accuſed of any miſdemeanour with reference to religion, and refuſed to ſubmit to the order of their biſhop, they were to be called before him three times; if they refuſed to appear and make ſatisfaction at the third ſummons, they were to be excommunicated: and if they ſubmitted to the biſhop's ſentence after excommunication, they were nevertheleſs to pay their penalty to the biſhop for their contumacy. No perſon was to permit his daughter or relation to be married without procuring the prieſts bleſſing; and all marriages ſolemnized without this circumſtance, was to be eſteemed no better than fornication. As LANFRANK laboured thus to eſtabliſh the diſcipline and outward adminiſtration of the church of England, ſo it is not improbable that he took ſome ſteps towards the reception of that opinion which he had taken great pains to defend abroad; the corporal preſence of CHRIST in the ſacrament. It is certain that this was contrary to the doctrine of the Engliſh church at the Norman conqueſt: and tho GOD does ſometimes give men up to ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould believe a lie, and this doctrine was now received with greedineſs by ſome of the Romiſh church, yet except LANFRANK and ſome few others of this age, it was an opinion that prevailed only amongſt the vulgar and illiterate: the primate himſelf owns, that thoſe who oppoſed it were very numerous, but he thinks fit to reproach them with the name of ſchiſmaticks. It is probable, that from the time of the Norman revolution, this opinion began to be propagated in England, and grew up ſilently and unperceived, till in time it prevailed and became the doctrine of the church. But whilſt this change was made ſo quietly by the archbiſhop, who had a

great ſhare in the nomination of the Norman biſhops and clergy, put into the room of the Engliſh ones whom the conqueror had turned out, Gregory puſhed on his deſigns, notwithſtanding the ſeeming invincible difficulties that ſtood in his way, with an amazing vigour and boldneſs. In ſhort the deſigns of that prelate were by this time become ſo viſible to all Europe, that in the emperor's circular letter to the princes and biſhops of the empire, "he implores their aſſiſtance in the urgent ne-"ceſſity he lay under, and in that oppreſſion under which both the "empire and church laboured thro the tyranny of Hildebrand, who "deſigned to take upon himſelf the regal and ſacerdotal authority, con-"trary to divine inſtitution, which had committed the one to princes, "and the other to biſhops."

Whilſt the pope had thus ſwallowed up the civil and eccleſiaſtical power of the whole world in his own imagination, we may be ſure he had a reckoning to make with the king of England. Accordingly ſoon after the return of William out of Normandy, he ſent his legate Hubert to let him know, that the kingdom of England was the patrimony of St. Peter, and that he expected the king ſhould hold it of him as ſupreme lord, taking an oath of fealty to the holy ſee: and as tho he hoped to give his inſolence ſome colour, at the ſame time that he thus inſulted the king, he reminded him of an arrear of Peterpence that was left unpaid. The reader perhaps will think it ſtrange, that a man's ambition could have ſo far turned his underſtanding, as to perſuade himſelf that this very payment, for which his immediate predeceſſor knew no other name but that of a yearly penſion, was nothing leſs than a tribute. But a very little reaſon, even the ſhadow of it, is enough to engage the faith of a man, who is already reſolved to believe; and therefore we muſt not wonder, if this vain prelate perſuaded himſelf that he had a pretence to the crown of England. It is however ſo very unuſual to hear men rave in cold blood, that one cannot help being a little ſurprized, for a man in his ſenſes to make uſe of the charity of the kings of England to prove them vaſſals. But by whatever meaſures the ambitious pontiff might conduct his reaſoning, the underſtanding of William lay quite another way: in his anſwer therefore to Gregory, he affirmed that his predeceſſors the kings of England had never given an oath of fidelity to the biſhops of Rome; that he himſelf had never promiſed any ſuch thing, and would never pay any fealty to him: he plainly told him that he held the crown of none but God and his ſword, and that he would not make it dependant on any perſon living: as to the neglect of collecting the money which it was uſual to ſend to Rome, and which had been occaſioned by his abſence, the king promiſed it ſhould be remedied, and the money paid; but further than that he would not go. It is no difficult matter to judge, from the ſpirit and deſign of Gregory, how this wiſe and reſolute anſwer was received at

Rome.

Rome. Imagining perhaps that LANFRANK was not zealous in his intereſt, and that the mortification which he had met with from the king of England was in a great meaſure owing to that prelate, in return it may be for the mortification which he had met with himſelf about the pall, the pope not only reproached him with forgetting his obligations to the holy ſee, but ſummoned him immediately to come to Rome. The archbiſhop excuſing himſelf from obeying the ſummons, a ſecond order was ſent him; requiring, that all excuſes being laid aſide, he ſhould not fail to be at Rome in four month's time. The ſecond ſummons was however to as little purpoſe as the former; the primate aſſured him that the king would not permit him to go out of England, and by the laws it was made impracticable for any man to depart the kingdom without his leave. But this excuſe, inſtead of mending the matter, only ſerved to make it worſe. To alledge the will of a king, or the municipal law of a country, in contradiction to an authority claimed by divine right, was ſuch a ſhock to the ambitious ſchemes of this haughty pope, as we may be ſure could not be ſupported with any degree of temper. Beſides, the more LANFRANK's character, and the opinion the world had received of his learning and abilities, made the pretenſions of GREGORY appear novel and indefenſible, the more inſupportable in proportion was the affront. But however the archbiſhop ſtood his ground; and acted like a man who believed it his duty to obey his prince. The king on his part was no leſs ſteady in defending the rights of his church and crown againſt GREGORY's uſurpation. He not only ſupported his primate in the diſcharge of his duty by not going to Rome, but without any regard to the new maxims which the pope had thought fit to ſet up, he took ſuch meaſures in the affairs relating to the church and to religion, as with the advice of his biſhops and nobility he thought moſt convenient. Nay further, on the legate's daring to threaten him, he publiſhed an edict, wherein he forbad his ſubjects to acknowledge any pope but whom he firſt allowed of, or to receive any orders from Rome without his leave.

GREGORY however was not wanting to his own deſigns: ſometimes he pretended to have the moſt ſincere and paſſionate affection for the perſon of the king, and hoped to gain upon him by flattery: at other times he ſhook the rod over his head, exhorted him to his duty towards the holy Roman church, and magnified the power, which as he pretended GOD had given him, to correct, as well as reprove and admoniſh princes: he did not omit to acquaint him that the royal dignity was under the care of the apoſtolic ſee: and as tho this was not enough to humble the king's ſpirit, he told him further, that the two great powers by which GOD deſigned to govern the world, were the ſacerdotal and the royal, of which the former reſembled the ſun, as the latter did the moon: but when all this furious eloquence was loſt upon

on the king, the pope ſpoke his heart, and inveighed againſt him in ſuch extravagant and unuſual terms, as plainly ſhew his paſſions were all of a ſize; and not one of them governed by the common meaſures which reſtrain other men. In an epiſtle therefore to Hubert his legate in England, he thus vents his reſentment againſt the king; "that "whilſt he was denied the honour due to the holy chair, he had no "regard for his money; that of all the kings of the earth, pagan kings "not excepted, no one ever attempted that againſt the apoſtolic ſee, "which the king of England does not bluſh to do. For who was "ever ſo impudent and irreverent, as to forbid the archbiſhops and "biſhops to viſit Rome? But if he did not give over theſe and the "like practiſes he ſhould be made ſenſible that he had provoked the "anger of St. Peter." Tho Gregory thus thundered out his menaces before his legate, yet his intereſt making it neceſſary not to break entirely with the king, but if poſſible to gain his ends with time and patience, therefore in this ſame epiſtle to Hubert, he gave him freſh inſtructions to ſend a new monition to the biſhops of England; that two out of each province ſhould attend the ſynod which he had convened to meet at Rome in the following lent. A great number of the Weſtern biſhops obeyed the ſummons, and met at the time and place appointed, and it ſeemed to carry the appearance of a patriarchal council; but not one Engliſh biſhop was preſent at it, nor ſo much as any excuſe was made for their neglect. One cannot think that the archbiſhop, an Italian by his birth, could have been ignorant of the rights of the holy patriarch, or of the bounds of his patriarchate; neither could the Engliſh biſhops have been ſo negligent of their duty as to deſpiſe the ſummons. But the truth of the matter is, they had never acknowledged the patriarchal power of the biſhops of Rome; nor was a ſupremacy by divine right any part of the doctrine received at that time in the church of England. Therefore as the biſhops acted by direction from the king, and grounded their contempt of the pope's authority on the law of England, their refuſal to attend this ſynod was in fact a public and authentic remonſtrance of the Engliſh church and nation againſt his holineſſes claim.

Gregory however was not of a turn to be diſpirited by diſappointments; he ſet as good a face as he could on this contempt of his authority, and appeared at the head of this famous council. My deſign does not allow me to enter much into the acts of it; and I muſt content myſelf with telling the reader, that this haughty prelate having formed a deſign to overturn the ancient government of the chriſtian church, and to raiſe himſelf and his ſucceſſors to the ſtate of monarchy, changed the uſual form of profeſſions of obedience to the holy ſee from primates, into an oath of fidelity; like what the kings and emperors impoſed on their feudatories and vaſſals. But the Italian,

French, and German biſhops oppoſed the novelty; and were treated by him accordingly. In ſhort the great number of thoſe biſhops that were excommunicated or depoſed by his ſole will and pleaſure, added to what BARONIUS calls the dictates of this pope and the privileges of the holy ſee, filled all chriſtendom with ſurprize and horror. One would think indeed that this prelate had been raiſed by providence as a judgment on the chriſtian church; in whom we find ſuch an original of ambition as the world had never heard of. But I muſt leave his deſigns and the flame which it put the weſtern churches into, to obſerve the courſe which they ſteered who had the care and government of the church of England. The intended uſurpations of this holy father were by this time become ſo public that it was impoſſible not to ſee them; eſpecially for the king of England not to ſee them, who underſtood his rights and the meaſure of his authority as well as any body; and wanted neither ſpirit nor conduct to maintain them. He was happy too in a ſet of biſhops, who thought the laws the meaſures of their obedience in civil matters: at leaſt this was the caſe of the archbiſhop, who appears by all his conduct to have been equally careful of the dignity of the crown, and of the rights and honour of the Engliſh church. At the ſame time therefore that the king and his biſhops agreed to carry it fair to pope GREGORY, they alſo concerted meaſures to keep him at a proper diſtance; and without permitting him to encroach upon them, to make uſe of their own power in ſettling and governing all eccleſiaſtical affairs within the kingdom. I have ſaid already that it ſeems probable, that WILLIAM intended from the beginning of his reign, to form the Engliſh church upon the model of that which he had ſettled in Normandy to his ſatisfaction. He had found that a general diviſion of his dominions into baronys and knights fees, not only aſcertained his force and revenues, but alſo ſecured the dependance of the clergy and the religious upon the crown; and he was determined to purſue the ſame methods in England. When this undertaking was begun here, is not certain; but it does not appear to have been finally ſettled till he had perfected the ſurvey of England; which was not till the latter end of his reign. He then reduced the lands, as well thoſe of the clergy as the laity, to the common tenure of knights fees and baronage. The biſhops and abbots had by this eſtabliſhment many perſonal ſervices charged upon them; eſpecially to attend the great councils of the king; and their lands were taxed in proportion to maintain the army.

This new regulation, it is eaſy enough to ſee, muſt give great offence to the clergy; who before had held their lands, if not in entire freedom, yet at leaſt diſcharged from ſecular ſervices. An arbitrary power was a thing unknown in the ancient Engliſh government; and the clergy were diſtinguiſhed by a particular gentleneſs and exemption.

But now under the conqueror, their lands were made ſubject to military ſervice; and they were not the only perſons that were uneaſy under it. For as this change gave the crown a much greater tie on the perſons and eſtates of the clergy, ſo it lay croſs to the ſchemes of Gregory which were quite the other way; and was therefore much reſented at Rome. The pope however being in no condition to ſhew his reſentment againſt the king, took this occaſion to mortify his firſt miniſter and favourite archbiſhop Lanfrank. He ſent him a letter full of reproach, declaring "that tho the primate had been invited often to "Rome upon matters importing the chriſtian faith, yet it was evident, "that either out of pride or wilful negligence, he had ſtill abuſed his "patience; that the fatigue of the journey ought to be no excuſe; "that he had not ſo much as pretended any impediment allowed by "the canons; and that if he did not come before the feaſt of All Saints "next enſuing, but continued in his contempt, he would ſuſpend him "from his office." An impotent and ill grounded rage, the reader muſt have obſerved, if it has any effect at all, for the moſt part operates the wrong way; and ſerves only to leſſen, inſtead of revenging the man who indulges it. This was evidently the caſe here with Gregory. For if the menaces of that prelate had any influence on the archbiſhop, it was ſuch only as abated the opinion and eſteem that he had before received of him; and when he gave him an anſwer, it was to juſtify, not excuſe, his conduct, without flattering him with the hopes of more obedience in time to come. The truth is, this pope had had always ſuch ill ſucceſs in his attempts on the king of England, as was enough to have cooled any one but a man that was made up of fire and ambition. For whilſt his clergy behaved towards the ſee of Rome as tho they did not believe that the pope had power to depoſe biſhops tho abſent and without a ſynod, and indeed as tho they had never owned the patriarchal and much leſs the divine authority which Gregory claimed; the king ſeemed as little ſenſible of his power to depoſe and unmake princes; and without any diſtinction of perſons made uſe of his own authority, where wiſdom or convenience made it neceſſary. As a proof of this ſteadineſs, having reaſon to ſuſpect the intrigues of Odo his brother-in-law, biſhop of Bayeaux in Normandy, whom he had made earl of Kent and given the greateſt places of truſt and profit, the king cauſed him to be arreſted as he was preparing to leave the kingdom. The year following Gregory out of his abundant goodneſs wrote to William in his favour; and as haughtily as he treated the emperor and other princes, condeſcending to the meaneſt and moſt fulſome flattery of the king of England, requeſted Odo's releaſe. But ſo little was this king and this country acquainted then with the ſupremacy of the pope, or with the exemption of the clergy from the ſecular power, this requeſt was not granted; the biſhop was continued ſix years in priſon, and a few days only before the king died he was reconciled to him and releaſed. Tho the partiality

partiality of WILLIAM for his countrymen began to decreaſe about the latter end of his reign, and his Engliſh ſubjects by their fidelity had gained his eſteem and favour, yet the people ſtill retained the envy and animoſity that a difference of country is very apt to produce. Whether it was that they were in reality worſe uſed, or leſs able to bear up againſt the hardſhips they underwent, of all his Engliſh ſubjects the monks complained moſt: and the miſunderſtanding between them and their Norman abbots ran ſo very high, that there was a ſort of war in the monaſtery of Glaſſenbury, in which three monks who had taken ſanctuary under the altar were killed by ſoldiers, and eighteen were wounded. The abbot THURSTAN a Norman monk, preferred by the king's favour, was reſolved to ſhew himſelf a governor; and among other acts of power attempted to throw out the Gregorian office, and to introduce a new method of ſinging invented by a monk of Normandy. His zeal in this innovation, and ſome miſmanagements of the treaſure, but above all perhaps his being a foreigner and uſing them a little roughly too upon that accounts, were the occaſions of this rupture, and the miſchief that enſued. The ſame averſion and ill treatment on account of a different country, ſeems to be at the bottom of that quarrel, which not long after happened at Canterbury; when all the power and addreſs of LANFRANK could not oblige the monks to receive WIDO a Norman for their abbot, nor ſcarce reſtrain them from violence, till by expelling ſome and impriſoning others they were at laſt forced to receive him.

Much greater, and more laſting, and of more important conſequence to the church, was the controverſy began about this time by the monaſtic order, to exempt themſelves from the authority of their biſhops, or for enlarging their privileges, as they thought fit to call it. But if we look back and obſerve, how directly contrary to all the canons and uſages of the chriſtian church was this pretence to an exemption from the authority of their biſhops, and what ill conſequences this diſpute drew after it, we ſhall be very apt, I believe, to think unfavourably of this pretence of the religious. The vanity of the founders to procure favours for their monaſteries, the ambition of the monaſticks to affect a ſort of independance, and the deſigns of the court of Rome in breaking the ancient government of the church, were evidently the cauſes which gave beginning to this controverſy: but the indiſcreet zeal of the king in the privileges which he granted to Battle-abbey ſerved to animate it, and to help forward the ill conſequences which in time it produced in England. He was not content with building a monaſtery in the place where he had won the battle which gave him the crown, but to do ſomething extraordinary, he exempted it from the juriſdiction of the biſhop of the dioceſe, erected the abbey into a free chapel, and the precincts of it to a ſort of palatinate; wherein the abbot was both

prince

prince and biſhop and truſted with all the ſecular as well as eccleſiaſtical power. This is ſaid indeed to have been done with conſent of the metropolitan, and the biſhop of Chicheſter, and the advice of his biſhops and barons; but whoever will look over the charter will ſee that it has the air of a power which was under no reſtraint but the will of the prince. But ſtrains in the political, as well as the natural body, leave a weakneſs behind them commonly which is remembered with ſorrow.

Whilſt the king was thus making an ill precedent on the one ſide, pope Alexander on the other, in imitation of it, ordained the abbot of Edmundſbury in Suffolk, and received the monaſtery into the protection of the holy ſee, exempt from the juriſdiction of the dioceſan. The king indeed was too abſolute to bear with any contradiction, and ſo his exemption for the preſent paſſed unqueſtioned: but this was not the caſe of the biſhops of Rome. For tho a plan was drawn, and proper trains were laid for their future grandeur, yet hitherto the biſhops of England governed themſelves by the canons, and thoſe had ſubjected monaſteries to the authority of their dioceſans. Notwithſtanding therefore the pretended privilege from the pope, the monaſtery of Edmundſbury was viſited by the biſhop, who excommunicated ſuch of the clergy belonging to it as would not own his authority; and by this exerciſe of his juriſdiction, ſhewed them plainly that he knew of no foreign authority ſufficient to exempt them from their proper ordinary. The pope immediately took fire; and with an inſolence peculiar to himſelf, wrote to the archbiſhop to tell him, "that he wondered with what face he "could ſuffer the biſhop of the dioceſe to contemn the authority of the "Roman church; when he well knew that the biſhops of it had an au"thority from God, without licence from the proper dioceſan to or"dain whom they would." But notwithſtanding the great aſſurance with which his holineſs advanced this doctrine, he could not help diſtruſting his power in England; where he foreſaw that his menaces would ſignify no more than the decrees of his predeceſſor: therefore after he had given this vent to his anger, he betrayed the authority which he pretended to have derived from God, and ſtooped low enough to entreat and beg of Lanfrank, that he would recommend this affair to the king, and by his majeſty's commands put a ſtop to this contempt of the apoſtolic ſee. It ſeems probable that the royal authority was interpoſed, and the affair quieted for a time by the archbiſhop; but it broke out again afreſh, and gave a great deal of trouble to the ſucceding age, as we ſhall ſee when we come to that part of the hiſtory. I ſhall therefore leave it for the preſent to take notice of another particular which contributed to make a breach in the diſcipline and government of the Engliſh church; and this was a pretence ſet on foot by the archbiſhop, that thoſe churches which belonged to the patronage of the ſee of Canterbury, were exempted from the juriſdiction of the biſhop in whoſe di-

oceſe they lay, and ſubject only to the archbiſhop. This is ſaid to have been occaſioned by the oppreſſions and exactions of the archdeacon of Chicheſter; but however the primate extended it further, and by a general prohibition obliged all the clergy under the patronage of the ſee of Canterbury, not to appear at the ſynods of their dioceſans; and except in the caſe of receiving chriſm from the mother church, in no way to own the authority of the biſhop of the dioceſe in which they were. He pretended this to be an ancient privilege of his ſee, but we find no traces in hiſtory to warrant the claim; and it is more likely that he made an example, than followed that of his predeceſſors: his example however was of ill conſequence. For at whatever time, the eſtabliſhing peculiars or exempt juriſdictions took its riſe, it was a direct outrage to the uſage and the canons of the ancient church; which had always extended the power of the dioceſan as far as his dioceſe. But the pretence of the apoſtolic right of biſhops to govern their own dioceſes, was in a great meaſure overthrown by ſuch exemptions; they furniſhed the monaſtic order with ſuch arguments as the ſecular clergy knew not well how to refuſe; and in time, by relaxing the order and breaking the diſcipline of the church, occaſioned a great deal of miſchief and confuſion.

But among all the changes introduced by the Norman conqueſt, there was none greater, or which more deſerves to be particularly recorded, than the changes in the adminiſtration of the whole government, eccleſiaſtical as well as civil. And yet important as it was to the people, and clear as the fact is in itſelf, that ſuch a change there was in the reign of WILLIAM the firſt, yet all the accounts we have of it are uncertain and obſcure. There is indeed a law ſtill remaining by which he ſeparated the eccleſiaſtical from the civil courts; but tho ſo great a change depends on this ſeparation, which probably gave beginning to the courts of kings bench, exchequer, and common pleas, or at leaſt enlarged their authority, yet there is not light enough to determine when this law was made. That the reader however may form a judgment of this particular, and of the conſequences of the alteration, it will be neceſſary to lead him a little back, to take a view of the courſe of juſtice under the Engliſh monarchy. Whilſt the goſpel had its influence on the human mind, and the authority of CHRIST was employed to no other purpoſe but to promote peace and holineſs, kings appeared at the head of councils, civil ſanctions enforced obedience to the goſpel, and the united powers of church and ſtate conducted the common intereſts of religion. The hiſtory of the firſt ages, and the imperial laws, are a proof of this abroad as well as at home. If chriſtianity did not ſhine ſo bright amongſt our anceſtors as might be wiſhed, or if it wanted any aſſiſtance from the ſecular power, it was the fault of the times, and not of the men: for the ſame courts which determined of civil rights directed the

conſciences of the people; and from the firſt ſettlement of the goſpel among the Engliſh, the eccleſiaſtical and civil power were ſo much one and the ſame, that their conjunction appears as ancient as the firſt foot-ſteps we have of the Engliſh government. But even the great lines of this government are ſtill ſo much in the dark, and the notions of men are ſo different on this article, that they are not agreed as to the perſons in whom the legiſlature itſelf was lodged, before the diviſion of the country into counties and hundreds by king Alfred. After that we know plainly by whom the courſe of juſtice was adminiſtered; and as the laity were generally engaged in war with the Danes, the conduct of law as well as religion, was in a great meaſure put into the hands of the clergy; amongſt whom the biſhops were the oracles to the king and the nobility, as the lower clergy were to the common people. As for the biſhops, they were not only called to aſſiſt in the great councils of ſtate, but in the county courts, together with the earl in the court called the ſheriffs turn, and in the hundred courts with the lords of it, by themſelves or by their deputies. There is no doubt, but in thoſe things which were purely eccleſiaſtical, and wherein the functions of the clergy were more immediately concerned, that the canons of the church were the eſtabliſhed rules by which the biſhops and archdeacons proceeded in theſe courts, and by which their cenſures were determined. But in other affairs it is equally certain that the perſons and eſtates of the clergy were ſubject to the common laws of their country: and whether it was the eccleſiaſtical or civil judge, or which is more probable both in conjunction, that determined of things of this nature, yet it is evident that the clergy were liable to the fines impoſed by the Engliſh municipal law.

Theſe reflections on the ſtate of eccleſiaſticks under the ancient government, not only remind us of the condition of the Engliſh church before the conqueſt, but alſo by accounting for the intereſt which the clergy had in the civil government, they may poſſibly lead us into the meaning of the change which William introduced. For if we may gueſs at their affections by the treatment they had under his reign, the Engliſh clergy muſt have been uneaſy and diſſatisfied: and therefore the pretence of a canon, and a regard to the honour and diſcipline of the church, ſeems intended only as a colour for leſſening their authority and taking thoſe truſts away which were not thought ſafe in their hands. But upon whatever views he acted, it is certain that in ſome part, I believe in the latter end of his reign, the king enacted a law by which he commanded biſhops and archdeacons not to hear eccleſiaſtical cauſes in the civil courts; that no cauſes relating to the diſcipline of the church ſhould be carried before a ſecular magiſtrate; and that every perſon who was anſwerable to his ordinary for a breach of the canons, ſhould make his appearance at the place appointed by the

biſhop, where the proceſs ſhould be managed and ſentence given by the eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions. The law takes no notice of cauſes of a mixed nature, nor gives any rules for granting prohibitions to ſtop the proceedings of the eccleſiaſtical judge: neither does it determine in what caſes appeals may be made from them, to whom ſuch appeals ſhould be carried, or by what meaſures they ought to be conducted. It muſt be ſuppoſed therefore that theſe particulars were left to the ancient courſe, which before this ſeparation were always in the hands of the king. But thoſe already mentioned were not the only changes in eccleſiaſtical affairs produced by this law; as from hence aroſe, it is conjectured, the ſubdiviſions of dioceſes into archdeaconrys and rural deanrys. Theſe are ſpoken of by ſome hiſtorians as new inſtitutions introduced by LANFRANK, who was followed in it by THOMAS archbiſhop of York, and by RIMIGEUS biſhop of Lincoln: whereas in the Saxon times, tho we meet with the name of archdeacons, yet they had nothing to do in the dioceſe, ſays biſhop STILLINGFLEET, but only attended the biſhops at ordinations, and other public ſervices in the cathedral. There is great reaſon to believe however that this learned prelate is miſtaken here: and if the reader compares the canons of ALFRICK which impoſes a penalty upon the clergy who do not obſerve the directions of the archdeacons, with this law of WILLIAM, which requires the biſhop and his archdeacon to hold no more pleas in the hundred or other ſecular courts, he will believe perhaps with me, that the archdeacons had ſomething more than a miniſterial power under the Saxon government. Upon the whole it ſeems probable, that the ſeparation of the courts and ſetting up the conſiſtory, made it neceſſary to change the forms and circumſtances of eccleſiaſtical proceedings; and to introduce ſuch new officers as were proper to convene and cite the parties concerned to attend the proceſs, and to execute the ſentence. The better likewiſe to ſuit the conduct of church affairs to thoſe of the ſtate, and make this new eſtabliſhment to anſwer the diviſion of the kingdom into counties and hundreds, the biſhops probably divided their dioceſes at this time into archdeaconrys and rural deanrys; taking their officers into a ſhare of their juriſdiction, and borrowing their titles from the diſtricts which were aſſigned them. Hence it came that the archdeacons, whoſe courts were to anſwer thoſe of the county, had the county uſually for their diſtrict, and took their titles from the diſtrict in which they acted: and that the names of the rural deanrys ſeem to be taken from the hundreds, and were at firſt, and generally are now, the ſame. Beſides, the perſonal ſervices which the biſhops, as the kings barons, were obliged to under the Norman government, might make it neceſſary to admit the archdeacons and rural deans into a ſhare of the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction. But whatever might give the occaſion, it appears that the council of Wincheſter already mentioned, required the biſhops to conſtitute archdeacons: and whenever they and the

the rural deans were introduced, the reader muſt expect to hear but little of them, till the uſurpations of the popes gave a reputation to the canon law, and brought every thing into the conſiſtory, that either was in reality, or could be any way pretended to be fit for the cognizance of the church.

Whilſt theſe alterations were carrying on in England, pope Gregory the ſeventh died in exile, in the year one thouſand eighty five; after laying the deſign of that tyranny and uſurpation, which in time became one of the greateſt and moſt dreadful ſcourges with which the providence of God did ever afflict the chriſtian church. But whilſt he permitted errors of ſuch magnitude to be propagated, a remedy for them in proportion was not wanting. Let Gregory advance the neceſſity of an infallible guide and a ſupreme judge in controverſies as long as he pleaſed, and let him aſſert as ſtrongly as he would that the pretended ſucceſſors of St. Peter could never err, yet he himſelf was ſuch an inſtance of fallibility and of frailty, that his maxims were confuted by his own example. Had it pleaſed God to give us no other antidote againſt the infallibility of the holy ſee, than the conduct of this man alone who filled it, it would be enough methinks for every one, but thoſe who have an intereſt in the impoſture, and who will not ſee it, to diſcover that it is an inſult upon common ſenſe. Tho the fire and ambition of this haughty prelate made him bold and fearleſs, and would not ſuffer him to cool ſo far as to ſee the wickedneſs of his maxims nor the miſchiefs they muſt produce, and ſo excellently fitted him to broach the impoſture, yet Urban the ſecond who came to the chair in three years after Gregory's death, was much better fitted for the conduct of it. He was a man of more temper and addreſs than Gregory, and had all the arts of diſſimulation: but tho he covered the impoſture with more ſkill, yet his very ſoul was in it; and his zeal and diligence were ſuitable to his principles and the wicked purpoſes he was engaged in. Tho the pretenſion of the court of Rome was the moſt audacious affront that was ever offered to the authority of princes, and all the powers of Chriſtendom ſtood amazed at the confidence of that maxim which claimed the diſpoſal of their crowns, yet the king of England thought fit to look quietly on, and to keep the miſchief at a diſtance; but did not ſuffer one biſhop to go to Rome, nor any legate at that time to come from the holy ſee. In this quiet ſituation were the affairs of the Engliſh church, at the death of William, who died in Normandy in one thouſand and eighty ſeven, after reigning as king of England above one and twenty years. As ſoon as he found he was near his end, he began to look ſeriouſly back upon all the actions of his life, and to view them in a different light from what he had ever done before. He ordered large ſums to be given to the poor and to the churches: he ſet at liberty all the priſoners; and his diſtemper daily

daily encreaſing which put his recovery out of all hopes, he ordered the principal officers to ſtand round his bed, and in ſpite of his weakneſs he made a long diſcourſe, in which he dwelt much on the great reputation he had gained by his warlike actions. Nevertheleſs he could not forbear owning that he had unjuſtly uſurped the crown of England, and was guilty of all the blood that was ſpilled on that occaſion; for which his hiſtorians tell us he expreſſed an hearty ſorrow. He added, that as he durſt not bequeath a crown which of right belonged not to him, ſo he left it to GOD's diſpoſal; but if he could have his wiſh, WILLIAM his ſecond ſon ſhould wear it after him. He wrote a very preſſing letter upon that head to LANFRANK, which he ordered this ſon before his death to carry to him; imagining probably that he would meet with too ſtrong an oppoſition, if meaſures were not taken before hand to gain the people's conſent. Having ſettled all his temporal affairs he cauſed himſelf to be removed to the village of Hermentrude where he ended his days in the ſixty firſt year of his age: and for a leſſon of humility to kings and princes, and to ſhew the ſervile flattery and deceit of courtiers, it ſhould be told, that all his principal officers abandoned him in his laſt moments, even before he expired, to make their court to his ſons.

Thus died WILLIAM ſirnamed the conqueror, whoſe character the hiſtorians have drawn very differently, perhaps equally wide of the truth. Thoſe who view him only in a political light as the conqueror of a great kingdom, and who have regard to little elſe in a hero beſides valour and abilities, have extolled him very highly, as equal to any, and ſuperior to moſt of the line of kings. Others again who look upon the conqueſt of this country as a manifeſt uſurpation, and who inſiſt not ſo much on his abilities in getting into the throne as on the unjuſt and arbitrary means he uſed to keep poſſeſſion of it, repreſent him as a cruel and bloody tyrant. It is certain that he had a great mixture of good and bad qualities; and if he had not loſt all the impreſſions of religion, yet religion gave way to all his views whether of intereſt or ambition. Perhaps the irregular way he took of coming into a throne which yet he had no title to, might make all his meaſures neceſſary; but if this juſtifies him as a wiſe and able prince, it in no ſort excuſes the groſs injuſtice and the cruelty which he exerciſed towards his ſubjects. We muſt allow him to have had wiſdom in foreſeeing dangers, reſolution and activity in forming his deſigns, and diligence and intrepidity in the execution of them. Theſe are parts of his character which his enemies will not deny him; and in the eſtimation of the world theſe go a great way towards the reputation of ſolid glory in a prince. Without running the lengths of the church hiſtorians who have blackened his memory with the reproach of cruelty, oppreſſion, and ſacrilege, it is plain from the facts that have been related,

that tho he cauſed juſtice to be adminiſtered between man and man, where his intereſt or partiality did not interfere, yet his inſatiable avarice and the means he uſed for his ſecurity, made him guilty of more acts of tyranny, without any regard to right or juſtice, to the laws of God or man, than were ever ſeen before in any Engliſh monarch. The affairs of his family were perfectly well regulated; but the expences of his court bore no ſort of proportion to the greatneſs of his ſtation, nor to the immenſe riches which his rapaciouſneſs had ſcraped together. His greateſt, and almoſt ſole diverſion after he was ſeated on the throne of England, was hunting; for which he deſolated Hampſhire, and diſpeopled the country for above thirty miles in compaſs; demoliſhing the churches and houſes, without any recompence to the owners, to make a foreſt for the habitation of wild beaſts. He had no averſion to magnificence, and upon ſolemn occaſions took a pleaſure to appear in all his grandeur. There are hiſtorians who diſplay this prince's clemency, from his contenting himſelf to puniſh the Engliſh malecontents by the confiſcation of their eſtates. This is true indeed with regard to men of the firſt rank, but it is not ſo with regard to the common people. Great numbers of theſe were ſometimes put to death, the eyes of others were put out, and the hands and feet of many were cut off, and others confined all their lives in priſon for very ſmall crimes againſt him. Had his title to the crown been legal, and had it fell quietly upon his head without any conqueſt, William the firſt would probably have made a ſplendid figure in the Engliſh hiſtory, as a prince of great endowments, and much beloved by his people. But his ſeizing the throne without any right to it, and thro the violent means of blood and conqueſt, made his ſubjects uneaſy under his yoke; this diſaffection of the Engliſh joined to his avarice which was his ruling paſſion, made his yoke ſtill more galling; that in return encreaſed the hatred of the people; and their hatred begot a partiality for his Norman ſubjects, and ſtrengthened their mutual diſcontent. No wonder therefore that his whole reign was a continued ſcene of jealouſy, oppreſſion, and injuſtice on the part of the king; and of fears, revolts, and oppoſition on the part of the people. Upon the whole I think it may be ſaid of this prince, that with great abilities to make his ſubjects happy and his kingdom proſperous, he was ſo unfortunately circumſtanced with regard to England, that all his good qualities were in a great meaſure obſcured, and his ill ones made worſe a great deal than they naturally were: in ſhort, he was more wiſe than good, more good than wicked, and more ſucceſsful than either.

William the ſecond ſon of the conqueror, ſirnamed Rufus, whilſt his father was taken up with the thoughts of dying, haſtened away to England to concert the meaſures neceſſary to ſecure himſelf the crown. The archbiſhop who was both eſteemed and beloved by the Engliſh as

well as the Normans, made uſe of all his credit in favour of the young prince, according to the deſire of the king his maſter. His endeavours were ſo ſucceſsful, that tho WILLIAM the firſt died but the ninth, his ſon was crowned the twenty ſeventh of September, and receiving the homage of his biſhops and nobility, without any oppoſition, was univerſally acknowledged as king of England. But generally ſpeaking all revolutions are better in the idea than in the effect and practice: for whilſt nations are in a ferment, and things only diſpoſing to an alteration, men are at liberty to put a price upon their own merit and ſervice, and their expectations are ſeldom bounded with any leſs views than ſelf-love and ſelf-conceit preſent them with. The expectations of ambitious and intriguing men, are therefore commonly too great to be ſatisfied by any government; and ſometimes lie ſo croſs to one another, that they who can agree in ſetting forward confuſion, muſt of neceſſity break whenever things come to be ſettled: and whilſt ſome men are thus led into changes which diſappoint them, and fit them only to promote and concert further changes, caution and fears keep others quiet. Hence nations ſometimes run mad with factions, as companies do with liquor, whilſt they are but few perhaps who love it; and great revolutions are brought about when but few are hearty in them. Whether this was the caſe at the death of the conqueror one cannot ſay; but thus much is certain, that before the end of the firſt year, the men who ran with the moſt zeal into the intereſt of WILLIAM RUFUS did all they could to dethrone him; and the defection was ſo general that he was very nigh ſinking under it.

Had it not been for the influence which the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY had with the people, and that the new king affected to be guided by his councils in every thing, there were people enough ready both among the Engliſh and Norman nobility, who were very much diſpoſed to eſpouſe the cauſe of his elder brother. But the archbiſhop took care, that according to the will of the late king, the cathedrals and monaſteries ſhould have the legacies in money, croſſes, and candleſticks, which he had left them; the pariſh churches had five ſhillings apiece, and the poor of every county an hundred pound. The reſt of the treaſure which his father had left, the new king diſtributed very profuſely; and making fair promiſes to remit the ſeverity of the foreſt laws, and allow thoſe liberties in hunting which had been denied in the laſt reign, he ſecured his intereſt among the Engliſh. The archbiſhop, who as I have ſaid, was very well beloved by them, uſed all his credit to induce the people to ſtand by WILLIAM; and by his intereſt and ſollicitation he brought back to their duty ſuch as had revolted in favour of ROBERT; and perſuaded the reſt to continue firm. The two firſt years of the king's reign were taken up in quieting the factions of the Normans in his brother's intereſt, and in ſettling his

his affairs in ſuch a condition as might give him grounds to flatter himſelf with the hopes of a laſting peace. The Engliſh who had aſſiſted him in cruſhing the rebels, and who expected a reward in proportion to their ſervices, were ſoon convinced that they had flattered themſelves with a vain expectation. Whilſt the king could not carry his point, nor ſit eaſy on the throne without their aſſiſtance, he careſſed them highly, and made great promiſes of his favour: but as ſoon as he had put an end to the inſurrections and reſtored peace and quiet, the promiſes were forgotten; and they were even oppreſſed with impoſitions which had leſs moderation in them than thoſe of the king his father. When Lanfrank ſaw the violence of theſe proceedings, ſo contrary to the king's promiſes, and to the aſſurances of favour which he had given himſelf to the Engliſh, he admoniſhed him of his falſhood and ingratitude. But in whatſoever terms of gentleneſs and reſpect this honeſt prelate might make his remonſtrance, the king was extremely offended; and in an angry tone, and with an oath aſked him, whether he thought it poſſible for a king to keep all his promiſes? From that time the archbiſhop had none of the king's confidence, nor even a pleaſant look from him; and finding what ſort of a king he had engaged his honour for among the people, it ſate ſo heavy upon his mind, that he died quickly after, univerſally lamented by both parties.

There is not enough ſaid of Lanfrank in this hiſtory, for the reader to form an idea of him equal to his deſert, and it could not be ſaid without digreſſing too much from the deſign of it; as the greateſt and moſt ſhining parts of this prelate's conduct, were in the wiſe and good adminiſtration of affairs as a miniſter of ſtate. His character with reſpect to learning was very conſiderable for the age he lived in; and tho he went into the doctrine of the real preſence in the ſacrament, and was the means of introducing it into the Engliſh church, yet in other points he appears to be a very able writer. His ſtyle and manner of writing was neither figurative nor florid, but plain and expreſſive; and his reaſonings commonly cloſe and well arranged. He was thorowly acquainted with all the ancient latin fathers, and the canons of the church; and in that age there were not many who wrote with ſo much accuracy and ſo good a judgment. He was a great benefactor to the ſee of Canterbury, and pleading his own cauſe before the king and nobility which was three days in hearing, he recovered from the king's brother five and twenty manors, with all the cuſtoms, ſervices, and privileges which uſually belonged to the eſtates of the ſee. He built two churches and two hoſpitals in Canterbury; beſides rebuilding the cathedral from the foundation, which had been burnt by the Danes; and erected ſeveral more in the manors belonging to the archbiſhopric. He was a man of buſineſs as well as learning; and whilſt the conqueror entruſted him with the principal direction of his affairs in his abſence, he

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miſed to the religious houſes, but he applied himſelf to regain the opportunities of getting money, which he had loſt by delivering up the vacant biſhopricks. Anselm, who came into the ſee of Canterbury with great reluctance, had ſeiſin given him of all the temporalities belonging to it in the time of his predeceſſor, and had done homage to the king, and was conſecrated: but the new biſhop of Lincoln was obliged to diſpute his paſſage to the chair before he was allowed to ſit in it. The king had now an opportunity to ſhew, that he had not honour enough to give fairly the vacant biſhopricks, which he had no right however to keep; and he did not fail to lay hold of it. Rimigius the late biſhop of Lincoln, had finiſhed his cathedral ſo little a time before his death, that it was not conſecrated. The archbiſhop of York had ſet up a pretence, that Lincoln and Lindſey were within his dioceſe; and ſo would not permit Rimigius to conſecrate a cathedral which he himſelf had built. On the ſame pretence he ſent to Anselm to forbid the conſecration of the elected biſhop of Lincoln: and the king hoping to get ſomething by it, ran eagerly into the controverſy, and eſpouſed the pretenſions of the archbiſhop of York; which put off the conſecration of the cathedral and of the biſhop. The truth of the matter is, the vices and prodigality of this prince were ſuch, as that they could not be ſupported by the common methods of law and juſtice; and he was always under a neceſſity of inventing new ways and means of raiſing money. Tho he ſeemed willing therefore to fill the ſees of Canterbury and Lincoln, when the fears of dying had got poſſeſſion of him, and he thought that he ſhould get no more from them, yet all thoſe fears being over, and his neceſſities for money preſſing him hard, he reſolved to bring the biſhops to a reckoning, and to begin with the biſhop of Lincoln. With this view he undertook to compromiſe the diſpute between him and the archbiſhop of York; and having obliged the former to pay him two thouſand pounds, the matter was ſoon brought to an iſſue. This money doubtleſs was the motive for his engaging in the diſpute, and the money certainly put an end to it; but in drawing up this compromiſe the king was artful enough to hide the ſprings by which he had moved, and to leave only the bright ſide of his conduct open to poſterity. In an inſtrument therefore atteſted by himſelf, and the two archbiſhops, and three others, he ſets forth, that being moved by the example of the eternal charity, out of compaſſion to the divided Engliſh church, and to quiet the pretenſions of the archbiſhop of York, he had given him and his ſucceſſors the church of St. Peter's in York, an abbey in Soleby, and the church of St. Oſwald in Glouceſter, to be enjoyed by them for ever. Here the reader will obſerve, that we have the baſe actions of a king ſo artfully covered, that if all our hiſtorians were not unanimous, and the matter of fact was not anſwerable to this prince's character, one would be apt to think that he was not guilty, and that the writers of his ſtory had done him wrong.

As

As the biſhop of Lincoln's money had thus reconciled him to the king, and procured his conſecration, ſo the zeal and ſtiffneſs of ANSELM rather encreaſed than ſoftened his diſpleaſure. The king was determined about this time, on attacking his brother in his own dominions; and being in diſtreſs as uſual to raiſe the money for the expedition, the archbiſhop would have made him a preſent of five hundred pounds. But this being much below the expectations which the king had raiſed, and his courtiers had thought reaſonable, the preſent was not accepted. The archbiſhop being ſurprized at this temper of the court, went to the king and entreated him to receive his money; expoſtulating with him on the unreaſonableneſs of expecting more. He told him that if he was allowed the privilege of his ſtation, his perſon and all that belonged to him would be at his majeſty's ſervice: but if he was treated like a ſlave, he ſhould be obliged to ſtand off and keep his fortune to himſelf. This declaration, it is not improbable, was a little too frank and lively, eſpecially as the king expected a thouſand pounds: he therefore bid the primate, take his money, and be gone. The archbiſhop not being in a condition to part with more, or not being inclined to do ſo at that time, after a ſecond offer left the king and gave the money away to the poor The year after this, the king being about to depart for Normandy, the archbiſhop waited upon him; and laying before him the general diſſolution of manners and the diſorders of the times, deſired leave that he might convene a national ſynod, which had been intermitted for many years to the great diſadvantage of the church. He moved alſo that the monaſteries might be provided with abbots, and the revenues ſpent upon the religious, and not applied to ſecular and foreign uſes; ſuggeſting that tho his majeſty was the patron of the abbies, yet his prerogative did not make him their proprietor. The king was exaſperated at this diſcourſe, and told him that he would call a council when he himſelf thought fit; but that his predeceſſor durſt not take theſe freedoms with the king his father. The archbiſhop being willing to put himſelf in a condition to act with advantage in his ſtation, and perceiving that if the king's diſpleaſure was not removed, he was not likely to do any good, deſired the biſhops and the nobility to reconcile him to the king. They told him, that as they knew his temper and neceſſities, there was no other way to bring it about, but by his making a preſent of five hundred pounds, and a promiſe of as much more, as ſoon as he could raiſe it among his tenants. But ANSELM pretended that his tenants had been ſo harraſſed ſince the death of his predeceſſor, that he could not diſtreſs them further, and the money which he had offered the year before he had given away to the poor; that he owed allegiance to the king and ſhould be tender of his honour, which he could not be if he brought an ill report upon his juſtice, by offering to buy his friendſhip with a little money.

Upon this he withdrew from court, and the king ſailed to Normandy, which put an end to the diſpute: but he no ſooner returned than it was again renewed, laſted a great while, and drew conſequences after it of no ſmall importance. The whole of this quarrel, the reader will eaſily believe, could not ariſe from the want of temper and addreſs, tho there was ſomething of this on both ſides; nor from the primate's refuſing the king a thouſand pounds, tho this was an article in the diſpute: we muſt therefore look a little further for the true grounds of this difference between the king and Anselm.

The church of Rome at this time was embroiled in factions; where Clement and Urban were ſtrugling for the chair, and with equal inveteracy denouncing ſchiſm againſt each other. The cenſures of the church were uſed by each of them to the advantage of his own ſide of the queſtion; both agreeing in that only of which both ſhould have been aſhamed. Whilſt the primate was abbot of Bec he had acknowledged the title of pope Urban, advanced by the court of Rome, and the Hildebrandine faction; but the king and the Engliſh church were yet in ſuſpence, deliberating where to fix their choice to the moſt advantage, and without any great diſpoſition to acknowlege either. But whilſt William and his ſubjects moved thus ſlowly, the zeal of Anselm was fierce and rapid, and incapable of any delay. The king was therefore no ſooner returned from Normandy, than the archbiſhop applied for leave to go to Rome for his pall from the hands of Urban. The king being out of humour with him before, was much diſguſted at his pretending to decide the popedom for the church of England: He told Anselm that he had not acknowledged Urban to be pope; that it was a law of his father's which he would adhere to, not to ſuffer his ſubjects to declare any perſon to be pope without his approbation; and that if any one did preſume to invade this part of his prerogative, he ſhould look upon it as an attempt againſt his crown. But this argument had no force with Anselm. He pretended that the king had no right to judge in eccleſiaſtical affairs; but both the king and the Engliſh nation had certainly as much right to judge for themſelves as the archbiſhop had to judge for them. For in the conſequence of that act of taking the pall from Urban, he determined the choice of the whole church of England, and put it in the power of his ſucceſſors in all following caſes to deprive the Engliſh nation of this power. The conduct of this prelate has however been magnified by ſome, as the higheſt inſtance of fortitude and generous zeal: and this opinion it is to be ſuppoſed, ſo poſſeſſed that archbiſhop himſelf, that in his anſwer to the king he told him, "whilſt he had been "abbot of Bec he had owned Urban as pope, nor would he any way "depart from the obedience which he owed him; and if that obedience "was inconſiſtent with what he owed his majeſty, he would rather "leave

" leave England than for an hour deny his obedience to St. PETER " and his vicar." He desired therefore that it might be referred to the great council of the kingdom. Surprizing, and unheard of as this doctrine was before in England, and as exceedingly as the king was provoked at it, yet he gratified the archbishop in his request, hoping no doubt to get rid of him by that means; and called his great council together at Rockingham in the year one thousand ninety-five. Here ANSELM opened his cause; and according to the practice of mistaken zealots, made it wholly the cause of GOD. He was willing he said to give to CÆSAR the things which were CÆSAR's, but he must likewise observe the other part of the precept, and give to GOD the things which were GOD's. But how did this prove that CLEMENT was not to be owned as pope, or that there was any necessity of owning URBAN, and obeying him contrary to the law of England of which he was now a subject? In truth it proved nothing, but that the bigotry and heat of ANSELM had left no room for wisdom and sober thoughts. The issue of this assembly was such as might be expected; the nobility and the bishops, the bishop of ROCHESTER excepted, remained steady on the side of the king and the laws; and with one consent advised the primate to submit to the king and ask his pardon. They were so far from being sensible of the weight of his grace's arguments, that they acted like men under convictions of another nature: some of the bishops of his province withdrew their obedience, and renounced him for their metropolitan; but in what related to URBAN, they with one consent disowned him. The king pressed hard to carry the matter further, to bring him to his trial, and to depose him in the council. But this they declared they could not do; because according to the principles of that age, the archbishop of CANTERBURY could be tried by nobody but the pope, or his delegation. This put the king to a stand, and prevented the prosecution of his resentment further.

The archbishop remained as men usually do who are resolved before hand not to part with their opinions; and his whole conduct had such an air of superciliousness and contempt, as shew how extremely difficult it is to convince men of an error, or to keep their passions within the bounds of decency, when the error falls in with a natural haughtiness, and a spiritual pride, which are enflamed with the conceit of superior holiness and merit. The design of the court of Rome to humble princes was now no longer a secret; and the zeal of ANSELM for pope URBAN who was at the head of it, made it evident that his grace's affections were engaged in that design, tho unjust in itself, and prejudicial to the rights of all christian princes. The king of England, who had seen the mischiefs which the intrigues of the court of Rome had brought on the emperor, could not therefore be very easy at the apprehensions of ANSELM's journey thither; and so was not only resolved to keep him at

home, but if poſſible to rid his hands of ſuch a dangerous enemy, and to engage the ſee of Rome to aſſiſt in his deprivation. To this purpoſe he ſent two of his own chaplains thither privately to obtain a pall for a new archbiſhop, and to promiſe that in caſe they would gratify him in this buſineſs, the church of England ſhould acknowlege the right of Urban to the papacy. This acknowledgment was a thing of ſuch conſequence at the court of Rome, and ſo paſſionately deſired, that the king's embaſſadors were aſſured their maſter ſhould be gratified, and a pall as he had requeſted ſhould be ſent for him to diſpoſe at pleaſure. In conſequence of this agreement, a legate was ſent into England with a pall; who acted in ſuch a manner upon his arrival, as might well deceive the king into a belief, that the ſee of Rome was ſincere in the promiſes which he had received by his own embaſſadors. He paſſed through Canterbury without ſeeing Anselm; and to make the king conclude that the pope would aſſiſt in his deprivation, he dropped not one word in his favour, made no offer to take up the difference then on foot, or to remove the hardſhips from the archbiſhop and to ſettle him in his ſtation. The legate's ſilence on this point was not more ſurprizing to many people than it was agreeable to the king, who concluded he had a full commiſſion to come up to his purpoſe; eſpecially as he had aſſured his majeſty, that the privileges he claimed ſhould be confirmed to him for his life, if he would cauſe Urban to be acknowledged pope. The king, who had not the foreſight of his father, and who was yet a ſtranger to the artifices of the Roman court, ſuſpecting no deceit, tranſported with his own dextrous management, and thinking it natural that an acknowledgment of the pope in his dominions ſhould precede ſuch an act of his power as depoſing the metropolitan, without any ſecurity from the legate or poſſeſſing himſelf of the pall, cauſed Urban to be publicly owned as pope. When this was done he applied himſelf to the legate to perform his part in Anselm's deprivation; promiſing a great preſent to himſelf, and an annual penſion to the ſee of Rome, if he would undertake it. But nothing was further from their deſign; and the king was ſoon ſenſible, that the ſincerity of the legate was all of a piece with that of the court which ſent him. In ſhort he found himſelf over-reached; and that he had gained nothing by owning Urban, but the mortification of continuing Anselm in his ſtation, and that the pall which was intended another way ſhould be beſtowed upon him. It was too late to go back; and therefore to put the beſt face on the matter and to prevent his honour from being inſulted, he turned his addreſs another way, and attempted to oblige the prelate whom he knew not how to humble. To this purpoſe he was permitted to wait on the king at Windſor, who received him graciouſly; and ſome of the biſhops adviſed him to pay his majeſty the reſpect of taking the pall at his hands which would probably diſpoſe him to forget what was paſt;

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Whilſt theſe things were doing in England the court of Rome made ſome new amazing advances in their deſign of humbling princes, by decreeing in a council held at Clermont, that no eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhould receive any dignity at the hands of laymen, nor promiſe fidelity to kings or princes. Whether this conduct of the pope explained the zeal of ANSELM, and gave new offence to the king, we cannot tell; but he was never eaſy under the reconciliation into which the legate's artifices had drawn him: he was ſenſible that he had been the dupe of the court of Rome in the whole conduct of that affair; and therefore upon his return from an expedition againſt Wales in the latter end of the year, he took occaſion to reproach the primate with the ſmall number and ill appointment of the men whom he had ſent him; and commanded that he ſhould be forth coming when he ſhould be called to his court to anſwer it. Inſtead of ſoftening the king, or endeavouring to ſet himſelf right with him, the archbiſhop added oil to the flame; and coming ſoon after to his majeſty acquainted him that he had great buſineſs at Rome, and deſired his leave to take a journey thither. The tranſactions of that court had by this time ſo awakened the jealouſy of the king, that ſo far from granting the archbiſhop's requeſt, his requeſt redoubled the king's diſpleaſure. Things however continued quiet till the calling the great council in Auguſt following; when ANSELM again renewed his application, and was again refuſed. But his former ſucceſs and victory over the king had given him ſuch warmth and confidence, that the denials he received ſerved only to give a greater force to his importunity: his deſires at firſt had ſome degree of modeſty and good manners, but they were now bold and inſolent; with a turn much better ſuited to the menaces and inſults of a foreign prince, than to the applications of a ſubject and a churchman. At the next meeting of the great council in October following, the requeſt was again renewed; or to ſpeak with more propriety, the king was again inſulted and told by

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the archbiſhop, that he had no authority to deny him, and that the law was ſinful in itſelf which deprived him of the liberty of going to Rome. The pretence of this journey was the good of his ſoul, and the intereſt of chriſtianity: and when ſome of the great men at court reminded him of the oath he had taken at his reconciliation with the king, to obſerve the laws and cuſtoms of England, which forbad any man to leave the kingdom without the king's conſent, he told them, "it was true, that he had promiſed to obſerve the laws of England, "but that he meant ſuch as were conſiſtent with juſtice and the laws "of God: but for that law which forbids me to go to Rome for the "good of my ſoul, and for the intereſt of the church committed to "me, it is contrary to juſtice, and ought to be deſpiſed by every ſer-"vant of God." However in caſe he could not have leave from the king to go to Rome, he told them very plainly that he would go without it.

The archbiſhop being thus determined, and the king ſeeing no other way to preſerve his authority, commanded him to leave England in eleven days, but to take nothing away with him which was the property of the crown. Anselm, piqued at this order, ſaid that the king might poſſibly call his houſhold goods and apparel the property of the crown; but that rather than be deprived of the liberty of going to Rome he would go naked and on foot. Accordingly leaving the court, he put himſelf on his journey, and taking Canterbury in his way he received the habit of a pilgrim from the altar of his cathedral; and with the wildeſt and moſt obſtinate bigotry that ever poſſeſſed the head of man, ſet ſail for Flanders. Theſe, the reader will obſerve, were the firſt inſults of the kind that ever a king of England received from a churchman that was his ſubject; tho it was not the firſt time, I believe, that conſcience was pretended as an excuſe for ſuch a notorious infraction of the public laws. When Lanfrank his predeceſſor was invited to Rome, and then ſummoned once and again with many threats if he refuſed, he thought it his duty to obey the law, and knew of no obligation from God or religion to make a viſit there in violation of it. But Anselm, it is plain, had neither the head nor the heart of his predeceſſor. The laws which had been made the meaſures of conſcience in this particular, loſt all their authority under Anselm and changed their nature. However if this madneſs and infatuation had ended here, one would in charity have placed it to the account of human frailty; and the good qualities of this prelate ſhould have attoned with me for this wild unaccountable bigotry. But theſe alas were only the beginnings of ſorrow; and the firſt exertion of thoſe principles which in a few years created a great deal of miſchief and confuſion over the whole chriſtian world. The archbiſhop having quitted England in this manner, the king immediately ſeized upon the temporalities of his dioceſe without any

any diſturbance. But that which ANSELM contended for at home, and which in truth was nothing leſs than to be above the authority of the king and the law, began by this time to be called abroad, a branch of the rights and liberties of the church: and to give the reader a juſt idea of the nature and importance of thoſe diſputes, which gave ſo much trouble to the king and the Engliſh church, it will be neceſſary that I ſhould follow ANSELM to the court of Rome, and obſerve his whole conduct there. When he was arrived as far as Lyons, he halted; and ſent a meſſenger with a letter to pope URBAN, as well to repreſent the hardſhips which were put upon him, as to magnify his fortitude and his ſufferings under them: not omitting, we may be ſure, to let his holineſs know, that his zeal for the papacy was the only reaſon of his exile. The meſſenger being returned with a favourable anſwer to the archbiſhop, he continued his journey; and arriving at Rome was received by pope URBAN with all the marks of confidence and honour. In a public ſpeech which his holineſs made upon that occaſion, the Engliſh primate was complimented with the title of apoſtle and patriarch of another world: his learning, his faith, and his humility, and what weighed more at Rome than all the great cardinal virtues, his ſteady and immoveable zeal for the holy ſee, were ſet out with all the advantages which the authority and eloquence of ſo great an orator could give them. Nor was it a mere title of apoſtle or patriarch which he was cajolled with. For he was not only received and entertained in the palace of the Lateran, but at URBAN's command, he took upon him the ſtate and grandeur of a pope as well as the title; and notwithſtanding the encomium on his great humility, he was actually paid the honors which the pope only pretended to, and permitted the Engliſh to kiſs his feet. In ſhort, as tho no returns were great enough to a ſufferer for the holy ſee, the pope diſpatched his agents with letters to England, perſuading and commanding the king to reſtore ANSELM, and even threatening his majeſty, if he diſobeyed, that he ſhould know what it was to provoke the holy chair. However, the fire of this reſentment had little or no effect in England. WILLIAM refuſed abſolutely to receive the letters of ANSELM, and was brought not without difficulty to receive thoſe of URBAN. As ſoon as he underſtood that the meſſenger who brought them was the archbiſhop's ſervant, he ſwore by St. LUKE's face, which was his uſual oath, that unleſs he immediately left the kingdom, his embaſſy ſhould not ſcreen him, but he would cauſe his eyes to be plucked out: and when he ſent an anſwer by a meſſenger of his own, he did not attempt to ſoften or excuſe his conduct to the archbiſhop, but juſtified and avouched it. The king's reſentment operated at Rome, as URBAN's had done in England. Before the concluſion of the year, the pope called a council, in which this affair was taken into conſideration; and where the learning, merit and holineſs of ANSELM were again the ſubject of URBAN's eloquence. The

reader will ſcarcely wonder to find the Engliſh primate had a place and vote in this aſſembly; but he may wonder perhaps to hear, that with Anselm's concurrence the king of England was in this council declared worthy of excommunication. It is ſaid indeed in the archbiſhop's favour, that tho he concurred with the judgment of the council, yet he deſired that the ſentence might not be pronounced againſt the king: but yet on the other hand, the ſhare he had in this determination, and the friendſhip he entered into with the Hildebrandine faction, were grounds enough to juſtify the king who had law and juſtice and immemorial cuſtom on his ſide, in endeavouring to keep a ſubject at home, whoſe buſineſs abroad was to conſpire againſt him. But as it was again decreed in this council, that all laymen who ſhould preſume to give inveſtitures, and all eccleſiaſticks who ſhould receive them, or conſecrate ſuch as did, were excommunicated, ſo this will uncover the ſprings by which this controverſy was ſet into motion, and make it plain that it was not the journey of Anselm, nor the king's endeavouring to prevent it, which were the great and real reaſons of this diſpute.

To whatever length the council at Rome might think fit to carry this affair of forbidding princes to give inveſtitures and govern the clergy, the world had not yet learnt to dread the thunders of the papacy; at leaſt they had not yet had any effect in England. The king himſelf was immoveable upon this head; and the biſhops, from whom Anselm expected ſome aſſiſtance, who had unanimouſly adviſed him to ſubmit to the king, and renounce the ſee of Rome, before he took his journey, were ſteady in their duty to their ſovereign and their country; notwithſtanding the decrees and the menaces of this council. England therefore ſtill continued in its old way; the king in giving, and the clergy in receiving inveſtitures at his hands: and tho Anselm, it is plain, was not wanting in zeal for the party which he had engaged in, yet he had ſo little hopes of prevailing againſt the laws of the ſtate, and the ſettled judgment of the Engliſh church, that he deſired to quit his biſhopric and retire into a monaſtery. The court of Rome however would not conſent that the fire ſhould be extinguiſhed by his retirement. They drew a great many advantages from his learning and virtue; and the pope forbad him to reſign his ſee. In the mean time, the king being poſſeſſed of the revenues of the archbiſhopric, was little ſolicitous about the title: and it being then a part of the law of England known to every one, that the biſhop of Rome had nothing to do here but when the king thought fit to permit it, every thing remained quiet till a new turn in the affairs of ſtate revived this unhappy controverſy in the church: and this turn was occaſioned by the death of the king. On the ſecond of Auguſt in the laſt year of this century, as the king was hunting in the new foreſt in Hampſhire made by his father, and which to this day retains that name, he ſtruck a deer with an arrow;

arrow; and ſtaying his horſe to look after it, another deer croſſed upon him, at which Sir W. TYRREL ſhooting too careleſsly, or looking too ſteadily at the king, hit him full in the breaſt, and pierced thro his heart; which killed him without his ſpeaking a word.

Thus fell WILLIAM RUFUS in the forty fourth year of his age, and the thirteenth year of his reign: and falling thus in the very place where one of his brothers and a nephew came to an untimely end, it gave occaſion for many reflections. It was publicly talked of at that time, as a judgment of GOD on the family of the conqueror, for laying waſte the churches and the country in ſo prodigious a manner as he did in order to make a foreſt. But there was no need to have recourſe to the father's faults to take off their wonder at the ſon's uncommon death. WILLIAM the ſecond had faults enow of his own; and hiſtorians agree to rank him in the number of thoſe princes who add but little luſtre to the throne of England. They report him to have had all the vices of his father without his virtues; that he had neither honour nor conſcience, religion nor faith; and that he took a pride in appearing to be a libertine. The reader perhaps will ſuſpect that the colouring of this picture is too ſtrong, when he knows that it is drawn by monks or eccleſiaſticks, whom the king had offended by ſeizing upon the revenues of the church. In order to judge impartially, it may be neceſſary to obſerve, that tho the hiſtorians produce no inſtances of prophaneneſs which they charge him with upon common fame, yet in the life of this prince we meet with no actions which ſhew him to have any ſenſe of religion, or to be a man of a good heart: and in all the characters which I have given in this work, I give them from the facts we meet with relating to them, and not from what is ſaid by any other hiſtorians. Thus tho all the writers of the reign of this prince agree unanimouſly in ſaying a great deal of ill of him when they attempt his character, yet if I could poſſibly find any anecdotes in his favour to ſet againſt it, and which would contradict their teſtimony, I would vindicate him from their aſperſions. But WILLIAM RUFUS is not to be vindicated, who was a profligate man, and an oppreſſive arbitrary prince.

By the treaty of peace that had been concluded between him and his elder brother ROBERT, it was agreed that after the death of one, the other ſhould be heir to all their father's inheritance. But ROBERT not being returned from his expedition to the holy land at WILLIAM's death, HENRY his younger brother, and fourth ſon to the conqueror, taking the advantage of his brother's abſence, poſſeſſed himſelf of the crown of England. HENRY was a prince of great wiſdom and conduct, improved by an education in learning and the ſciences; but he had great difficulties to encounter. He remembered how lately, and by what methods,

methods, his father had obtained the crown; that beſides the agreement between his brothers which I have mentioned, Robert had a title as eldeſt ſon; and he knew how ſore the minds of the people were under the ill government of his brother William, and the harſhneſs of the Norman laws. His brother Robert who had been offered the title of king of Jeruſalem, and who had acquired honour, and an intereſt in the court of Rome, by engaging in the holy war, was now on his way home, and would doubtleſs diſpute his title to the crown; and therefore it imported him to provide againſt ſuch near and formidable dangers. He had the advantage of being born in England after his father was on the throne, which went a great way with many people; and others were prejudiced againſt his brother for his ſloth and negligence. This was a juncture however which required all the precaution and addreſs of Henry; and accordingly he turned his thoughts every way to ſecure his intereſt. He began by declaring an abhorrence of his brother's government, and made a poſitive promiſe to the Normans and the Engliſh, that all the rigorous laws made ſince the conqueſt ſhould be aboliſhed; that the government ſhould be put upon the ſame foot it was at the time of the Saxon kings; that all unjuſt and arbitrary taxes ſhould be ſet aſide; the clergy ſhould be reinſtated in their privileges; the vacancies in the church ſhould be filled up; and that all the eccleſiaſticks who were in exile ſhould be recalled. But all theſe promiſes would not perhaps have had the effect he expected, if his diligence and vigour had not given them weight. Immediately after the death of William he poſted away to Wincheſter, where the crown and ſceptre were kept with the royal treaſure; and where ſeveral lords were aſſembled together to make Robert king. But Henry did not allow them time to take the neceſſary meaſures; and perceiving by their acclamations that the people were on his ſide, he drew his ſword, and ſwore that no man ſhould lay hold on the crown. The lords being unwilling to commence a civil war, conſented to place him on the throne; and without ſtaying for the confirmation of the ſtates of the kingdom, thinking his authority was ſufficiently eſtabliſhed by this agreement, he ſet out for London; and the next day was crowned by the biſhop, after taking the uſual oath. Upon ſuch an haſty and irregular election to the crown as this, it was highly neceſſary that Henry ſhould begin his reign, in a manner that would give his ſubjects room to hope well of his government. In the firſt place therefore he ſat about reforming his court, where many abuſes had been permitted; and Ranulphus biſhop of Durham, the deteſted miniſter of his brother, was ſeiſed and ſent to the tower. He then granted a charter to all his ſubjects, in which he confirmed many privileges they had enjoyed under the Saxon kings, and renounced the unjuſt prerogatives which the two late kings had uſurped. The church was by this charter reſtored to her ancient liberties, and ſet free from thoſe oppreſſions it had for ſome time paſt been ſubject to; particularly during

during the vacant ſees and abbies. This charter having been approved and ſigned by the lords ſpiritual and temporal, ſeveral copies were tranſcribed and laid up in the principal monaſteries to be conſulted upon occaſion. But there was one thing ſtill wanting to complete his ſafety, and perhaps it may be added, the ſatisfaction of his people; and this was recalling ANSELM. That HENRY might break the intereſt of his brother in the court of Rome, or ſtem the danger which the intrigues of that court might draw upon him, he wrote a letter to the archbiſhop to invite him to return to his dioceſe; giving him to underſtand at the ſame time, that he would be guided by his directions, and would entruſt him with the adminiſtration of church affairs. ANSELM, elated with an opinion of his cauſe and ſufferings, returned with the ſpirit of the court in which he had lived; and juſtified his paſt conduct by new acceſſions of bigotry. He was in ſuch haſte to avow publicly the dangerous opinions he had concealed, and to ſet the church and nation into a flame, that the firſt time he waited on the king he gave him a view of all thoſe troubles which he afterwards created.

The new doctrines broached by HILDEBRAND, or to give it the name it well deſerved, and which was even beſtowed upon it then by ſome at Rome, the Hildebrandine hereſy, ſo exactly anſwered the temper of this ambitious prelate, and in every particular ſo contradicted the natural rights of princes, that in every ſtep they thwarted one another. Thus the firſt meeting of the king and the archbiſhop ſhewed itſelf. The king not only having been crowned, but alſo having received the homage of his biſhops and nobility, the courtiers called upon the archbiſhop to do his homage: but ANSELM anſwered without any heſitation, "that he neither could, nor would; for that he was "forbid to do ſo by the council of Rome:" and with an haughty air, and becoming the new notions of eccleſiaſtic liberty, added further, "that if the king would receive and obſerve the decrees of that "council, they might live in friendſhip together; but if not, that "he could not in honour ſtay in England, eſpecially if his majeſty "ſhould continue to confer ſees and abbies; for then he ſhould be "under a neceſſity of refuſing communion with the king, and all "thoſe who ſhould receive them from him." It is hard to ſay by what arts the court of Rome charmed ANSELM into a zeal ſo fatal to the rights of princes; when the deſign of breaking in upon his own rights as primate, by introducing a legatine power, went hand in hand with it, and lay ſo open to his view, that it was almoſt impoſſible he ſhould overlook it. Overlook it however, or diſbelieve it, he certainly did: but no ſooner was he returned, and thus laying himſelf out in England for the intereſt of the popedom, than PASCHAL, ſucceſſor to URBAN, took the opportunity of the king's embaraſſment and the pri-

mate's zeal, to attempt at the reception of his legates: and accordingly the ſame year in which Anselm returned from exile, the pope ſent Guido archbiſhop of Vienne with the character of legate into England. The imagination of the archbiſhop was at this juncture heated with the fancied merit of his ſufferings and his ſervices for the ſee of Rome: and it muſt therefore be the higheſt mortification to his ambitious ſpirit, to ſee an attempt to humble him in the midſt of all his glory, and by the ſame authority too which he had advanced with all his zeal. Eadmerus therefore his ſecretary, who wrote his life, and who no doubt ſpoke his ſenſe of this affair, cried out againſt the legatine power as a new and unheard of uſurpation. It is very true that it had never been heard of before in England, but when it was called in by Offa to divide the province of Canterbury, or by William the conqueror to colour the depoſition of Stigand. It was not therefore without reaſon, that he took umbrage at an authority, which could never make a figure in England, but from the ſpoils of that power, which as primate and metropolitan, he was particularly bound to defend. The king and his great council were ſo ſenſible of the danger of breaking the ancient diſcipline of the church, and of letting in a foreign power to controul it, that they came heartily into the wiſhes of Anselm in this particular, and forced the legate to retire without permitting him to execute his commiſſion, or without ſo much as owning his character. The deſign upon the crown and the Engliſh church, or to ſpeak more properly, upon all the Weſtern princes and churches, had the ſame beginning, and the ſame progreſs; and were formed and conducted by the ſame men. Therefore all the noiſe and outcry about the liberties of the church and clergy, aimed at nothing elſe but to deceive the clergy into the deſign; that they might themſelves become an eaſier prey, and having ſeparated from their princes, migh fall inevitably and unpitied into ſervitude. But tho this lay ſo open, that if God had not given men up to a ſpirit of blindneſs, it was impoſſible they ſhould overlook it, yet Anselm did not ſee the folly and the miſchief of the deſigns he was carrying on. Therefore leaving this matter of the legatine power till it meets us again as we go further on, I ſhall return to obſerve his conduct after the retirement of the legate.

I ſhall not trouble the reader with the original right of princes to inveſt their biſhops and clergy with their temporalities: nor with a repetition of thoſe ſteps which were taken by Gregory the ſeventh to make ſuch inveſtiture the right of the ſee of Rome. He was the firſt pope who aſſerted this right, as we have ſeen; and for ſeveral ages the kings of England had enjoyed it as the inherent property of the crown. We muſt therefore look ſomewhere elſe for the reaſons, why it was called idolatry and ſimony for a prince to give, and a biſhop to receive poſſeſſion of his temporalities from him; into the deſire of this pope for

for the empire of the world, and to ſubject all the princes to his pontifical chair. Archbiſhop ANSELM having refuſed, as I have ſaid, to do his homage to the king, and having threatened that if his majeſty diſobeyed the canons which prohibited lay inveſtiture, he would not conſecrate the biſhops whom the king inveſted, nor hold communion with them, had an opportunity at this time to put his reſolution into practiſe. The ſees of Wincheſter and Saliſbury, and twelve abbies being vacant, the king with the advice of his council, would have filled them up; but in ſuch manner as his predeceſſors had always done, by giving inveſtiture to the perſons for whom he intended thoſe promotions. The biſhops and nobility were all on the ſide of the king; and they aſſerted the ancient rights of the crown of England with ſo much warmth and reſolution, that they plainly told the primate, "they "would drive him back again, and leave the communion of the church "of Rome, rather than ſuffer the laws of England to be violated by "papal canons." This, let the reader obſerve, was the language of the great council of England; a way of ſpeaking which will force one to believe, either that the people were not then acquainted with the neceſſity of living in communion with the church of Rome, or that the religion and the laws of England were at variance with one another; and that our anceſtors were contented to maintain their laws at the price of their ſalvation. On the other hand the primate oppoſed to this language the decrees of URBAN; and again declared that he would not conſecrate the biſhops whom the king inveſted. HENRY had too good an underſtanding not to find, that to part with his right of inveſtiture was in effect to give away a great branch of his ſupremacy, as well as the patronage of the church; and would diſcharge the body of the clergy from their duty to him as their prince: but he judged truly of the conſequence of this affair, and was extremely perplexed and uneaſy with it. Whether he yielded, or refuſed, his danger was ſo equal, that it was difficult to come to a reſolution. To yield was not only to betray the rights of the crown, but to provoke his friends who had adhered to him and to the laws: and yet if he did not yield, the archbiſhop and all the intereſt of the papacy, he ſaw, would turn to his brother ROBERT, who had already a great party in England, and was then preparing to invade it. But the ſame reaſons which diſabled the king from coming to a reſolution in this perplexed affair, inclined the archbiſhop to preſs it on the faſter; well knowing that if HENRY could once get out of his preſent difficulties, it would be no eaſy matter to bring him to a condeſcenſion ſo injurious to the rights and honour of the crown of England. The king however to gain time in hopes that ſome lucky accident or other might come to his aid, agreed that the matter ſhould be reſpited till the Eaſter following; and that in the mean while ſome meſſengers ſhould be ſent to Rome upon this ſubject. The archbiſhop, without doubt, ſaw into the bottom of this reſolution, and well knew what would be the iſſue

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mate's zeal, to attempt at the reception of his legates: and accordingly the ſame year in which Anselm returned from exile, the pope ſent Guido archbiſhop of Vienne with the character of legate into England. The imagination of the archbiſhop was at this juncture heated with the fancied merit of his ſufferings and his ſervices for the ſee of Rome: and it muſt therefore be the higheſt mortification to his ambitious ſpirit, to ſee an attempt to humble him in the midſt of all his glory, and by the ſame authority too which he had advanced with all his zeal. Eadmerus therefore his ſecretary, who wrote his life, and who no doubt ſpoke his ſenſe of this affair, cried out againſt the legatine power as a new and unheard of uſurpation. It is very true that it had never been heard of before in England, but when it was called in by Offa to divide the province of Canterbury, or by William the conqueror to colour the depoſition of Stigand. It was not therefore without reaſon, that he took umbrage at an authority, which could never make a figure in England, but from the ſpoils of that power, which as primate and metropolitan, he was particularly bound to defend. The king and his great council were ſo ſenſible of the danger of breaking the ancient diſcipline of the church, and of letting in a foreign power to controul it, that they came heartily into the wiſhes of Anselm in this particular, and forced the legate to retire without permitting him to execute his commiſſion, or without ſo much as owning his character. The deſign upon the crown and the Engliſh church, or to ſpeak more properly, upon all the Weſtern princes and churches, had the ſame beginning, and the ſame progreſs; and were formed and conducted by the ſame men. Therefore all the noiſe and outcry about the liberties of the church and clergy, aimed at nothing elſe but to deceive the clergy into the deſign; that they might themſelves become an eaſier prey, and having ſeparated from their princes, migh fall inevitably and unpitied into ſervitude. But tho this lay ſo open, that if God had not given men up to a ſpirit of blindneſs, it was impoſſible they ſhould overlook it, yet Anselm did not ſee the folly and the miſchief of the deſigns he was carrying on. Therefore leaving this matter of the legatine power till it meets us again as we go further on, I ſhall return to obſerve his conduct after the retirement of the legate.

I ſhall not trouble the reader with the original right of princes to inveſt their biſhops and clergy with their temporalities: nor with a repetition of thoſe ſteps which were taken by Gregory the ſeventh to make ſuch inveſtiture the right of the ſee of Rome. He was the firſt pope who aſſerted this right, as we have ſeen; and for ſeveral ages the kings of England had enjoyed it as the inherent property of the crown. We muſt therefore look ſomewhere elſe for the reaſons, why it was called idolatry and ſimony for a prince to give, and a biſhop to receive poſſeſſion of his temporalities from him; into the deſire of this pope for

for the empire of the world, and to ſubject all the princes to his pontifical chair. Archbiſhop ANSELM having refuſed, as I have ſaid, to do his homage to the king, and having threatened that if his majeſty diſobeyed the canons which prohibited lay inveſtiture, he would not conſecrate the biſhops whom the king inveſted, nor hold communion with them, had an opportunity at this time to put his reſolution into practiſe. The ſees of Wincheſter and Saliſbury, and twelve abbies being vacant, the king with the advice of his council, would have filled them up; but in ſuch manner as his predeceſſors had always done, by giving inveſtiture to the perſons for whom he intended thoſe promotions. The biſhops and nobility were all on the ſide of the king; and they aſſerted the ancient rights of the crown of England with ſo much warmth and reſolution, that they plainly told the primate, "they "would drive him back again, and leave the communion of the church "of Rome, rather than ſuffer the laws of England to be violated by "papal canons." This, let the reader obſerve, was the language of the great council of England; a way of ſpeaking which will force one to believe, either that the people were not then acquainted with the neceſſity of living in communion with the church of Rome, or that the religion and the laws of England were at variance with one another; and that our anceſtors were contented to maintain their laws at the price of their ſalvation. On the other hand the primate oppoſed to this language the decrees of URBAN; and again declared that he would not conſecrate the biſhops whom the king inveſted. HENRY had too good an underſtanding not to find, that to part with his right of inveſtiture was in effect to give away a great branch of his ſupremacy, as well as the patronage of the church; and would diſcharge the body of the clergy from their duty to him as their prince: but he judged truly of the conſequence of this affair, and was extremely perplexed and uneaſy with it. Whether he yielded, or refuſed, his danger was ſo equal, that it was difficult to come to a reſolution. To yield was not only to betray the rights of the crown, but to provoke his friends who had adhered to him and to the laws: and yet if he did not yield, the archbiſhop and all the intereſt of the papacy, he ſaw, would turn to his brother ROBERT, who had already a great party in England, and was then preparing to invade it. But the ſame reaſons which diſabled the king from coming to a reſolution in this perplexed affair, inclined the archbiſhop to preſs it on the faſter; well knowing that if HENRY could once get out of his preſent difficulties, it would be no eaſy matter to bring him to a condeſcenſion ſo injurious to the rights and honour of the crown of England. The king however to gain time in hopes that ſome lucky accident or other might come to his aid, agreed that the matter ſhould be reſpited till the Eaſter following; and that in the mean while ſome meſſengers ſhould be ſent to Rome upon this ſubject. The archbiſhop, without doubt, ſaw into the bottom of this reſolution, and well knew what would be the iſſue

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of it at Rome: he yielded however to this expedient; but Urban dying before the arrival of the envoys, and Paschal ſucceeding, there was ſo much delay occaſioned by this change, that they could not return by the time appointed.

In this interval Robert duke of Normandy landed in England with an army; where many of the nobility went over to him, and many more aſſiſted him privately. This invaſion we may be ſure gave a new embaraſs to the king's affairs, and required all the wiſdom and addreſs he was maſter of. But ſeeing himſelf in ſuch circumſtances, that he muſt either endanger his crown, or part with one of the moſt conſiderable rights belonging to it, he was not long in coming to a reſolution. To prevent the primate and his party from joining with his brother, if it was poſſible, he reſolved to ſacrifice his right to his preſent fears; and immediately promiſed Anselm that he would ſubmit to the canons of Urban, and allow him himſelf to execute all the functions of an archbiſhop. Henry, as we ſhall ſee, was not ſincere in this particular: his promiſes however turned to account, and helped to break the blow which he was afraid of; for they kept Anselm ſteady, and made him very active in his ſervice; and partly by his aſſiduity, and partly by the addreſs and conduct of the king, the two brothers were reconciled, and a peace was made between them. By the time this was finiſhed the envoys returned from Rome with a long letter to the king; in which pope Paschal endeavoured to prove the right of inveſtitures in the papacy, and beſtowed many hard words on the pretences of the crown. But his reaſoning and eloquence were alike ſucceſsful; the king's affairs being ſettled to his ſatisfaction, he was no longer in fear of the power of Anselm, or the ſee of Rome; and therefore ſending for the archbiſhop, he told him that he expected his homage, and that he would not permit any one to live in his dominions who ſhould refuſe it. This was not only the ſenſe of the king, but of his great council alſo who were then aſſembled; who aſſerted the rights of the crown with ſo much zeal and unanimity, that as well the biſhops as the nobility inſiſted upon it, that the king ought not to yield obedience to the biſhop of Rome. Henry however was not willing to bring things too ſoon to an extremity, ſince Anselm had ſerved him in his diſtreſs: it was therefore again reſolved at a great council held at Wincheſter, to ſend new embaſſadors to Rome; to acquaint his holineſs very plainly, that if he did not drop his pretenſions, they would baniſh Anselm and his adherents out of the kingdom; that they would withdraw the obedience of the whole nation from him; and withold the payments that had hitherto been uſually made to the ſee of Rome. This rough and uncourtly meſſage being thus agreed upon, the king made choice of proper perſons to execute the commiſſion; and theſe were Gerard archbiſhop of York, Robert biſhop of Cheſter, and Herbert biſhop of Thetford. Baldwin a monk of Bec in Normandy, and Alexan-

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DER a monk of Canterbury, were the legates of the archbiſhop. The embaſſadors who were true to the point which had been confided to them, as ſoon as they came to Rome, omitted nothing that they thought likely to bring that court into the king's meaſures: but they had to do with men who had loſt all ſenſe of faith or of integrity, except when truth and juſtice was on the ſide of their own intereſt; and their conduct was anſwerable. For tho they certainly did not intend to gratify HENRY, yet they managed this affair with ſo much art and addreſs, that as well the embaſſadors of the king, as the legates of the archbiſhop, were confident that they ſhould be able to give a good account of their negotiation.

Whilſt this matter was under debate at Rome, the king had ſo managed his affairs in England, that he had ſent his brother well ſatisfied back again into Normandy; and was at liberty to turn his thoughts again to the buſineſs of the church. The embaſſadors being returned with letters to the king, and the archbiſhop from the pope, HENRY ſummoned his great council to meet at London; and required ANSELM to obey the laws and uſages of his predeceſſors, or to quit the kingdom. The archbiſhop required a ſight of the pope's letter to the king, which the king would not comply with; for it was not at all to his mind. His grace then produced his holineſs's letter to himſelf, wherein he commends the primate's fortitude and reſolution, and deſires him to perſiſt in an adherence to the cauſe; aſſuring him that GOD would ſtand by him in the conteſt. When this letter was publicly red, the king's embaſſadors declared, that the anſwer they received from the pope by word of mouth, amounted to a revocation of what was there expreſſed; he having promiſed, if not to confirm, yet at leaſt to connive at the uſage of England in the matter of inveſtitures. On the other hand the archbiſhop's legates proteſted, that the pope gave no orders by word of mouth in contradiction to his letters. In all probability both ſides were in the right: for tho PASCHAL might promiſe the king's embaſſadors, when the other were not preſent, that he would gratify their maſter, yet it was doubtleſs to be kept as a great ſecret, leſt it ſhould prejudice the right of the papacy in other kingdoms; and for this reaſon he might refuſe to give them his reſolutions in writing. But this was all artifice and ſtratagem, deſigned to delude the king. On the other ſide, the envoys of ANSELM were let into the true ſenſe of the court of Rome; and by the letter which they brought from PASCHAL, it was plain that the holy prelate was reſolved not to depart from the meaſures of his predeceſſor. The agents of the king and the archbiſhop diſagreeing thus eſſentially in their report before the council, a diviſion among the great men was a natural conſequence. But however the character and reputations of the king's embaſſadors prevailed ſo far in the end, that almoſt all the biſhops and nobility declared for the

king, and the laws. The archbiſhop himſelf was not without his difficulties from this counter evidence. On one hand, it would be improper to conduct himſelf in ſuch a manner, as tho he queſtioned the pope's letter and the report of his own legates: on the other hand, to pay no regard to the ſolemn aſſeveration of three biſhops, would give great occaſion for diſguſt, and make the breach ſtill wider. When he was therefore puſhed by Henry to do him homage, and to conſecrate thoſe whom he ſhould promote, the archbiſhop replied, that if the embaſſadors had all agreed in their report he might probably have obeyed his majeſty; but that he thought himſelf now obliged to ſuſpend his compliance till the pope was further conſulted: however, that he might avoid ſingularity and give as little offence as poſſible, he would not refuſe to communicate with thoſe who received inveſtitures from the crown; tho he could not conſecrate them, nor conſent to their conſecration. Upon this the king inveſted the new biſhops of Saliſbury and Hereford, and ſeveral abbots; and thus the controverſy by conſent of both parties was laid aſleep for the preſent.

That the primate might not be ſoured too much with the king's proceedings, he was permitted to hold a national ſynod the next year at Weſtminſter, which was ſummoned with the king's conſent; and at which many of the nobility as well as the biſhops were preſent. In this council Anselm preſided; at which many abbots were depoſed for ſimony, and above twenty canons were agreed upon. Several of theſe were repetitions, or in conformity to the ancient canons, and ſo paſſed without any noiſe: but others which related to the celibacy of the clergy, and which were taken from the late conſtitutions of Gregory the ſeventh and his ſucceſſor Urban, as they had no foundation in the laws of Christ, or in the decrees of the ancient church, met with great oppoſition from the clergy; and were treated by them with no little anger and contempt. But as the effect and importance of theſe canons muſt neceſſarily be conſidered, when the controverſy which was revived by this council call me to it, I ſhall wave an account of their proceedings here, and go on with other affairs. The new biſhop of Hereford dying ſoon after this council was held, Reinelm, the queen's chancellor, was nominated to ſuccede him; and the king ſent a poſitive command to Anselm, to conſecrate William appointed to the ſee of Wincheſter, and Roger of Saliſbury, together with the biſhop of Hereford. The archbiſhop conſented to conſecrate the biſhop of Winchester, for he would not receive inveſtiture from the king; but he refuſed the conſecration of the other two, till the pope had been again conſulted. Henry, on his ſide, would not agree that William only ſhould be conſecrated; and having the biſhops and nobility ſure, as he thought in his intereſt, he hoped to find a time to make the archbiſhop repent his miſtaken zeal; and in the mean while to carry on his affairs without him.

him. He therefore ordered GERARD archbiſhop of York to conſecrate the three biſhops; and a day was appointed for the ſolemnity. But REINELM was infected with the primate's ſuperſtition, and ſurrendered the ſtaff and biſhopric to the king; for which he was diſmiſſed the court. The archbiſhop of YORK however prepared to execute his commiſſion by conſecrating the other two; and when he and ſeveral biſhops were aſſembled for that purpoſe, WILLIAM renounced his authority, and would not receive conſecration from him. Whether it was friendſhip to ANSELM, or bigotry to his cauſe, or the irregularity of a conſecration from the metropolitan of another province, which occaſioned theſe refuſals we cannot ſay; but they broke the king's meaſures and provoked him moſt exceedingly. He not only baniſhed the biſhop of WINCHESTER and confiſcated his eſtate, but ſuſpecting that ANSELM was at the bottom of this affair, he gave him a taſte of his reſentment; and trying in vain the power of menaces and anger --- for the primate was proof againſt them all --- he came to a reſolution either to oblige the ſee of Rome to acquieſce in the laws of England, or elſe to deliver himſelf from the archbiſhop, whoſe obſtinacy had been the cauſe of ſo much uneaſineſs and vexation to him.

To carry this wiſe reſolution into effect, and to cover the ſecret article, the king ſent for ANSELM; and repreſenting the ill conſequences of theſe new maxims from Rome, and his own reſolution not to allow them, deſired that he would go thither as his embaſſador; in order to influence that court to yield up their late pretenſions to inveſtiture, ſo far at leaſt, as to connive at the Engliſh cuſtom, and to leave him at quiet to go on in the way of his predeceſſors. The king was not ſo ſhort ſighted as not to foreſee the iſſue of this meſſage by ſuch a meſſenger: but then he had reſolved, when he had got the archbiſhop out of his dominions, to keep him out of them, and ſo to procure peace to himſelf. Whether ANSELM ſuſpected the king's intention or not, he was not very haſty to execute the commiſſion, but deſired time to conſider of it till the next aſſembly of the great council at Eaſter. At this meeting the biſhops and barons concurring with the king in his requeſt, the archbiſhop ſet forward with all his retinue and attendance, and took his way through Normandy to Rome. Whatever appearance there might be of harmony and reſpect, it is impoſſible that the king could repoſe any confidence in this prelate, upon this important ſubject: and therefore under colour of aſſiſting him in his ſuit at Rome, he diſpatched an eccleſiaſtic of great learning, WAREWALST biſhop elect of Exeter, with the character of embaſſador along with ANSELM; to demand of pope PASCHAL the confirmation of his rights, or at leaſt to grant him the power of inveſtiture as a favour from the apoſtolic ſee: but if he could not ſuccede in either of thoſe requeſts, he had his ſecret inſtructions of another kind. The ſucceſs of this embaſſy was ſuch as might be ex-

pected. A king of England, ſupported by his biſhops and nobility, ſtooping ſo low as to aſk from the ſee of Rome as a favour, what was his right by the laws and uſages of his kingdom, muſt expect to be treated by that haughty and perfidious court without any regard: and in truth he well deſerved it. This abject ſubmiſſion ſo much beneath a king, was a plain proof to Paschal that he ſtood in need of his friendſhip; and inſtead of granting the king's requeſt, the pretenſions of the pope were advanced higher; and the right of giving inveſtiture, declared to be ſacred and unalienable. Anselm, as we may be ſure, readily acquieſced; but the biſhop of Exeter had a ſpirit worthy of his embaſſy from a king of England, and much ſuperior to that of his maſter. He pleaded the cauſe he was engaged in with great courage; he told the pope it would be diſhonourable for the king to quit the privileges of his predeceſſors; and that if the court of Rome ſhould carry things to extremity they would never recover their former ground. Finding the ſpirit of this remonſtrance made ſome impreſſion, the embaſſador added with ſome warmth, that his maſter the king of England would ſooner hazard the loſs of his crown than part with his inveſtitures. The pope being nettled at this freedom of the biſhop's, which was not of a piece with the king's mean ſubmiſſion, replied with equal inſolence and heat, "will not the king of England part with the donation of churches for "the price of his kingdom? Neither will Paschal for the price of "his head permit him to diſpoſe of them unpuniſhed; and this you may "tell your maſter." The reader I ſuppoſe will be amazed at this reply, and know not which he ſhall moſt wonder at, the paſſiveneſs of the king, or the impudence of the pope. The court of Rome was determined to enſlave the princes of Chriſtendom; and the king of England who wanted courage, was marked out as a ſacrifice to begin with. The embaſſador perceiving by the pope's reply, that there were no hopes of accommodation, was true to the ſecret inſtructions that had been confided to him; and in his maſter's name forbad Anselm the archbiſhop to return to England. This ſudden ſtroke of ſpirit was ſo ſurprizing to the court of Rome, who were big with the thoughts of humbling the king, that they were perſuaded it was the effect of the embaſſador's own reſentment, and a ſtrain beyond his commiſſion. Therefore the king gained no other point, than that he delivered himſelf from the noiſe which Anselm's exile might have made, had it not been covered with this embaſſy: he afterwards owned and juſtified the biſhop of Exeter's conduct, and proceeded to ſeize the temporalities of the archbiſhopric. But the meaſures of the primate were broken for the preſent by theſe means; and he was under new unexpected difficulties: however tho he ſaw no hopes of his return to England, yet that he might be as near as he could in ſafety, he retired from Rome, and fixed at Lyons; expecting perhaps that time and a change of affairs might reſtore him.

Whilſt

Whilſt ANSELM thus remained in exile, the authority of the late council which he had convened at Weſtminſter met with little reſpect; eſpecially thoſe canons which related to the celibacy of the clergy. This was the firſt attempt that had been made in England to force the parochial clergy to live unmarried; and the ſucceſs was ſuch as might have been foreſeen. For ſuppoſing the clergy did not penetrate into the ſecret reaſon of the court of Rome for this decree, as perhaps they did not, yet the viſible deſigns of that court and the known wickedneſs and ambition of thoſe prelates who puſhed it on, muſt lead them into a belief, that purity and holineſs were the things leaſt conſidered in the canon on this ſubject. They could not but know too, that the law of CHRIST had not abridged them of the right which was given them by the law of nature; and that any power forbidding what the natural law had allowed, had been foretold as one of the marks of the antichriſtian ſpirit. Beſides, the apoſtolic canons decreeing, "that ſuch biſhops, "preſbyters, or deacons, who under the pretext of religion ſhould put "away their wives, ſhould be excommunicated and depoſed," had given ſo clear a view of the practiſe of the ancient church upon this ſubject, as made it evident that the alteration now projected had no more foundation in the uſage of the primitive church, than it had in the laws of CHRIST. Inſtead therefore of ſubmitting to the canons of the council of Weſtminſter, the whole clergy of the province of York remonſtrated againſt them: and as thoſe who were already married refuſed to put away their wives, ſo thoſe who were then ſingle would not conſent to make a profeſſion of a ſtate of celibacy. Nor was this the caſe of that province only: the clergy in the other province, tho they did not join in a remonſtrance, yet took the ſame liberty in contradiction to the canons. How much ſoever ANSELM by his diſtance from Rome might ſeem to have changed his meaſures, yet his thoughts were ſtill upon his cauſe; watching every advantage, and liſtning with impatience for the iſſue of thoſe intrigues which that court was carrying on in his favour. It was ſo much their intereſt to ſee him reſtored, that he had the greateſt reaſon to believe they were ſincere in it and would do all they could for him; and under theſe expectations he ſate quiet at Lyons till the beginning of the next year; which produced a turn of affairs in all appearance beyond the thoughts of both the parties. HENRY was not inſenſible of the importance of this controverſy: and tho the uneaſineſs of his people at home, and the deſigns he was carrying on againſt his brother in Normandy, might ſeem to call his thoughts another way, yet this matter of the inveſtitures, ſo eſſential to his ſovereignty, lay too near his heart to be neglected. He therefore continued his embaſſador, the biſhop of Exeter, at Rome, to obſerve the motions of that court: and that prelate applying himſelf to the method of addreſs there which never wanted charms, gave ſuch a turn to the king's affairs, that the pope wrote a very diſcouraging letter to ANSELM.

This ſo abated the great confidence which his grace had hitherto repoſed in the court of Rome, that he concluded it was in vain to wait any longer for the aſſiſtance which he expected from it. But this ſudden turn, tho it raiſed the hopes of the king and mortified the archbiſhop, yet by an unforeſeen and unlucky croſſneſs which is not unuſual in human affairs, operated quite the wrong way; proving an advantage to the primate, and the greateſt diſſervice that could have befell the king.

The primate's patience being wearied out in expecting a remedy from the pope, he reſolved on meaſures of his own; and for this purpoſe went to Blois, where Adela the king's ſiſter lay ſick. The princeſs enquiring into the reaſons of Anselm's journey, he told her that after a great deal of patience and expectation he muſt now be forced to excommunicate the king of England. About this time Henry was arrived in Normandy, in order to deprive his brother of that dukedom; but this unhappy errand haſtened on the ſlavery of his own kingdom. When the king was informed that Anselm deſigned to proceed to an excommunication, he deſired his ſiſter to bring the primate into Normandy, with a promiſe of condeſcenſion in ſeveral articles. To this Anselm agreed, and waited on the king at Aquila; and here they proceeded a great way towards a good underſtanding. The king immediately reſtored the temporalities of the ſee of Canterbury, and obliged himſelf to give up his right of inveſting biſhops and abbots; provided the primate would not excommunicate, nor refuſe communion with ſuch as had received inveſtiture from the king, or as had conſecrated thoſe who did. The archbiſhop pretended that he was not at liberty to conſent to this condition; and therefore that particular, and the queſtion about homage, were by conſent referred to the arbitration of the pope. The king perceiving his affairs reeſtabliſhed by this expedient, for the very report of an intended excommunication had given birth to ſeveral plots and conſpiracies againſt him, made frequent viſits to Anselm; and wrote into England that he might have no trouble given him in his tenants or eſtates. As tho an unnatural war and an unjuſt invaſion had been leſs criminal than giving a paſtoral ſtaff and ring to a new biſhop, the primate who pretended conſcience in the latter, made no ſcruple to join and to aſſiſt the king in the former: and whilſt he thought it his duty to violate the laws of England which he had ſworn to obey, he contended for an obſervance of ſuch canons, as the greateſt bigots will not ſay are binding on a national church, which had never received, which had diſowned, and had oppoſed them. So wild and extravagant is the zeal of great men, when it departs from the ways of God, and is not according to knowledge! The king had but little reaſon to be ſatisfied with himſelf; for if he had not acted againſt his judgment, he was certainly not ſincere in his agreement with this prelate; and intended only to gain time, and to quiet the diſpute till he ſaw the ſucceſs of his arms in Normandy. The primate who was

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ſenſible that his return into England ought not to be delayed, wrote to the king to deſire the agents might be ſent immediately to the pope. He conſented at laſt to their journey; but whilſt he was ſending the biſhop of Exeter to Rome on this ſubject, being in great want of money for his Norman expeditions, he pretended to impoſe fines upon the married clergy, under the late canons of Weſtminſter relating to their celibacy: and when the archbiſhop was informed of and remonſtrated againſt it, he only ſhifted his hand, and laid an impoſition on every parochial church which the incumbent was to pay: an impoſition heavy and oppreſſive in itſelf, and executed with ſuch rigour, that above two hundred prieſts putting on their habits, preſented themſelves at one time to the king to entreat his mercy; but all in vain. As theſe oppreſſive arbitrary impoſitions alienated the affections of the people from him, ſo it naturally inclined them to have better thoughts of ANSELM. HENRY had given him an opportunity to remonſtrate againſt the oppreſſions laid upon the clergy; by his zeal in their cauſe, the archbiſhop had ſo far brought over the whole body of eccleſiaſticks to his intereſt, that the very ſame biſhops who oppoſed him in all the preceding ſteps of this controverſy, entreated him now under the title of their deliverer, with great importunity to return to England. So great a turn had a little time produced to the diſadvantage of the king. This is a leſſon to every man, that nothing but goodneſs, real or pretended, can create love and eſteem in the human mind: and it is a leſſon to princes, that they can be no longer ſecure of the loyalty of their ſubjects, when once ſubjects are perſuaded that their princes want thoſe good qualities, which alone can engage the affections of their people.

The meſſengers which HENRY and ANSELM had ſent to Rome, found the pope in a diſpoſition to perfect that agreement which had been ſo far advanced between them; and to find out a temper which might effect it. To gratify the king, he departed from the conſtitutions of his predeceſſors, conſenting that the biſhops and abbots upon their election, ſhould do their homage to his majeſty; and appointed ANSELM to receive thoſe to communion whom HENRY had inveſted. On the other hand to ſecure the grand point in view, the king was for the future to renounce all pretenſions of inveſting biſhops and abbots; or in other words to the patronage of the church. This expedient being brought to England by the ambaſſadors, the king immediately ſent to recal the primate. However diſadvantageous this agreement was to the honour and rights of the crown of England, the king did not think it ſafe at preſent to depart from it. On the other hand the archbiſhop was no ſooner returned, after a baniſhment of more than three years, than he reſolved to make the beſt of the advantage which he had gained, and to puſh on his ſucceſs. He prevailed upon the king to convene his great council to meet at Weſtminſter; where the right of inveſtiture

veſtiture being long and warmly debated, Henry, contrary to the advice of the majority of that aſſembly, made a formal ſurrender, not only of his right of inveſting biſhops and abbots, but of his right of nomination; reſerving only to himſelf a power of aſſenting after the election was made. On the other hand, the archbiſhop with the approbation of Paschal, agreed that the clergy ſhould do their homage to the king, and that it ſhould not render them incapable of conſecration. But in the bull by which the pope gave Anselm this power to diſpenſe with the conſtitutions which forbid the clergy doing homage to ſecular princes, Paschal tells him it was a particular favour to the king, granted on his requeſt; and to be continued to him no longer, than 'till by the bleſſing of God on the perſuaſions of the primate, the heart of the king might be moved to lay it aſide. The reader cannot ſee, I am ſure I cannot write, without indignation, with what exceſſive caution and reſerve this haughty court condeſcended to grant the king of England, a proviſional title to that privilege, which had been always till now a right inherent in his crown. Thus did this great prince bowe tamely down to meet the chains which were prepared for him: and thus ended this controverſy in England, which gave ſo much trouble to that age, and brought ſo many miſchiefs on thoſe that followed. The council of Weſtminſter being diſſolved, the king's conceſſions in it were quickly put into practice; for many biſhopricks and abbies remaining vacant, becauſe of this diſpute, were now filled up; and the ancient uſage of inveſting with a ring and ſtaff was laid aſide. There were no leſs than five biſhops conſecrated together at Canterbury; and every thing paſſed in great quiet. But the monks there made a noiſe about the benediction of their new abbot; pretending that he ought to be conſecrated in the church of Canterbury only, and deſiring that the archbiſhop would appoint the biſhop of Exeter to come thither and perform that office. They were ſo fond of this pretended privilege or right, and made ſuch a point in preſerving it, that they even engaged the king to ſpeak to Anselm upon the ſubject. The archbiſhop anſwered very wiſely, that he had a right to perform his office every where within his province, except in the king's chapel; and that it was the duty of the abbot to attend upon his appointment. In ſhort, notwithſtanding all the noiſe and intereſt the monks could make, he obliged the abbot to attend upon him at Lambeth; and after his profeſſion of canonical obedience to the archbiſhops and church of Canterbury, Anselm gave him his benediction. I relate this trifling circumſtance to the reader, partly to ſhew how forward the religious were to challenge or to make privileges to themſelves, and partly to give the bright ſide of this prelate's ſtiffneſs; which was of uſe to him in humbling that body of men, who gave ſo much uneaſineſs to many primates after him: and yet their pretenſions were no better founded than thoſe which Anselm thought fit to deſpiſe. But yet this prelate has left poſterity reaſon enough to

dread the effects of ſtiffneſs and reſolution, when they belong to men of power, and are covered with the pretences of religion. He took the opportunity of the king's refraining from any more eccleſiaſtical diſputes, to proſecute with the utmoſt rigour the clergy who perſiſted to live on in a ſtate of marriage. To this purpoſe he called a ſynod; which not only forbad the married clergy who refuſed to put away their wives, to perform the offices of their function, but commanded that an oath ſhould be impoſed on the archdeacons and rural deans not to connive at or conceal them. The whole buſineſs of this council was the regulation of this affair; and there is not a ſingle canon on any other ſubject. But whilſt this bigotted eccleſiaſtic was thus treating his brethren, his zeal againſt them has conveyed a teſtimony to poſterity ſo much to their advantage as more than ballances all the arguments he brought againſt their marriage. He writ to PASCHAL for his directions about ſuch of the clergy as were the ſons of clergymen; he was at a loſs what to do with them, and yet he owns "that they were the greateſt and the beſt part of the clergy." This ſhews how general the marriage of eccleſiaſticks had been before, and was a ſufficient condemnation of his miſtaken zeal.

About this time the great and unwieldy dioceſe of Lincoln was divided, and a new ſee erected at the abbey of Ely. The biſhop of Bangor being driven from his dioceſe thro the ungovernable temper of the inhabitants, the king had ſent him to Ely to be ſupported till he could provide better for him. At the death of the abbot, biſhop HERVEY had gained ſuch an intereſt in the monaſtery, that they wiſhed to be under his juriſdiction. Finding the place very convenient, and the revenues large, he conceived that it might be turned commodiouſly into an epiſcopal ſee; and with the approbation of the monks he applied to the king. The king conſenting to the change, ſent for BLOET biſhop of Lincoln for his concurrence, and ſettled the manor of Spalding on the ſee of Lincoln, for yielding Cambridgeſhire to the new biſhopric. HERVEY having ſucceded thus far in his deſign, applied to ANSELM; who having no objection, and thinking the dioceſe of Lincoln too extenſive, recommended it to the pope for his approbation: and thus the biſhopric of Ely was erected, and HERVEY biſhop of Bangor made the firſt biſhop. In all probability this was the laſt public buſineſs which the archbiſhop had any hand in, for he died at Canterbury ſoon after in the ſixteenth year of his conſecration, and in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age. Notwithſtanding there were many great affairs tranſacted relating to the church, in which ANSELM bore a very conſiderable part, during his primacy, yet if we only ſay, that he was a learned prelate for that age, and haughty and bigotted to the laſt degree, we give the whole character of him which is to be learnt from hiſtory. He appears in no ſcene in which theſe qualities are not exerted; and theſe qualities

only. He might have many virtues, and hiſtorians ſay he had; but nothing is to be ſeen thro the whole courſe of his adminiſtration as metropolitan, but a zeal and firmneſs for the intereſt of the ſee of Rome, which was entirely indefenſible; and a courage to ſupport what he fancied right, that was invincible. If his head had been as cool as his heart was warm, he would have been an excellent archbiſhop. He had a ſpirit ſuperior to any danger; and if he had taken the ſide of the king and the laws of England, as he was certainly bound to do, the uſurpation of the court of Rome would have made no progreſs in the time of Anselm. We have ſeen in this hiſtory, that when he was in the neareſt conjunction with that court, and ſtood moſt in need of their aſſiſtance, no ſooner did Guido ſet his foot in England with the character of a legate, than he oppoſed it as a novelty and an uſurpation; and by his intereſt and vigour forced him to retire out of England, without getting his authority to be ſo much as owned. But in this caſe, his own influence and juriſdiction were at ſtake; and his eyes were open. His bigotry however blinded him ſo far, that the ſame attacks at a diſtance were not perceived; and his ill grounded zeal for the grandeur of the papacy, opened a way to thoſe encroachments, which in time overwhelmed the rights of the crown and church of England. He did not live long enough to ſmart under the miſchiefs to which his indiſcretions had lent aſſiſtance; but he lived long enough to ſee the king very uneaſy under his late conceſſions, and to ſee him trampled, with his help, under the feet of an inſolent eccleſiaſtic. In ſhort, it may be ſaid of Anselm, that with great qualifications for a metropolitan, and more particularly uſeful at that time when the rights of his church were ſtruck at, yet by an infidelity to his truſt and taking the ſide of the enemy, tho he might be in other reſpects a good ſort of man, he was a very bad archbiſhop.

As ſoon as the primate was laid in his grave, Henry took care to cut off all communication with the ſee of Rome, by ſeizing the revenues of the archbiſhopric; till the tranſlation of the biſhop of Rochester about four years after gave occaſion to renew it. The king was then reſolved to fill the ſee of Canterbury, and required the monks of that cathedral to ſend ſome of their body to attend upon him at Windſor. He then acquainted them with the occaſion on which he had ordered them to attend, and they fixed on the abbot of Abingdon; pretending that none but monks, except one who had been depoſed, had ever filled the chair of metropolitan. The fact was not true, as is eaſy to ſhew; and the biſhops and nobility, who had ſeen one monk embaraſs the reigns of two ſucceſſive princes, deſired that the truſt might fall into the hands of a ſecular clergyman; whoſe thoughts being enlarged by buſineſs and converſation, might raiſe him above that ſtiffneſs and bigotry for little things, which the recluſe life of a monk occaſions.

caſions. After ſome debate, RALPH biſhop of Rocheſter who had had the care of the vacant ſee from the death of ANSELM, was choſen archbiſhop by the direction of the king and his great council; the biſhops of the province and a committee of the monks of Canterbury concurring in his election. Without waiting for the conſent or approbation of the pope, or without any regard to the Hildebrandine doctrine, that his holineſs had the only right of tranſlating biſhops, RALPH was immediately enthroned and put in poſſeſſion of the primacy; and ERNULPH abbot of Peterborough made biſhop of Rocheſter in his ſtead. The king was yet ſore with the inſults that had been offered to the rights and honour of his crown, in the late negociation with the court of Rome, and ANSELM: and as that court was now under ſubjection to the emperor who had married HENRY's daughter, ſo he did not fail to ſhew his reſentment of their ill uſage, in all the ſteps he took in the tranſlation of the new archbiſhop. He was not however in a condition, or rather it may be ſaid, I believe, he was not in a diſpoſition, to come to an open breach with the ſee of Rome. He therefore permitted the monks of Canterbury, to acquaint PASCHAL with what he had done; and to demand a pall to be ſent to England for the primate. The pope was not inſenſible from the air and ſtile of this epiſtle, that if he did not comply with this demand, the Engliſh court would go on without him; and therefore determined to ſend the pall. But to make the beſt uſe he could of this opportunity he was likewiſe determined to ſend it by a legate of his own; and for this end made choice of ANSELM, a monk, and nephew of the late archbiſhop of that name. It appears however from his letters to the king and the convent, that he was extremely mortified at the little regard that was paid to the late pretenſions of the papacy; and after many angry complaints concludes with threatening, "that if they perſiſt in their obſtinacy he ſhould be obliged "to ſhake off the duſt of his feet againſt them." Whatever PASCHAL meant by this expreſſion, the king of England, who ſeems to have recovered his ſpirit from the death of ANSELM, was ſo far from being terrified, that this proceeding only worked upon his anger, and made him reſolve to keep at a diſtance from the court of Rome.

About this time the chapter of St. David's in Wales applied to HENRY to provide them a biſhop; which, as there is no mention made of any Britiſh biſhops appearing in an Engliſh council, from the coming in of the Saxons till this time, is not eaſily to be accounted for. GREGORY the firſt, the reader remembers, aſſumed a power to put the Britiſh churches under AUSTIN's juriſdiction; and ſome ſucceding popes made the ſame attempt. But yet we do not find in a courſe of five hundred years, any one Britiſh biſhop appearing at the councils of an archbiſhop of Canterbury, applying to him for conſecration, or doing any ſingle act by which they could be thought to own thoſe prelates as their pri-

mates or metropolitans. There are no traces remaining, that I can find, of any tranſactions between the Engliſh and Britiſh churches; and by which the latter became ſubject or ſubordinate to the former. In all probability the changes in the Britiſh church followed thoſe of the ſtate; and that at the ſame time, and by the ſame ſteps, by which that nation became obedient to the kings of England, their church ſubmitted to and became a member of the Engliſh church. But whatever occaſioned it, the clergy of St. David's, upon the death of Wilfred their biſhop, applied to Henry for a ſucceſſor; who commending Bernard one of his chaplains, he was conſecrated by Ralph, and made his profeſſion of obedience to the archbiſhops and church of Canterbury. About this time Alexander king of Scotland in a letter to the ſame archbiſhop, applies to him for his aſſiſtance in filling up the vacant ſee of St. Andrews: telling him that by reaſon of his own abſence at that time, archbiſhop Lanfrank had permitted the archbiſhop of York to conſecrate the late biſhop; whereas in ancient times, the biſhops of St. Andrews were conſecrated only by the biſhops of Rome, or the archbiſhops of Canterbury. However that matter may ſtand, whilſt a king of the Scots was thus enlarging the power of an archbiſhop of Canterbury by inviting it into his country, the court of Rome was taking meaſures to bring it into as narrow a compaſs as they could in England; and this was by introducing the power of legates. I have already ſaid that pope Paschal had determined to ſend Anselm, the late primate's nephew, in that character to England; on pretence of carrying the pall to the new archbiſhop. When he was going thro Normandy on his journey thither, the king being there ſtopped the legate, and ſent notice of it to the queen and privy council; conſidering the conſequences of this novelty, they called the great council to meet at London; where it was unanimouſly agreed, that this attempt of ſending a legate was contrary to the cuſtoms and laws of England, and that he ſhould not therefore be permitted to come into this kingdom. The great council were not content with expreſſing this reſentment, but they deſired the archbiſhop to paſs over into Normandy; and if the king thought fit, to go to Rome to expoſtulate with the pope upon this uſurpation, and to repreſent the ſenſe of the king and kingdom to him on this ſubject. According to this reſolution, the primate went to Henry, who approving their ſentiments ſent him on to Rome: and tho the archbiſhop was too much fatigued with his journey to follow the pope to Benerento, yet he ſent him ſuch letters, and remonſtrances, as induced Paschal, not only to recall his legate, but alſo to make a formal promiſe in a letter to the king, "that he would neither do nor "ſuffer any thing to be done, that ſhould violate the right of the archbiſhop of Canterbury." Tho Ralph ſucceded in this embaſſy to his wiſh, yet he was not a little mortified with another letter wrote at the ſame time by the pope in favour of Thurstan, the archbiſhop elect of

of York. His predeceſſor had refuſed to make a profeſſion of canonical obedience to archbiſhop ANSELM, but the ſpirit and ſturdineſs of that prelate ſoon brought the other to a ſubmiſſion. I thought it needleſs to mention it in the proper place, becauſe it was attended with no conſequences. THURSTAN having more reſolution than his predeceſſor, or having to do with a metropolitan who he thought had leſs than ANSELM, took example from this refuſal, and was determined to revolt againſt the ſee of Canterbury. The king took part, and countenanced the pretenſions of archbiſhop RALPH; and the archbiſhop of YORK was driven from his dioceſe. Upon this he went away to Rome, and prevailed on pope PASCHAL to write to the king in his favor, and to deſire he might be reſtored. His holineſs not only complied with his requeſt, but contrary to the determination of his predeceſſors in the former controverſies between the two archbiſhops, took the ſide of the archbiſhop of YORK; which gave a new life to this diſagreement, rather than put an end to it.

Whilſt the affairs of the Engliſh church were in this ſituation, the pope was taken out of the world; and a new ſchiſm begun in the church of Rome. GELASIUS, who was choſen by the Hildebrandine faction, living but a little time, he was ſucceded by GUIDO archbiſhop of Vienne, who took the name of CALIXTUS; and in the ſame year that he was promoted convened a council to meet at Rheims. The king of England was at this time in Normandy; and therefore he ſent ſome Norman biſhops and abbots, and ſuch Engliſh biſhops as were with him, to be preſent at this council. He was ſtill ſo jealous of the intrigues and artifices of that court, from the ill uſage he had received, that whilſt he thus ſeemed to pay a reſpect to CALIXTUS he was reſolved to have nothing to do with him. When the biſhops came to receive their inſtructions in order to their attendance at this council, HENRY commanded them to make no complaints; and told them that if any thing wanted regulation it ſhould be done at home: they might ſalute the pope, he ſaid, in his name, but he ordered them to bring none of his ſuperfluous inventions with them into England. THURSTAN applied to the king for leave to go to this council, which his majeſty would not grant; till this prelate had promiſed in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would not ſolicit the pope for any thing prejudicial to the ſee of Canterbury, nor receive conſecration from his holineſs if it was offered him. But that he might not truſt too far to a man whoſe temper he ſuſpected, HENRY wrote himſelf to the pope, to acquaint him with this agreement; and to inſiſt upon it that he ſhould not conſecrate the archbiſhop himſelf, nor ſuffer any other perſon to do it except the archbiſhop of Canterbury. CALIXTUS promiſed the ambaſſador who brought the letter, as readily as THURSTAN had promiſed the king; and they both kept their word alike. For the arch-

biſhop arriving at Rheims before the meeting of the council, and uſing the proper arguments in the court of Rome, the conſecration was prepared for in great haſte; not only contrary to their promiſes, but as Malmsbury himſelf acknowledges who wanted no affection to the papacy, contrary to the ancient canons of the church. When every thing was ready, and a great number of biſhops and nobility attended to ſee the ceremony, John archdeacon of Canterbury, agent from Ralph, ſtepped up to the pope, and told him very bluntly, that this ſolemnity ought to be performed only by the archbiſhop of Canterbury; and that his holineſs had no authority to perform it to the prejudice of that ſee. But the conduct and late inſtructions of king Henry, which were not unknown to Calixtus; the jealouſy with which he watched the motions of the court of Rome, and his friendſhip with the emperor, gave ſuch light into his majeſty's ſentiments, that the pope ſaw it was impoſſible to bring him heartily into the meaſures of the Hildebrandine faction; and that all attempts to oblige him would be thrown away. Calixtus therefore turned his thoughts another way; and without any heſitation broke thro all the ties of faith and honour, as well as the canons and diſcipline of the church; in hopes either to be able to force the king into his intereſt, or elſe ſo to embroil his affairs, that it ſhould not be in his majeſty's power to hurt him. But whatever were the views on which this holy prelate acted in the buſineſs of Thurstan's conſecration, it was eaſy enough for him to ſee, that it would make a diviſion in England, which might poſſibly diſconcert the meaſures of Henry.

When the king was informed of this management at Rheims, he was provoked exceedingly; and ſent immediately to forbid the archbiſhop of York from returning into any part of his dominions. But he was not in a condition to come to an open breach with the pope. The French biſhops at this council, made great complaints againſt Henry by order of the king of France; and even propoſed to excommunicate him for unjuſtly detaining his brother Robert in priſon, and uſurping his dominions; who, as one of the cruſade, was under the protection of the church. The pope had ſhifted this off by undertaking to exhort him to do his brother juſtice; and had offered his mediation to put an end to the war with France. Notwithſtanding therefore this falſe and perfidious treatment relating to the archbiſhop, inſtead of an open quarrel, the king accepted the mediation of Calixtus: he ſoon after met him at Giſors in Normandy, where he made ſo good a uſe of his money, that the pope yielded he ſhould enjoy the uſages of his father in both his kingdoms, and that no legate ſhould be ſent to either without his leave or requeſt, or only when affairs were ſo difficult that they could not be determined by his own prelates. The pope had not the ſame ſucceſs with the king for Thurstan's reſtoration,

which HENRY was much averſe to: and when he preſſed his majeſty with ſome warmth in favour of it, the king alledged his promiſe upon honour, that he ſhould not return unleſs he made profeſſion of obedience to the ſee of Canterbury. "I am pope," ſays CALIXTUS, "and "will abſolve you from your promiſe." But this doctrine of abſolving from oaths and promiſes being then new to HENRY, he deſired time to conſider of it; and ſoon after ſent to acquaint his holineſs, "that if "he as pope had power to diſpenſe with him, yet he did not think it "right to break his word; which is the way to deſtroy all faith and "truſt among men. Who, ſays he, will rely on any one's word or "promiſe for the future, if my example teach men to break their pro-"miſes?" Had not the king himſelf been notoriouſly guilty of this breach of promiſe to his ſubjects, and twice to ANSELM, the anſwer was much ſofter than ſuch a miſchievous and profligate principle deſerved: and if his affairs had not given bounds to his reſentment, the freſh inſtance which the pope had given of his perfidy, might have led him perhaps to treat the court of Rome in another manner, and more ſuitable to its deſert. The pope reſented the baniſhment of THURSTAN very warmly; wrote in an angry manner to the king and the archbiſhop; threatened the latter with ſuſpenſion and the kingdom with an interdict, if THURSTAN was not reſtored within a month after his letters came to hand. It muſt be owned that this conduct is a little unintelligible: CALIXTUS had promiſed to do nothing in prejudice to the ſee of Canterbury: and THURSTAN had renounced the archbiſhopric of York, ſince he could not enjoy it without the cuſtomary ſubmiſſion to the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY. Why his holineſs therefore ſhould engage ſo warmly in this diſpute, we ſhould be at a loſs to underſtand, if EADMER had not told us, that THURSTAN had engaged him thus far in the quarrel by dint of bribery. That I may conclude the account of this conteſt, which from the frequent alluſions to it in the ſequel of this hiſtory it was neceſſary to relate, the king conſented that THURSTAN ſhould return to his ſee, on this condition; that he ſhould not exerciſe any part of his function, except in his own dioceſe, till he made the uſual ſubmiſſion to the church of Canterbury. On this condition he reſumed it; and tho RALPH and his ſucceſſor uſed their utmoſt efforts to bring him to an acknowledgment, yet by his intereſt and activity he always baffled them, and to his death maintained the independency of his ſee.

As ſoon as the archbiſhop of Canterbury was returned to England, the king of Scotland renewed his requeſt that he would conſecrate a biſhop for the vacant ſee of St. Andrews; and that EADMER might be the man. The archbiſhop having notified this to HENRY, and obtained his conſent, EADMER was ſent to Scotland, with letters of recommendation from RALPH, and the convent of Canterbury of which he

he was a monk; and ſoon after elected biſhop of St. Andrews by the clergy and people, the king of the Scots conſenting to his election. But as this prelate had been ſecretary and aſſiſtant to Anselm in that unhappy diſpute about inveſtitures, ſo he embraced the ſame opinions; and partly by refuſing to receive the paſtoral ſtaff from the king's hand, and partly for his inſiſting that the archbiſhop of Canterbury was primate of Scotland and had a right to conſecrate him, he ſo provoked Alexander, who would permit no juriſdiction independent of the crown, that he was obliged to return the ring which the king had given him, and the ſtaff he had taken from the altar, and return again to his convent without conſecration; to repent of his ſtiffneſs, when it was paſt a remedy. The king, having concluded a peace with France by the mediation of the pope, returned into England; where he was received with thoſe demonſtrations of joy and reſpect, which the long abſence of princes, and the peoples hopes of being eaſed of their oppreſſions, are uſually the occaſion of. But ſoon after his return he received an account of the loſs of prince William his only legitimate ſon; who with the flower of the nobility and officers that accompanied him, thro the careleſneſs of the captain and ſhip's crew, were loſt. Thus the great joy of his ſucceſs in Normandy, and of the peace he had made with France, by one unexpected ſtroke of providence was defeated: and in a few years after, all the hardſhips he had put upon his brother were returned with intereſt upon his own family. So eaſily does the overruling hand of heaven break the wiſeſt meaſures, and bring to nought the counſels and deſigns of princes.

The pope having forgot the promiſes he had made whilſt he had a rival, and whom he had now got the better of, thought of nothing more than carrying on the great deſigns he had begun. To this purpoſe he diſpatched his legates up and down, under a pretence of notifying the depoſition of his rival, but in fact to try to enlarge the power of the papacy. Peter, a monk of Cluniac, was appointed on this errand to France and England. At his arrival in Normandy he waited Henry's leiſure; who, having conſented to his coming, ſent a biſhop and a prieſt to attend upon him; and to whom by the advice of his council he gave inſtructions not to permit the legate to lodge in any cathedral or monaſtery in his way, nor to receive any preſents or proviſions from them for his journey. Tho Calixtus had forgot his agreement, yet the king took care to let the legate know that he remembered it: and as he permitted him to come into England only as a private man, ſo when he had an audience of his majeſty, the king told him that he had not time to apply himſelf to the buſineſs of his legateſhip, and that without conſent of the great council of the nation the commiſſion he was charged with could not take effect. He reminded him of the terms of the pope's agreement; and after ſome civilities and preſents, ſent

him back as he came, without permitting him to do any thing in purſuance of his commiſſion. Soon after the ſee of Canterbury, and the national church, were thus reſcued by the king's reſolution from the inſults of the legate, RALPH the archbiſhop was taken out of the world. He was a prelate of abilities, and of unblameable life; but he ſat ſo little a time in the chair of primate, and had ſo little a ſhare in any tranſactions of importance, that we have not materials enow to form his particular character. Let it therefore be ſupplied from MALMSBURY; who tells us, that he was a man of exemplary devotion, great learning, and a moſt agreeable temper; that he made no other uſe of his great income, than to oblige his friends, and to ſerve the needy; that if he had any fault, it was indulging a pleaſant humour ſometimes a little too much, and relaxing the gravity of his character; however that his ſallies of this kind proceeded from good nature, and not from a ſpirit of levity. It was not till the beginning of the following year, that the affairs of the ſtate would permit the king to ſupply the vacancy which the death of this prelate had made. On the feaſt of the purification, he appointed the meeting of his great council in the city of Glouceſter; where the prior and the monks of Canterbury were ordered to attend for the election of an archbiſhop. On this occaſion the former conteſt between the biſhops and the monks was again revived; but the king taking the ſide of the biſhops of the province, the election fell on CORBEL prior of the canons of Chiche; and the king confirmed his election. Having received his conſecration from the biſhop of Winchеſter and ſome other biſhops of his province, he went to Rome to demand his pall; and having received it, returned to England.

In the mean time the affairs of king HENRY grew ſtill more perplexed. He had married a young princeſs of the houſe of Lorrain after the loſs of his ſon, in order to perpetuate the ſucceſſion of his crown and kingdom. But his ſubjects finding he had no male iſſue by her, began to turn their thoughts another way. At leaſt they were not very forward in provoking a prince, to whom in time they might be obliged perhaps to ſubmit. With this view they ſuffered themſelves to be led into cabals; and the French hiſtorian ſays, that the king's domeſtic officers and ſervants conſpired againſt his life, and he could confide in no body. However this may be, a new and bloody war was kindled again in Normandy, in favour of WILLIAM ſon to his brother ROBERT; and aſſiſted by the king of France, and the duke of Anjou. To add to theſe ſorrows, which lay already but too heavy upon the king, the pope took his opportunity, and made a new attempt againſt him. Notwithſtanding his former agreement with the king, and the diſgraceful repulſe which his former legate had received, CALIXTUS perceiving, that unleſs he could break thro the laws of England which ſhut out his legates, and overwhelm the power of the metropolitans by

introducing the legatine authority, his uſurpations could never much affect the Engliſh church, determined at this time to ſend another legate; and choſe John de Crema, a cardinal prieſt, to ſupport the character. Whilſt this prelate was in Normandy on his journey hither, Calixtus died; and with his death determined the character and commiſſion of the new legate. But Honorius ſucceeding in the papal chair, another commiſſion was ſent to Normandy to John de Crema: and Henry who had before maintained the laws of England, againſt a legatine power, with a zeal and reſolution becoming his truſt and dignity, that he might now ſecure the intereſt of the Roman court in ſuch a nice conjuncture, conſented to receive the legate of pope Honorius, and to the execution of his commiſſion. No ſooner was this prelate arrived in England, and had his audience of the king, but as if he intended to ſhew how exactly our bleſſed Saviour had deſcribed the different characters of the thief, and the true ſhepherd, he travelled from one cathedral and one monaſtery to another, and wherever he went he left behind him ſuch marks of covetouſneſs, oppreſſion, and unworthy acts to enrich himſelf and his train, as put it out of any doubt, what the character was that he ſupported. But whilſt he thus ſerved himſelf, he did not forget his maſter, nor the deſign on which he ſent him. He knew how much it was the intereſt of the court of Rome, to aſſume a power of convening and preſiding in provincial and national aſſemblies; and he therefore prevailed with the archbiſhop of Canterbury to ſummon a council to meet at Weſtminſter; in which the legate preſided to the prejudice of the rights of the metropolitan. It was now that the ſee of Canterbury wanted the ſpirit and courage of Anselm: for tho the preſent primate was ſo far juſt to his truſt, that he would not directly own the uſurpation which he had not the reſolution to reſiſt, by permitting the legate to cite the ſynod in which he was to preſide, yet this very council was drawn into example, and opened the way to deſpoil his ſucceſſors of that authority, which from the firſt ſettlement of chriſtianity, and the canons of the univerſal church, the metropolitans of England had enjoyed without interruption. Tho the legate might plainly ſee that his coming was not acceptable to the Engliſh, yet in the exerciſe of his function he affected great ſtate and grandeur; which much encreaſed their diſlike. He ordered his ſeat in this council to be raiſed like a ſort of throne, above the archbiſhops, biſhops, and all the nobility that were preſent at the ſynod. This was an unprecedented thing, which gave great offence; and which was a plain indication how much the ancient liberties of the Engliſh church were ſunk. There are ſeventeen canons publiſhed under the name of this council; ſome of which forbidding ſimony, ſorcery, ſuperſtition, and the exaction of eccleſiaſticks, are worthy of a national ſynod; but for the moſt part they were taken from the councils of Gregory and Calixtus, and have too much the air and ſpirit of the court from which they came; more eſpe-

cially in thoſe inſtances which relate to the buſineſs of inveſtitures, and the celibacy of the clergy. The fourth canon of this council goes a greater length in the Hildebrandine doctrine, than even GREGORY the ſeventh himſelf had gone: it forbids every abbot, prior, monk, or clerk, to receive any church tithe or eccleſiaſtical benefice, as a gift from any layman, without the conſent of his proper biſhop: a conſtitution that would lead one to conclude, that the parochial right of tithes was not yet ſo perfectly eſtabliſhed, but that there ſtill remained ſome inſtances, in which the proprietors of the lands from whence they aroſe, had a ſhare in the diſpoſal of them. Had the care of the parochial clergy been at the bottom of this canon, it would have deſerved to have been remembered with thankfulneſs and honour: but ambitious and deſigning men ſo generally cover their vices with a ſeeming regard to the good of others, that even the faireſt appearances from ſuch men are not uncharitably ſuſpected. This was certainly the caſe in this conſtitution. The king having given up the right of inveſtiture to the pope, the chief dependance of the biſhops and abbots was removed from the crown to the holy ſee: by the preſent canon all eccleſiaſticks were brought to a dependance on the biſhops; therefore in effect the whole patronage and revenue of the church of England was in the pope's diſpoſal; and the whole clergy made a body diſtinct as to their maintenance, and in ſome meaſure independent on the government. The king himſelf too in effect had allowed of this change: for by permitting the legates of the ſee of Rome to convene and give canons to his clergy, he had virtually given the royal aſſent to the legiſlature which they claimed; and hereby prepared a way for that pretence of the clergy's being exempt from the civil authority, which gave ſo much trouble to his grandſon HENRY the ſecond. But JOHN de Crema had another point to manage in order to compleat the vaſt deſigns of the court which ſent him hither. I have already ſhewn the reader, and ſo I ſhall not repeat it, how the celibacy of the clergy would naturally operate in favour of thoſe deſigns: and therefore in all the councils in which the court of Rome had any influence, from the time of HILDEBRAND, this was an object of their care and zeal: it was more particularly ſo at this time; and therefore the thirteenth canon, not only prohibits the marriage of the clergy of all ranks and orders, but denies them all converſation with women, except their neareſt relations, and ſuch as were paſt ſuſpicion. It would have been more however for the honour of the ſee of Rome, as well as of the legate himſelf, if he had not employed ſo much zeal upon this article before the council. For declaiming againſt the marriage of the clergy with a great deal of ſatyr, he ſhewed "how incongruous, and diſhonourable it muſt be to GOD, for a prieſt to "riſe from the bed of a harlot," meaning his wife, "and with his impure "hands to conſecrate the holy euchariſt." But after he had thus laid out his zeal and eloquence, in inveighing againſt the marriage and ſetting forth the

the neceſſity of the celibacy of the clergy, he was the ſame night ſurpriſed in bed with a woman of pleaſure. Thus his own incontinence broke his meaſures, anſwered all his arguments, ſpoiled the canon that had been paſſed, and ſent him home in diſgrace. It is in vain for the Romiſh writers to deny the fact. The teſtimony of Huntingdon, who was an archdeacon at that time, is poſitive and expreſs; and Hoveden, Mat. Paris, M. Westminster, and ſeveral others, all of them monks, and never ſuſpected of partiality for the marriage of the clergy, agree in the ſame report.

However affairs were conducted in the council above-mentioned, and how quietly ſoever the archbiſhop ſeemed to ſubmit to the uſurpation, the ſynod was no ſooner up, than the primate went to Rome, to remonſtrate againſt impoſing a foreign legate on the Engliſh church; as a direct invaſion of its uſages and canons. Had the conduct of this prelate been anſwerable to his integrity and good intentions, poſterity would have been indebted to his memory: but when he came to the court of Rome, his warmth had the common fate of ill-conducted zeal; inſtead of curing, it helped to make the miſchief greater, and what is ſtill worſe, incurable. For ſo artfully did this ſly inſinuating court cajole the primate, that inſtead of preventing the growth of a dangerous uſurpation againſt the laws of England, by plucking it up by the roots, or at leaſt ſtopping it for the preſent, he was perſuaded to take the character of legate upon himſelf; and by a bull of Honorius was inveſted with it for England, and Scotland too. Thus did this eaſy prelate permit himſelf to be drawn, or rather to be deluded, into a ſnare, of fatal conſequence to the Engliſh church. Whatever were the motives upon which he acted, the archbiſhops of Canterbury were by this expedient ſtripped of their rights, and cloathed with the ſhadow of them in return: by a fineſſe peculiar to the Italians, an uſurped foreign power was ſo incorporated with the juſt and legal rights of the ſee of Canterbury, that this unhappy prelate was made a party to the uſurpation, which himſelf, and his ſucceſſors for ſeveral ages, groaned under when it was paſt a cure. It is here then we are to date the vaſſalage of the Engliſh church; when they laid the foundation of that authority to convene ſynods in England, to preſide and direct canons in them, to which the biſhops of Rome pretended afterwards. The good archbiſhop, however, did not at that time penetrate into the conſequences of his indiſcretion: but having cured his own vanity and uneaſineſs, by taking upon himſelf the character of his holineſs's legate, he returned again to England; to help forward the uſurpation, which he went to Rome on purpoſe to ſuppreſs. No ſooner was Corbel returned with this character, than he called a council at Weſtminſter; in which he preſided as legate, and metropolitan: and the ſtile and air of the canons which he paſſed, as they are anſwerable to the

the different characters which he ſupported, ſo they by no means correſpond with the language of the ancient church of England. The ten conſtitutions which were agreed upon are almoſt all of them taken from the council, under ANSELM and JOHN de Crema; ſo that one would think he called this ſynod to ſhew his new authority, and that he was fond of thoſe chains which he had helped to put about his neck. If we are to judge of the conſtitutions by the decreeing part, they ſeem to have no other authority than his own, as legate and metropolitan. For the firſt canon runs, "by the authority of St. PETER "prince of the apoſtles, and our own"; and the ſecond, "by the "authority of the apoſtolic ſee"; whereas the ancient canons and uſages of the church, give a right of ſuffrage to all who had a right to be in the ſynod, and the ſtile was anſwerable; "we decree, and "by ſynodical authority confirm". But HILDEBRAND, having intended to change the ancient polity of the church, changed the ſtile of councils; and one cannot help being aſtoniſhed at the tameneſs of provincial ſynods, under ſo impudent an attempt to render their authority uſeleſs; or which is worſe, to make them properties to the deſigns of the court of Rome. But the canons, we are told, had the approbation of the council, and were conſented to by the king. The archbiſhop however notwithſtanding his new character, and another canon to enſure the celibacy of the clergy, found that an article ſtill too hard of digeſtion in the Engliſh church. He therefore called another council in the September following; and to ſtrike a greater terror, the married clergy were ſummoned to attend, and a canon, requiring them to put away their wives by the feaſt of St. ANDREW following, was decreed. This did not yet content his zeal: having ſeen how little regard was paid to the canons on this ſubject, he turned his thoughts to the civil power; and by the advice of the council, recommended it to the king, to impoſe a puniſhment on thoſe who ſhould continue to treat this conſtitution with contempt. The king followed the pattern which lay before him from Rome; and inſtead of the methods which the legate had marked out, laid no other penalty, but a fine for a diſpenſation to retain them: moſt of our hiſtorians report, that he raiſed a great deal of money by this indulgence; but there are others who take no notice of this unworthy practiſe, and only ſay that HENRY diſappointed the hopes of the archbiſhop, and gave the married clergy leave to live with their wives as they did before. Notwithſtanding all the attempts that had been made upon this ſubject, it was impoſſible to effect it, and no wonder: for there is ſeldom any ſucceſs, when juſtice and authority are not on a ſide, and when the laws of men attempt to combat the laws of nature. The only end which this diſpute anſwered, and the many methods and canons to force the clergy to ſubmit to celibacy, was to leave it paſt a doubt, that it was a new impoſition; and that the ancient Engliſh church put her clergy under no reſtraints of this kind.

If the archbiſhop of Canterbury did not live to repent of his folly in accepting the title of legate, it was becauſe he did not live to ſee the ill uſe which the ſee of Rome made of it in England. Indeed he had but little time to gratify the vanity which firſt led him into the ſnare; for in the beginning of the next year death took Honorius out of the world, and with him expired the character and commiſſion of the legate. A ſchiſm which enſued in the Roman church, between Anaclete and Innocent, prevented its being renewed; and by leaving the government of the church in the ancient channel, it gave ſuch a turn to the eccleſiaſtical affairs of England, that every thing went on quietly to the end of Henry's reign. The king was in Normandy at the time when this ſchiſm began, where he met Innocent; and againſt the advice of the Engliſh biſhops, who thought his adverſary had the better title, acknowledged him as the rightful biſhop of Rome. Soon after this interview, he returned to England, and founded a new ſee at Carliſle; laying the counties of Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and a part of Northumberland into the dioceſe; and conferring that dignity upon his confeſſor Aldulph, without giving the pope any concern in this affair. The emperor being dead, and having left his widow, Henry's only legitimate child, without any iſſue, the king, in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt in Normandy, married her againſt her inclinations to Geoffry Plantagenet, ſon of the earl of Anjou. A marriage forced upon her in this manner, it was eaſy to foreſee, could not be very happy; and in two or three years after ſhe parted from her huſband, and came into England with her father. The king, whilſt ſhe was a widow, had prevailed upon the barons and vaſſals of the crown to acknowledge her as the preſumptive heir. But this did not content him. Upon her coming over with him at this time, he called his great council together, and they all renewed the oath of allegeance to the empreſs, as the hereditary heir of the crown and kingdom. This ceremony being over, and her huſband deſiring to make up the quarrel with her, ſhe went back. After this reconciliation, tho it was often interrupted by freſh broils, the king's hopes of a ſucceſſion began to be gratified; and the following year, to his great joy, the empreſs brought a ſon into the world, named Henry after him. To add to his ſatisfaction, his brother Robert died about this time in the caſtle of Cardiff, after ſix and twenty years impriſonment; which made his expectations ſtill more promiſing. But whilſt this acceſſion to his family gave new life to the proſpects which had ever charmed this prince, and whilſt he was labouring with all his addreſs to ſecure the ſucceſſion to his daughter and her new born ſon, death put an end to his life and hopes, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age. When he found he drew near his exit he ſent for the earl of Glocester his natural ſon, and recommended

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to him very earneſtly the care of his ſiſter, the empreſs; after this he made his will, in which he ordered all his debts to be punctually paid, the arrears due to him to be remitted, and left to his domeſticks above ſixty thouſand pounds.

Thus did HENRY the firſt, ſurnamed Beauclerk, the ſcholar; becauſe in thoſe days none but eccleſiaſticks troubled themſelves about books, and princes the leaſt of all men. He had been educated to letters, and made a great progreſs in his ſtudies, before he came to the crown; and all thro his life retained a reliſh for the ſciences which he had cultivated in his youth. He is ſaid to have had a very handſome face, and a ſweet and open countenance, which at firſt ſight preposſeſſed every body in his favour. His manner of converſation was very affable; and it is hard to ſay whether his courage in military, or his capacity in civil affairs, was greateſt. It is true that his ſubjects were much haraſſed with arbitrary and oppreſſive taxes, to furniſh out his expeditions againſt Wales and Normandy; but in other reſpects his adminiſtration was ſo prudent, that tho his journies to Normandy were very frequent and of long duration, yet there never was an inſurrection in England all thro his reign; and yet there never wanted malecontents. He not only ran ſo far into the prevailing humour of the age, as to be himſelf the founder of many religious houſes, but he gave ſo much encouragement alſo to works of this kind, that there were more monaſteries and other religious ſocieties erected in the reign of HENRY, than in five hundred years before. The reader therefore will not be ſurprized, that the eccleſiaſticks have given him a great and a good character. If we except the inſtances of his ſubmiſſion to the court of Rome, in the buſineſs of inveſtitures, and receiving a papal legate, we may acquieſce, I think, in the firſt part, and allow him to have been a great and able king. That ſubmiſſion however derogates even from this ſide of his character; and whilſt he was ſupported by his nobles and biſhops at home, it ſullied the glory of a wiſe and a great monarch of England, to agree to thoſe mean compliances, contrary to their advice, and contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom; that he might pay his court to the ſee of Rome, whoſe power and intereſt was only imaginary. But to his character as a good king there are many more objections. His private vices and virtues, which were pretty nearly balanced, come not into the queſtion: if we ſay nothing of his invading the right of his elder brother by ſeizing upon the crown, we cannot paſs over his unjuſt and unnatural war with this very brother in his hereditary dominions; who had quietly ceded his right to the crown of England, and who had never given him any cauſe of complaint. It was a war at leaſt which his Engliſh ſubjects could have no concern with: and yet they were loaded with heavy taxes to maintain it; which contrary to his ſolemn and

repeated promiſes, were levied with all imaginable rigour, even to the impriſonment of thoſe who had not the means to pay them. Let us only add to this, that when he had ſtripped his brother of his dominions, he impriſoned him in a caſtle in Wales for ſix and twenty years; and when he returned from this conqueſt that the people of England had enabled him to make with their lives and fortunes, he treated his ſubjects with more arrogance than ever, without correcting any abuſes which turned to his own advantage; I ſay let us add this, and we ſhall ſcarcely find, at this time of day, attonement enough for theſe meaſures, in the religious houſes which he founded, to give him the character of a good king. In ſhort, it may be ſaid of Henry, that there was a great mixture in him of good and bad qualities for a prince; that he had more courage than cruelty, more wiſdom than courage, more avarice than wiſdom, and more ambition than either; and that it was entirely owing perhaps to the laſt of theſe qualities, that he was not both a great and a good king.

It has already been taken notice of in the preceding pages, that in order to ſecure the ſucceſſion to his daughter, the empreſs, and her iſſue, Henry had engaged his great council to acknowledge and ſwear fealty to her as the preſumptive heir. Among the reſt, and one of the forwardeſt in taking the oath of allegeance, was Stephen earl of Bologn, the king's nephew; ſon of Adela the conqueror's daughter by the earl of Blois. His pretenſions therefore to the crown muſt be remote and feeble. But the abſence of the empreſs, and the mighty treaſures of his uncle, which he ſeized immediately on the firſt news of his death, together with his own ambition and addreſs, ſupplied what his title wanted. His brother, who was at that time biſhop of Wincheſter and abbot of Glaſſonbury, a great and popular prelate, brought moſt of the clergy into his intereſt; and the nobility were in general attached to him as one of their order, and by his own conduct and fair promiſes. Therefore before the empreſs could come over, Stephen had got the conſent of the people of England to receive him for their king; and was accordingly crowned at Weſtminſter by the archbiſhop of Canterbury. There are two reflexions which offer themſelves upon this occaſion: the reader will excuſe my ſtopping to point them out. One is, that tho it was the chief care and paſſion of the late king's whole life, to ſecure his dominions to his family, yet a few days were ſufficient to break all his meaſures, and to ſhew the vanity of human wiſdom, when divine providence is not on its ſide. The other is, that ſo ſlender was at this time the tie of an oath of allegeance, when the intereſt or inclinations of men led them to break thro it, that we find the great council of the Engliſh nation, the biſhops and nobility, who had taken this oath no leſs than three times to the empreſs in the moſt ſolemn manner, without any provoca-

provocation on her ſide to ſerve as a colour for their iniquity, deliberately guilty of notorious perjury. No wonder that a reign thus founded in prophaneneſs, ſhould be unhappy to prince and people. I ſhall now return to give an account of it in church affairs. The earl of BOLOGN having thus poſſeſſed himſelf of the crown of England, omitted nothing that was neceſſary to ſecure him in it. For this end he was very liberal both in his gifts and promiſes. To the clergy, he promiſed every thing that they thought expedient to preſerve the rights and honour of the church; particularly, that he would not permit the practice of ſimony; that the eſtates and perſons of the clergy ſhould be wholly left to the care and inſpection of the biſhops; that all their ancient privileges ſhould be confirmed, and all the eſtates and churches held under his grandfather ſhould be diſcharged of all ſecular ſervices: he further granted them a power to diſpoſe of their eſtates by will, and promiſed that during the vacancies of biſhopricks and abbies, which ſhould never be of long continuance, the care of their revenues ſhould be committed to the moſt conſiderable of the clergy. The king was no leſs gracious in his promiſes to the nobility. One of the great grievances they had to complain of, in the reign of HENRY, was the hardſhips the ſubjects lay under from the king's pretended right of foreſt. STEPHEN therefore promiſed that he would confine himſelf to thoſe places only, which had been foreſts in the time of the two WILLIAMS, and diſforeſt all the reſt. In ſhort he gave them hopes, that all their grievances ſhould be redreſſed, and the utmoſt care taken to preſerve a regular and uniform courſe of juſtice. Theſe promiſes from a king at his firſt acceſſion, may quiet and entertain the minds of the common people; but they go but a little way with men whoſe ſituation and abilities give them a capacity to aſſiſt or diſtreſs a government, unleſs they ſhare in thoſe employments which they think themſelves entitled to. The king knew this, as well as any body; and therefore he endeavoured to engage thoſe particularly in his intereſt, whoſe figure, capacity, or power under his predeceſſor, might incline them otherwiſe to diſturb him. The biſhop of SALISBURY had been HENRY's firſt miniſter; was frequently made his viceroy during his abſence; and was at this time the greateſt and moſt powerful man of his order. To this prelate the king thought it neceſſary to make his court: and that he might engage him the more ſteadily on his ſide, one of his nephews, NIGELLUS biſhop of Ely was made treaſurer, and ALEXANDER another nephew, biſhop of Lincoln had the great ſeal. The multitude were charmed with the new king's bounty; to them a very unuſual ſight: and indeed the liberal hand with which he ſcattered the immenſe treaſures that king HENRY had amaſſed together, was not without effect upon thoſe who ought to have been above ſuch conſiderations.

Hitherto king Stephen had met with no oppoſition; but as he foreſaw it would not be long before the empreſs and her huſband would make an attempt to recover the crown, he thought it requiſite to ſave appearances with the people, as tho he really intended to perform what he promiſed. His coronation therefore was no ſooner over, than he convened a general aſſembly of the biſhops and barons at Oxford; where he ſigned a charter confirming the promiſes I have mentioned above. Had this charter been obſerved, it would have been of great advantage to the people of England: but as the Engliſh had elected Stephen contrary to their oaths to ſerve their own intereſt only, ſo as Malmsbury takes notice, this artful prince granted every thing they required; on purpoſe to ſeduce them to eſpouſe his cauſe, and not to bind himſelf with fetters of parchment. Theſe were the ſteps which were taken by the new king at home: abroad he paid his court to the ſee of Rome, perhaps with no more ſincerity, but in a manner ſo unbecoming both the wiſdom and the honour of a king of England, that it is not an eaſy thing to determine, whether his application was more mean and ſervile in itſelf, or more enſlaving and miſchievous in its conſequence. But the more unworthy it was of the king, the more acceptable it was to the pope. The ſpirit of Hildebrand was infuſed ſo ſtrongly into his ſucceſſors, in claiming a right to diſpoſe of kingdoms, that nothing could be more welcome to the court of Rome, than the addreſs of Stephen to pope Innocent, to confirm his election to the crown of England. As unwilling as ſome of our modern writers are to own this application of the king, and the pope's condeſcenſion to his requeſt, yet to ſpeak impartially, if there is any truth in this charter granted in the great council at Oxford, theſe particulars which appear in it, are paſt all contradiction: and as Stephen's ambition had puſhed him forward, over all the ties of ſworn allegeance to his ſovereign, and of fidelity to the people, ſo the ſame ambition led him to ſuch an abaſement to the court of Rome, and ſuch a treachery to the crown of England, as the nation had never known; and as William the firſt, his grandfather, had rejected with indignation. But whatever was his meaning in this ſervile addreſs, it was not the only wrong ſtep he took in his meaſures with that court. For the archbiſhop of Canterbury dying ſoon after, the king ſent to pope Innocent, to deſire that his own brother the biſhop of Winchester, might be legate; which was not denied him in form, tho it was ſoon after ſuperſeded. This was a power which had been dreaded by all his predeceſſors, and was not a little odious to his ſubjects. His ſubjects therefore could not be very eaſy under it; and the king to give them an early proof of his inſincerity, not only ſeized and detained the revenues of the archbiſhopric, but under pretence of Corbel's dying inteſtate poſſeſſed himſelf of all the primate's effects. In all this it muſt be owned that he only followed the example of the three former kings; but then he

had ſo poſitively given up this pretended right, that it could not be otherwiſe looked upon than as a breach of his charter, and the oath he had taken that he would obſerve it. This proceeding brought to mind the oath of allegeance he had broken to HENRY's daughter; and this inſincerity on the ſide of the king, falling in with the diſcontents and the ambition among the nobility, ſet the nation into a ferment, and brought the affairs of the court into great diſorder.

The advantage of theſe diſſenſions was too great to be overlooked or neglected at the court of Rome. They ſaw evidently that the king would want their friendſhip to ſecure him in the throne which he had uſurped; and that he was in no condition to withſtand whatever attempts they ſhould make, to ſtrengthen, or advance, their own encroachments in England. Tho the legatine authority was therefore granted to the biſhop of WINCHESTER at the king's requeſt, yet this was not ſufficient in the opinion of the ſee of Rome, to render that power familiar enough to the Engliſh nation. For this reaſon the biſhop of OSTIA was ſent uncalled for, with the character of legate to pope INNOCENT: and tho he was not received without reluctance, and a particular mortification to the king and his brother, yet he viſited the cathedrals, monaſteries, and collegiate churches; and before the end of the year convened a council at Weſtminſter, in which he preſided with great pomp. The canons which were agreed upon were for the moſt part the ſame which had paſſed in other councils ſince the conqueſt: but the ſtile is different from all the councils which this nation had ever known; the decreeing power throwout the whole being ſolely aſcribed to the biſhops of Rome. This was a new ſtep towards eſtabliſhing the authority of the papal legate; and by frequent inſtances of this kind, provincial councils were in time annihilated or rendered uſeleſs, and the papal power deemed neceſſary to give authority to national ſynods. To make this uſurpation go down the eaſier, and ſit the lighter on the ſtomachs of the Engliſh clergy, one of the canons expreſſes an uncommon tenderneſs for their perſons; requiring that thoſe who kill, or any other way injure the clergy and the religious, and upon admonition do not make them proper ſatisfaction, ſhall be excommunicated, and not abſolved but by the biſhop of Rome. But in this was laid the foundation of that controverſy, about the exemption of eccleſiaſticks from the ſecular power, which occaſioned ſo much trouble in the ſucceding reign. But before I proceed to take notice of the other ſteps which the legate took, to eſtabliſh his authority, and the authority of his maſter here in England, I muſt ſtop to ſay a word of the archbiſhop lately dead. I wiſh what I have to ſay were to his advantage; but except the rebuilding and adorning his cathedral which had been burnt, there is nothing left on record of any conſequence in favour of this prelate. It is ſaid that he died of grief and remorſe for his infidelity to the em-

preſs;

preſs; and that his oath to king Stephen had broke his heart. He was ſo viſibly diſordered at the coronation of this prince, that we are told his hands ſhook ſo much that he let fall the conſecrated elements. There are ſome writers who ſay in his favour, that he refuſed at firſt to perform the ceremony, upon account of his oath to Henry's daughter; till the lord high ſteward made oath that the king had diſinherited her, and releaſed his ſubjects from their engagements. But if this expedient ſatisfied the archbiſhop's conſcience, ſo far as to incline him to transfer his allegeance to another, it muſt be owned that he was ſatisfied upon a very ſlender motive. The oath of allegeance was public, and it was national; and this was the private teſtimony of a ſingle man, and a teſtimony againſt probability. Beſides, the oath was given to the empreſs at the king's requeſt, and none but the empreſs could diſcharge the obligation. Upon the whole, there is no excuſe to be made for this notorious perfidy: and tho it did not pleaſe God to give this prelate an opportunity of wiping off this ſtain by any public tokens of repentance, yet we may charitably ſuppoſe, that as he lived long enough to ſee his error, ſo he lamented in ſecret for it. As for the other biſhops, who thought a king of their own making would have been altogether manageable and pliant, they found themſelves miſerably miſtaken. The churches were plundered and their eſtates given away; the prelates were ſeized, and either kept under confinement, or forced to ſurrender their lands and fine deeply for their enlargement. Thus when men will venture upon unrighteous meaſures, and ſacrifice their honour and their conſcience to their intereſt, they deſert their beſt protection, the protection of heaven, and are ſeldom rewarded but with loſs and infamy. But to go on again with the hiſtory.

The election of an archbiſhop, from the Norman conqueſt, had always had its beginning from the crown; and when the king had an inclination to fill the vacant ſee, he ſent a ſummons to the prior and convent of Canterbury, to attend on him with ſome of their body, at a meeting of his great council, to aſſiſt in the choice of an archbiſhop: at this meeting the advice of the great council was taken, and a perſon nominated by the king, with the ſuffrage of the biſhops, was uſually choſen. But now without any motion from the king, the pope's legate directed a ſummons to the prior and the convent to attend upon the council, which he himſelf had likewiſe convened, for the election of an archbiſhop. Nor was he content with this public invaſion of the rights of the crown; but in the ſame inſtrument he tells the prior, that their election being thus made, and conſented to by the biſhops of the province, "the king cannot, and ought not, in "juſtice to deny his conſent." It is impoſſible but that the king muſt ſee ſuch a barefaced uſurpation upon his crown and dignity: but partly from his own imprudence, and partly from the ill ſituation of his affairs,

affairs, he was conſtrained to winк at it. The biſhop of WINCHESTER, his brother, had ſet his heart upon the primacy, and it was therefore his intereſt not to provoke the legate; who, from the inſolent manner in which he had ſet this buſineſs forward, without the king's participation, had given reaſon to believe, would have the conduct of the election in his own hands. But it happened in this caſe, as it generally does in all caſes where men are led out of the ways of law and juſtice for ſome preſent views. The biſhops and the convent, who accepted as a compliment their right to chooſe their own metropolitan, found only that it ſerved to render their right an eaſier prey, by ſeparating it from the crown. The king was afraid to truſt a new acceſſion of power in the hands of his brother; who had in a manner already, in the character of legate, over-ſhadowed the royal authority: notwithſtanding therefore that prelate's paſſion for the chair of metropolitan, the king ſo influenced the election, by ſecretly favouring another intereſt, that THEOBALD abbot of Bec was the archbiſhop. The biſhop of WINCHESTER thus diſappointed, before full of ambition, was now full of reſentment; and it was not long before he found an opportunity to mortify the authority by which his meaſures were broke. In the mean time let us return to the affairs of the king which led the way to it.

The council of Weſtminſter being ended, and the primate choſen, the biſhop of OSTIA left England, and the biſhop of WINCHESTER was in ſole poſſeſſion of the character of legate. But neither this conſideration, nor the unworthy condeſcenſions which STEPHEN had made to the court of Rome, were of any more avail to engage it in his intereſt, than the addreſs which he had made uſe of to ſecure his ſubjects. The obligations which the nobility had laid upon him in advancing him to the throne, had given them ſuch an idea of their ſervices as were thought too great for a recompence; and the returns which he had made, tho' they were often large, encouraged them only to demand larger, and to fly to their arms whenever they were denied. At the head of theſe revolters, was ROBERT earl of GLOCESTER, the late king's natural ſon; who having formed a party in favour of his ſiſter withdrew into Normandy, and ſent the king word that he thought himſelf bound in honour and conſcience to aſſert the right of the empreſs, to whom the crown did in truth belong. The court of Rome which was never ſhort-ſighted, perceiving a cloud to gather over the head of STEPHEN which threatened a revolution, thought fit to let him know, that they had not forgot the doctrine taught by CALIXTUS to his predeceſſor, that the papal authority could diſpenſe with their own oaths and promiſes, as well as with thoſe of other men. In ſhort INNOCENT modeſtly granted a bull of diſpenſation to the earl of GLOCESTER, abſolving him from his oath of fealty

to king Stephen who had no right to the crown, and declaring the former oath he had taken to the empreſs to be obliging. It does not fall in with the deſign of this undertaking, the reader knows, to enter into a detail of the civil wars which were occaſioned by the diſcontents of the nobility. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that the king, by his own courage and conduct, put an end to theſe attempts of the earl of Glocester; and by the advantages which he had gained, procured himſelf a tranquillity which might have been of long continuance. But the power which the biſhops had ſhewn in placing him on the throne, gave him a jealouſy which deprived him of his wonted prudence, and put it into his head to lower their greatneſs. Roger biſhop of Saliſbury, had been the great favourite and miniſter of king Henry; and by the eminent poſts which he had filled, and the long courſe of favours he had enjoyed, had raiſed himſelf and his family to ſuch circumſtances as excited envy and indignation. They had ſeveral ſtrong caſtles, which they openly declared, were intended for the ſecurity as well as the dignity of the church: and when he and his two nephews came to court, they came with ſuch a grand retinue ſo well armed and accoutred, as if they rather intended to brave the king than to pay their duty to him. The king, who from the beginning had a jealous eye upon this prelate, wanted no whiſperers to ſuggeſt, that he could not be ſafe whilſt theſe biſhops were ſo powerful. It is true the biſhop of Salisbury had a principal hand in his election to the crown; but obligations on princes, when they ſtand in the way of their intereſt, are not much regarded: and in proportion to the power and favour which that prelate had enjoyed under Henry, ſo much leſs fit was he and his nephews to be truſted, in the king's opinion, in a diſpute which his majeſty was likely to have with Henry's daughter. Under pretence of a quarrel therefore between the retinue of the earl of Richmond, and the followers of the biſhops of Salisbury, Lincoln, and Ely, which happened, or as ſome ſay, was contrived at Oxford, when the king and his great council were aſſembled there, his majeſty laid hold of this opportunity to mortify the whole family: and not content with the fine which the law enjoined in the like caſes, he demanded their ſeveral caſtles to be delivered into his hands as a pledge of their future loyalty. The prelates thought this demand was too exorbitant; and whilſt they were deliberating what to do, the king put the biſhops of Salisbury and Lincoln under arreſt, and the biſhop of Ely ſaved himſelf by flight. Being maſter of the perſons of the two former, Stephen found it an eaſy matter to get their caſtles and treaſure into his hands; but this ſeverity towards the biſhops, under a very ſlight pretence, diſguſted the whole body of the clergy, who made loud complaints. Indeed the neceſſities of the ſtate may ſometimes force the wiſeſt and the mildeſt governments into proceedings of this kind, and a good end may per-

haps be anſwered by them; but yet jealouſies are boundleſs, and even innocence and wiſdom are no ſecurities, where a bare ſuſpicion may make one guilty. The proceedings therefore of this nature when they are unſupported by facts, by leaving an ill impreſſion on the minds of people, very often operate the wrong way, and occaſion greater confuſions than thoſe they were to prevent. There are many occurrences however in the reign of STEPHEN which will warrant this reflexion.

It was moſt certainly the king's ſeverity to theſe prelates, which the law did not juſtify, that gave a colourable pretence to the biſhop of WINCHESTER to mortify his brother and the new archbiſhop. I have already mentioned the biſhop's diſappointment in the ſee of Canterbury, which he had not digeſted: he thought this a fit opportunity to ſatiate his revenge, and he took it with pleaſure. For under a pretence of putting a ſtop to the arbitrary proceedings againſt the biſhops, by his legatine power he called a council at Wincheſter, and ſummoned both the king and the archbiſhop to it. The aſſembly being met, the legate aggravated in a bitter manner what the king had done to the biſhops, and magnified his own zeal in aſſerting the rights and liberties of the clergy. After this he proteſted, that he would put in execution the decrees of the council, when they had conſidered of this infraction of the epiſcopal dignity and the privileges of the church, tho it ſhould coſt him the friendſhip of the king his brother, the loſs of his eſtate, and even of life itſelf. The king had appointed ſome lords to appear for him at the council, with AUBERIE de VERE a great civilian: and when they demanded the reaſon why the king was ſummoned, the legate anſwered with warmth and quickneſs, "that the king who was "himſelf a ſubject of CHRIST, ought not to be angry if he was called "upon by the miniſters of CHRIST, to give ſatisfation for a crime of "ſuch a heinous nature, as the preſent age had not been acquainted "with; for it was pagan princes only who impriſoned biſhops and "ſeiſed upon their poſſeſſions." The king's council anſwered, that they were not puniſhed as biſhops, but as his majeſty's ſubjects and ſervants; and then went into the particulars of the ill behaviour and undutifulneſs of the three prelates: that they fortified their caſtles, and travelled attended and armed in ſuch a manner, as gave room to ſuſpect, that they wanted nothing but an opportunity to join his enemies; that his majeſty was obliged to provide for the ſafety of the ſtate, which was at that time threatened with an invaſion; and that none of his ſubjects could refuſe to admit him into their caſtles without incurring the guilt of rebellion. Theſe arguments not convincing, or however not prevailing on the biſhops to withdraw their ſuit, the legate propoſed to excommunicate the king, and to ſend deputies to Rome to lay the caſe before the pope. It was high time when the king was thus menaced by his brother, and one of his own ſubjects, that his counſel ſhould

ſpeak

ſpeak a little roundly, without any reſerve: and accordingly they declared, that the king had expreſly forbid any appeal to Rome upon that occaſion; and if any biſhop was ſent thither without his approbation they ſhould not find it an eaſy matter to return to England. The biſhops of Salisbury and Lincoln were not wanting to themſelves; and tho they had given ſome ground for the king's ſuſpicions, yet what they urged in their juſtification was more than enough to ſet them right in the opinion of an aſſembly diſpoſed to favour them. The members of it were unwilling to expoſe themſelves to the king's reſentment, either by an excommunication, or an appeal to Rome, as the legate had propoſed; and contented themſelves with petitioning his majeſty to ſet the biſhops at liberty, that he might prevent a rupture between the eccleſiaſtical and civil powers. The king, who by this time had reaſon enough to reflect on his own ill conduct in bringing in a foreign power, which had no more bounds than it had foundation in law, thought he had done too much already, in ſtooping thus meanly to plead his cauſe before his brother the legate. Stephen had certainly forgot the royal character he was inveſted with, when he ſent his counſel to this ſynod, and thereby owned, and gave ſome colour to an uſurpation, which he ought to have oppoſed with his blood. The neceſſity of his affairs, I ſuppoſe, inclined him to pay a ſeeming veneration to an authority he was ſmarting under: but the precedent was remembered when the reaſons of his yielding to it were quite forgotten. On the other hand, as the fortreſſes of the biſhops of Salisbury and Lincoln were in the king's hands, and the biſhop of Ely was driven for ſanctuary into the army of the empreſs, the legate and his party were not appeaſed; and their example and diſſatisfaction miſled a great many other people to the embaraſment of the king's affairs.

The empreſs Maud, and her brother the earl of Glocester, looking on this as a favourable juncture for their deſign, came over into England; and a moſt unnatural bloody war enſued. It is beſide my preſent purpoſe to give a particular detail of the treachery and mutual cruelty practiſed on this occaſion; as if both ſides had fought, not to conquer, but to deſtroy their country, and to procure enemies and diſhonour rather than peace and victory. Even the biſhops themſelves, if the hiſtorian is to be credited, forgot their character; and engaging in a warfare very different from that of their holy function, had too great a ſhare in the ſpoils and oppreſſions of their country. The reader may conſult the ſtate hiſtorians for theſe particulars, whoſe buſineſs it is to recite them; I ſhall ſay nothing more of them, than that they give us a dreadful idea of the miſchiefs occaſioned by the zeal of parties, and the factions of a ſtate, when they are carried to ſuch a length: and as it is not in the power of man to ſay, that hitherto they ſhall go and no further, ſo nothing but the moſt abſolute neceſſity can juſtify any one in encouraging

encouraging or entering into them. But to return. Tho the rage of a civil war reſcued the Engliſh church for ſome time from the rapine and extortion of foreign legates, yet this deliverance did not leſſen the miſchiefs the nation was groaning under; becauſe our own prelates took that work into their hands, and officiouſly promoted a papal uſurpation, which their wiſer predeceſſors thought it their duty to reſiſt. Whether the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY had been too much mortified by the legatine authority which the biſhop of WINCHESTER made ſuch a figure with, or thought that his own authority as metropolitan was broke beyond recovery, it does not appear. Something or other, it is certain, miſled him at this time into an improper conduct; to appear under the character of perpetual legate to the biſhops of Rome, and to have a great ſhare in entailing the miſchiefs attending that authority on this church and nation. The court of Rome had encroached upon the authority of the archbiſhops as primates; and they foreſaw that thoſe prelates would not be eaſy under it. What does INNOCENT therefore do, but confer upon THEOBALD, the preſent archbiſhop and his ſucceſſors, the title of "legati nati"? and he was weak enough to accept it. Hitherto the title and authority of legate had been held during pleaſure; and at moſt expired with the death of the pope who granted that commiſſion: conſequently there muſt always be ſome intervals in which the archbiſhops of Canturbury muſt act without it, and by virtue of their own authority as primates of England: but by this artful expedient, the delegated, and the proper power were made inſeparable; and ſo continued to the reformation.

This full eſtabliſhment of the legatine power by the court of Rome was not the only miſchief to the church from thence which the civil war was the occaſion of; for it gave them an opportunity to acquire a pretence of judging in the election of the biſhops. To put them in poſſeſſion of their temporalities by inveſtiture, was all that HILDEBRAND had pretended to; and he was the firſt in that pretenſion. But an unhappy diſpute at this time about an election to the ſee of York, vacant by THURSTAN's death, opened a way to enlarge their pretenſions, and in the iſſue to overturn that right and freedom of elections, which with ſo much noiſy zeal they now defended. The chapter proceeding to the choice of a new archbiſhop in the vacancy of the ſee, WILLIAM a canon and treaſurer of the church, was choſen by the greater and moſt reputable part; and the other part of the chapter choſe HENRY MURDAC. Whether the promiſes of the king that all elections of biſhops ſhould be in the ſeveral chapters, or the zeal which the court of Rome had expreſſed for their right to do ſo, led the chapter of York into this attempt, one cannot ſay: but as this, if I miſtake not, is the firſt inſtance of this kind that is to be met with ſince the foundation of the Engliſh church, except once in a time of long confuſion, when the chapter of Canterbury ſolely

elected Alfric without the king's interpoſition, ſo the matter of the double election leaves it out of doubt, that the crown had not its due and accuſtomed influence, in the choice of the chapter on this occaſion. Whatever might be the cauſe of it, the diſpute was carried to Rome; and as that court knew well enough how to find their account in it, the diſpute was received with great pleaſure and the deciſion ſuch as might be expected. Murdac, abbot of Fountain in Yorkſhire, had been bred under St. Bernard, together with Eugenius who was now in the papal chair; and his intereſt was not only eſpouſed by his preceptor, with a heat and vehemence unbecoming the ſanctity of his character, but his adverſary was alſo reproached by him very untruly and maliciouſly. But that I may finiſh the account of this matter at once; after it had been debated in the courts of Innocent Caelestine, Lucius, and Eugenius, ſucceſſively biſhops of Rome, it was finally determined by the laſt; and William after his conſecration and poſſeſſion of the ſee of York for ſeveral years, was turned out of it for a conſideration, which a king of England ought not to forgive; "becauſe he had been nominated by king Stephen before "his election by the chapter." This however is not true in fact; for he was preferred merely for his merit, without any intereſt from the court, or influence from the king: but had it been true, it is a reaſon which carries in it ſuch an affront to the crown of England, and ſuch an inſult upon the canons and diſcipline of the church, that it is hard to ſay which was the worſt uſed: and tho this prelate has paſſed in our hiſtory under the title of St. William, yet he was forced to give way to his adverſary, and waited till his death before he could be reſtored.

In the mean time, the biſhop of Winchester being made ſenſible of his miſtake, in raiſing a ſtorm which he foreſaw would overwhelm the king his brother, turned about on a ſudden. He thought it probable that he himſelf ſhould be involved in his ruin with him; and therefore that it was his intereſt to ſtand by the king, and not to contribute to his deſtruction. With this view, and that he might regain his confidence by ſome important ſervice, he drew a great number of lords to Wincheſter, who were in the intereſt of the empreſs, and detained them priſoners till they had delivered up their ſeveral caſtles to the king. Thus, for more than a year after her landing, every thing went wrong on the ſide of Maud: but one ſurprizing blow on a ſudden turned the ſcale the other way; the king received a conſiderable defeat at Lincoln when he leaſt expected it, and was taken priſoner himſelf, and ignominiouſly laid in irons. This unfortunate accident opened a new ſcene. All England deſerted the impriſoned king except London, and the county of Kent; and the earl of Gloucester omitted nothing that was likely to improve theſe advantages. There was one obſtacle after all that he knew muſt be got over, before the

the empreſs his ſiſter could mount the throne with a proſpect of ſucceſs; and that was the biſhop of WINCHESTER brother to the king; who being at the head of the clergy by his legatine power, might poſſibly ſet them againſt her; which would be of fatal conſequence, conſidering the great ſway they bore among the nobility and the people. It was therefore judged neceſſary by the empreſs and her brother, that before all other things, an attempt ſhould be made upon this prelate. An attempt was made accordingly; and an interview being agreed upon, the empreſs and the earl of GLOCESTER met the biſhop and his party on the downs near Wincheſter. The prelate boggled a little at firſt, in order to make the better terms; for it could ſcarcely be from a ſcruple of conſcience: but MAUD having ſworn to leave the diſpoſal of all the biſhopricks and abbies to his care, and to be wholly guided by his counſel, he threw up the cauſe of the king his brother, took the oaths of allegeance to the empreſs, with this proviſo however that ſhe kept her promiſes, and the next day received her with great pomp in his cathedral church.

The archbiſhop of CANTERBURY had been invited by the legate to this meeting; but it ſeems he had more difficulties about giving up the king than his majeſty's own brother was troubled with. He went to Wincheſter to confer with the empreſs; but he would not conſent to own her title, or ſwear allegeance to her, till he had conſulted the king, and procured his leave to do ſo. The legate having thus far purſued the intereſt of the empreſs, he went a ſtep further to advance her to the throne of England, and by his legatine power ſummoned a council to meet at Wincheſter the week after Eaſter; where all the biſhops and abbots were preſent, with the archdeacons as repreſentatives of the inferior clergy. The day before the opening of the ſynod, the legate had diſtinct and ſecret conferences with each of theſe orders; and having by this means diſcovered the inclinations of the clergy, he ſpoke his mind when the council was aſſembled, in a long and ſolemn ſpeech. In the firſt place he reminded them of the great character of legate which he himſelf ſupported, and then with great ſharpneſs ſet forth the miſcarriages of his brother's reign; in which juſtice was not adminiſtered, biſhops were impriſoned, the advice of good men rejected, evil counſels purſued, and biſhopricks and abbies ſold. He owned that he had himſelf undertaken for his brother's good government, when the neceſſity of affairs had compelled them, as it were, to ſet the crown upon his head; and that he had ſtill a natural tenderneſs and affection for him, but that he had been diſappointed in the king's behaviour; and his zeal for the cauſe of GOD, was to be preferred to all conſiderations. In ſhort he declared, that ſince the judgments of heaven were now fallen on the head of the king whom they had elected, they were to attone for their fault by reſtoring the crown

to

to the princeſs; to whom of right it did belong. "I have therefore, "ſays he, convened you by virtue of the apoſtolic power committed "unto me, to conſult about the means for appeaſing the troubles "that have been raiſed. This affair was debated yeſterday by me "with the majority of the clergy, who beyond all diſpute have a "principal ſhare in the election of a king: and after mature delibe- "ration, we have determined to acknowledge Maud the daughter "of king Henry to be ſovereign and queen of England." The majority of the council who were not in the ſecret, were extremely ſurprized at the legate's ſpeech; eſpecially to find an election to the throne tranſacted thus in private among the clergy in an unuſual manner. But every one expecting that others ſhould ſpeak firſt, and being unwilling to declare againſt it leſt they ſhould not be ſeconded, there was a general ſilence; and this ſilence was interpreted to mean their approbation. The magiſtrates of London, who had been ſummoned to this aſſembly, came the next day with orders from the city, and from the barons who had retired thither, to petition for Stephen's liberty; but the ſame men who had violated their oath to Maud in his favour, broke thro the ſame ſacred tie they had laid themſelves under to the king, denied him the liberty of a common ſubject which was his deſire, and received the empreſs as queen of England. Nay the legate went ſo far before the breaking up of the great council, as to give benediction to all who ſhould yield obedience to her, and to excommunicate all who ſtill adhered to Stephen. The city of London was much divided in their opinion as to the part which they ought to take; but at laſt they were determined by the example of the clergy and the council at Wincheſter; and declaring for Maud, ſhe met with no further oppoſition, but was acknowledged every where as the queen.

The reader probably will expect to find, after all this ſucceſs, and the lengths which the biſhop of Winchester had gone againſt his brother, that the empreſs was advanced immediately to the throne. It is natural he ſhould expect it: but human nature is ſuch, that there are few who know how to bear proſperity and ſucceſs. The empreſs Maud was not one of the few: ſhe was carried by her ſucceſs beyond all the bounds of wiſdom and moderation, and had neither bowels nor tenderneſs of any kind. She thought of no acts of grace, of no indulgence for the neceſſities of the times, nor even of performing her ſolemn promiſes: but all her care was to take revenge on thoſe who had oppoſed her acceſſion, and to ſet up her will as the only ſtandard by which ſhe meant to govern. The ſober advices of her brother, the earl of Glocester, were not ſufficient to check her vanity and her pride; and thoſe paſſions produced their uſual conſequences. The king was reduced to ſuch circumſtances in a priſon, that his wife, and many

of his noble friends, who interceded for his liberty, offered to come under engagements, that he ſhould even oblige himſelf upon oath, to yield up his pretenſions and retire into a convent: but they were rejected with ſcorn. The city of London, who had received her with great marks of joy, were ſo alienated from her by this, and other parts of her conduct, that they entered into a conſpiracy to lay hold of her; and notwithſtanding all her haughtineſs ſhe was obliged to flie; leaving her palace and effects expoſed to the fury of the populace. The biſhop of WINCHESTER who had done ſo much to ſerve her, was as little pleaſed, and as greatly diſappointed in her, as any body. So far from being guided by his directions, he found ſhe looked upon him as her enemy; and with his haughty, turbulent, and revengeful temper he could not in ſuch circumſtances remain inactive. After concerting meaſures therefore with the queen his brother's wife, he was determined to convince the empreſs MAUD, that it was no leſs in his power to pull her down, than it had been to ſet her up. Once more therefore in ſpite of all oaths and proteſtations, the pious legate veered about again; and having drawn a ſufficient force together from Kent and London, he ſet his nephew EUSTACE and his brother's wife at their head. They marched with ſuch ſpeed and ſecreſy, that they ſurprized the empreſs and the earl of GLOCESTER, who had ſcarcely time enough to get into the caſtle of Wincheſter. The inhabitants appeared zealous in the cauſe of their new queen, which their biſhop himſelf had led them to by his own example; but out of revenge for their ſteadineſs to their engagements, when he had likewiſe ſhewn them an example of inconſtancy, he ſet fire to the city, tho the capital of his dioceſe, in which forty churches and a nunnery were burnt to aſhes, with a great part of the town. The empreſs had the good fortune to eſcape her enemies, but her brother the earl of GLOCESTER fell into their hands; which gave a new turn to the king's affairs, and brought the two parties once again to a ballance. However MAUD being under a neceſſity of redeeming her brother, for whom ſhe had juſtly the higheſt regard, by exchanging STEPHEN for him, her affairs preſently grew worſe, and the king's mended every day. The ſame reaſons, and the ſame authority, which but juſt before had promoted the intereſt of the empreſs, pulled that intereſt down, and ſet up the claim of STEPHEN. It is impoſſible for men who judge of right and wrong by their own particular intereſt only, to judge truly but where their intereſt lies on the ſide of right; and they are juſt only by chance. The legate had no ſooner reſolved to abandon MAUD whom he had got elected, than he wrote to the pope to entreat his authority for the proceedings which he ſhould undertake in behalf of the king. The pope, who had no information of what paſſed but thro the hands of the legate, exhorted him to do his utmoſt to reſtore his brother, and to uſe all his power ſecular and eccleſiaſtical in order to accompliſh it. Backed with this authority, the

legate, who, at Wincheſter, had excommunicated all the adherents to the king, in a council now held in the ſame year at Weſtminſter, commanded the people of England to aſſiſt his brother againſt the empreſs; and turned the excommunication againſt the favourers of her cauſe, as ſo many enemies to the public peace. He made a very rhetorical flouriſh, in order to juſtify his conduct, and the frequent breach of his oaths: but the people as we may well imagine, were not at all pleaſed to ſee themſelves thus liable to excommunications ſo oppoſite to one another; according to the perfidious or inconſtant humour of this prelate. No one however had ſpirit enough to open his mouth againſt it, knowing perhaps it would be in vain; except a lay agent of Maud's, who by her order charged the legate to his face, with his inviting her himſelf to England, and with adviſing the barbarous treatment that was given the king in his impriſonment. The biſhop made no reply to theſe reproaches; the facts were too notorious, and no excuſe was to be made.

Whatever advantages the king acquired, the nation ſuffered extremely, by this turn of affairs; and it was not a little part which the church of England bore in theſe confuſions. For as theſe confuſions perpetuated the uſurped authority of the papal legate, and brought the biſhops of Rome to a ſort of legiſlature here, or to a power of making canons, ſo the ſame reaſon, and the ſame circumſtances, led the way to the practiſe of carrying things to Rome by way of appeal. Nor were theſe the only miſchiefs which this haughty boiſterous prelate, the king's brother, occaſioned to the church. In a council which he held at London in the beginning of the following year, he formed, or rather revived and confirmed a canon, by which the clergy were exempted from the ſecular power; and every outrage or violence to their perſons, churches, and church yards, was declared an offence from which the biſhop of Rome alone could abſolve the guilty; or at leaſt the abſolution muſt be procured in his preſence. It is probable that the clergy, and the churches, had their ſhare in the rage and cruelty of the war, which gave occaſion and colour to this canon: but as a canon on this ſubject was what the Engliſh church had never heard of till the beginning of this reign, ſo the latter part of it, which carried the cognizance of offences againſt it to the court of Rome, was ſtill more ſtrange. The legate might intend by this artful ſtroke, to gain ſome popularity with the clergy, and the religious; but he did not forget moſt certainly the intereſt of his maſter, who had entruſted him with this public character. For in proportion as the authority of the church and kingdom were leſſened, by removing ſome cauſes to the ſee of Rome, it muſt be an addition to the power of that court, and their legates, who were to have the conduct of them. So great a change as this in the diſcipline of the Engliſh church, and the confuſions and diſputes which

attended the new legatine power, gave a quick and viſible turn to the rules and methods of eccleſiaſtical law; and occaſioned the bringing in, and the ſtudy, of the canon law in England. This was a neceſſary conſequence of the changes which had been introduced into the church; as there had not been ſo much as one canon made or received in England, to direct the exerciſe of the legatine power; or to ſhew in what caſes appeals might be made to the ſee of Rome, and by what methods they ſhould be conducted. How little ſoever theſe advances of the papal uſurpation may appear in the firſt view, yet we ſhall ſee as we go along, that they were of the laſt importance as well to the ſtate as to the church, and drew many great conſequences after them. They had not their effects indeed in any conſiderable manner till the next reign, where we ſhall meet with them again, and be amazed perhaps to ſee what a prodigious flame a little fire may kindle. Indeed the miſeries and confuſions which this nation was involved in by the war between STEPHEN, MAUD, and her ſon HENRY, left ſo little room for the affairs of the church, that the remainder of its hiſtory during the reign of STEPHEN, lies in a narrow compaſs. But tho the unhappy circumſtances of the Engliſh nation, did in a great meaſure contribute to the barrenneſs of our eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, yet they were not the only cauſe of it. The embroiled ſtate of the court of Rome at this time, whoſe intrigues and uſurpations had been for an age paſt a fruitful ſubject, had a ſhare in occaſioning this barrenneſs. The nobility and people of Rome, were ſo little acquainted with the pretended rights of the holy ſee, that they reſtored the ancient authority of the Roman ſenate, denied the ſecular authority of the popes, and confined their rights and powers to the care of ſouls, ſo that if the ambition and folly of our own countrymen had not aſſiſted, and even forwarded their uſurpations, the court of Rome was at this time in ſuch low and feeble circumſtances, that they could not themſelves have impoſed them on the Engliſh nation.

Thus whilſt LUCIUS then in the papal chair, had not intereſt nor power enough to ſecure his authority from the citizens of Rome, the folly and ambition of the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY, and the biſhop of WINCHESTER, aſcribed a power to him in England which he had no pretence to. Theſe two prelates having ſeveral particular advantages, on the account of their different characters and commiſſions, frequently claſhed with one another. THEOBALD the archbiſhop, thought it a great diminution of the dignity of his ſee, and of his authority as metropolitan, to be under the juriſdiction of one of his ſuffragan biſhops, as legate from the pope. On the other hand, the biſhop of WINCHESTER, having the ſuperior character, and being brother to the king, bore himſelf high upon theſe diſtinctions, and carried his authority to the utmoſt ſtretch. The archbiſhop therefore

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as ſome hiſtorians ſay, prevailed on the pope to withdraw the commiſſion from the biſhop of Winchester. But whether that is a matter of fact or not, which is not clear, certain it is that there were many diſputes between theſe two prelates, and appeals to Rome which had not been practiſed. The biſhop of Winchester, foreſeeing that his legatine power was but precarious at the beſt, and might dwindle into a little compaſs whenever the affairs of ſtate were ſettled, formed a deſign to divide the province of Canterbury, and to erect Wincheſter into an archbiſhopric: and tho his holineſs might approve the project as a new exertion of the papal power, yet the Engliſh nation being in too great a ferment to admit of ſuch a change, it went not further than the deſign of that haughty prelate, whoſe ambition put him upon attempting it. About the ſame time, another ſcheme of this kind was formed, to withdraw the biſhopricks of Wales from the province of Canterbury, and to reſtore the biſhops of St. David's to their original authority of metropolitans: and this, during the confuſions of the civil war, was like all other ſubjects of diſpute, carried to Rome. Bernard the then biſhop, had ſpent ſome time upon this affair at the court of Rome; and a great deal was to be ſaid in his favour. For the Britiſh biſhops, as we have ſeen, not only denied the authority of Austin the firſt archbiſhop and his ſucceſſors, but alſo for aught appears, did never own the provincial authority of thoſe prelates during the whole Saxon government. I have already obſerved that the change in the diſcipline of that church, was probably owing to the conqueſt of the country by king Henry; who by ſubduing the kingdom, reduced the Britiſh church to a ſubmiſſion. The fate of churches muſt follow that of the ſtate, and the uniting Wales to the kingdom of England makes it eaſy to account for the union of the churches under the authority of the ſame primate. But yet there was nothing in the nature, or the neceſſary conſequences of that union, to impeach the authority of a metropolitan: and if the king's pleaſure had not determined on the other ſide, St. David's might ſtill have retained the honour of being the metropolis of Wales, and yet by owning the primacy of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the union of the churches might have been preſerved. The profeſſion of canonical obedience, however, made by Bernard at his conſecration, to the archbiſhop of Canterbury as his metropolitan, lay ſo heavily on his own pretenſions, that he was never able to get over the difficulty which it laid in his way; and the pope determined in favour of Theobald.

Eugenius having met with great mortifications from the Roman people, tho we continued to pay court to him from hence, came about the middle of this century into France; and beſides ſeveral provincial councils held by him there, pretended to call a general council

to meet at Rheims. To this council he ſummoned the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY and four other Engliſh biſhops. The king refuſed to let his biſhops attend upon that ſynod; but the archbiſhop, either thro fear or love of the holy ſee, reſolved to venture the king's diſpleaſure, and went over, tho with great difficulty, to France; the ports being guarded to ſtop his paſſage. The zeal of THEOBALD for the intereſt of the papacy, made him ſo acceptable a gueſt to pope EUGENIUS, that the joy of that meeting, ſays the writer of his life, is ſcarce to be expreſſed. But the ſame reaſons which made him welcome to the pope, made him very unwelcome to the king at his return; who ſo reſented his diſobedience that he ſent him back again to France, and would never after permit him to reſide in England. Some hiſtorians aſcribe this diſgrace to the biſhop of WINCHESTER; who having a pique to the primate from their many quarrels, ſerved himſelf at this juncture, by heightning the king's reſentment, and obliging the archbiſhop, if he undertook the voyage, to forfeit his eſtate and the protection of the laws; or if theſe penalties ſhould detain him at home, to fall under the diſpleaſure and puniſhment of the pope. Whatever engaged the king to deny THEOBALD leave to attend upon this ſynod, the archbiſhop's diſobedience, which the hiſtorians ſpeak of as meritorious, ſhews what a great change a little time had produced in the Engliſh church. We have ſeen LANFRANK and all his clergy diſowning an obligation to attend the ſummons of the pope, repeated often too with threats, when the king of England required them to ſtay at home: but now the papal uſurpations had gained ſo much ground, that what was a fault in thoſe days was now become a duty. There is no doubt but the archbiſhop was very uneaſy under the inſults which his authority received daily from the imperious legate: and if we may judge of paſt counſels by ſucceding actions, matters of a very different nature from thoſe tranſacted in a general ſynod were concerted at this interview between the pope and THEOBALD. Is it not probable that they entered then into meaſures to favour the pretenſions of the empreſs and her ſon? and is it not likewiſe probable, that the jealouſies which the king might entertain of their concerting ſuch meaſures againſt him, were the true reaſons of his ſo ſteadily denying leave to the archbiſhop to attend the pope, and of his treating him ſo coarſely at his return? I think it is. Thus much however is certain, that theſe two prelates appeared ſoon after in the intereſt of the empreſs MAUD; the archbiſhop came into England, put all the country which acknowledged STEPHEN under an interdict, and would not revoke the ſentence till the difference between the king and himſelf was ſet right. But tho he was reſtored to his temporalities, yet the miſunderſtanding thus begun never ended entirely till the death of the king.

Not long after the accommodation that was thus feebly made between Stephen and the primate, a council was held at London; at which Theobald preſided as archbiſhop and legate, and at which the king, his ſon Eustace, and the temporal nobility, were likewiſe preſent. The king having a deſire to ſettle the crown on his poſterity, and to extinguiſh the hopes of Henry and his mother, propoſed the coronation of his ſon before hand. The archbiſhop, whoſe office it was to perform the ceremony, gave him a flat denial; and his reaſon for it was more offenſive than the denial itſelf. He told him that the pope had expreſsly forbidden him to crown the ſon of a prince, who contrary to his oath had uſurped the kingdom. The king and his ſon were much incenſed at this refuſal; and tho they ordered all the biſhops to be locked up in a room, and tried to force them into a compliance, yet all the biſhops united in a refuſal to crown the ſon of the king. About the middle of this century, a deſign was carrying on to deſtroy the authority of dioceſan biſhops, by exempting the religious from their juriſdiction, and taking it from them, where it could be done, in order to raiſe the monaſticks to a greater figure in the church. The controverſy was begun in England by a diſpute between Hilary biſhop of Chicheſter, and Walter abbot of Battle-abbey about the right of viſitation. The abbot pleaded exemption from the juriſdiction of the biſhop, by virtue of the charter granted by William the firſt, their founder: and this diſpute being brought before the king, the abbot's pretences falling in with the intereſt of the prerogative, Stephen, who was incenſed at the conduct of the biſhops towards him, declared the abbey a royal chapel, and took it under his own immediate care. This diſpute ſucceeding in this manner, the religious began every where to find out pretences to exempt themſelves from the juriſdiction of their biſhops; more eſpecially the ancient abbies. This was a new and ſurprizing ſcene, with which the Engliſh church had never been before acquainted. But the ſucceſs of Battle-abbey having inflamed the ambition of the monaſticks, ſome of them took the ſhorteſt way, and made themſelves charters to ſet them free from the juriſdiction of their biſhops. The way being thus prepared, the diſputes began between Theobald archbiſhop of Canterbury and his monks; between Robert biſhop of Bath and the monks of Glaſſonbury; and between the biſhop of Lincoln and the abbey of St. Albans; beſides ſeveral others of leſs note. Thoſe who inſiſted on their charters only, had many difficulties in their way; and for the moſt part miſcarried: others therefore took a ſlower and more expenſive method, but generally more ſucceſsful; and purchaſed bulls of exemption from the biſhops of Rome. The abbot of Canterbury, if I miſtake not, was the firſt who took this method; and he managed his cauſe at Rome with ſo much addreſs,

that he obliged archbiſhop THEOBALD to give him his benediction; without the ancient and uninterrupted cuſtom of profeſſing his obedience to him. The abbot of St. Albans took the ſame courſe, but moved a little ſlower. He had for ſome time been diſputing the authority of the biſhop of Lincoln, and was not ſanguine enough to truſt entirely to their charters. Therefore when ADRIAN, not only reputed an Engliſhman but ſaid to be born at St. Albans, came to the papacy, this was thought ſo favourable an opportunity for the conſent, that the abbot went to Rome; and by rich and liberal preſents gained a bull to exempt the abbey from all epiſcopal authority whatſoever; except the juriſdiction of the biſhop of Rome. Nor was this the only violence that was offered to the dioceſan authority: but by another bull much of the ſame date, the proceſſion of that part of Hertfordſhire which lay within the dioceſe of Lincoln, was taken from the cathedral church, and granted to the abbey of St. Albans.

It may not be improper, before I go on with the hiſtory any further, to ſtop a little and explain this uſage; which in our hiſtories is known by the name of the proceſſion, and in our eccleſiaſtical books by the name of the pentecoſtals. Not long after the Norman conqueſt, an honorary privilege was granted to cathedral churches, to thoſe at leaſt which the Normans built; that the pariſhes in the dioceſe ſhould make an acknowledgment of their relation to the cathedral as the mother church of the whole dioceſe. Every pariſh had a diſtinct ſum charged upon it, which was brought at Whitſuntide to the cathedral by ſome of the pariſhes who were deputed, and who came together headed by the reſpective archdeacons in the way of proceſſion; offering at the altar of the cathedral, in the name of thoſe whom they repreſented, the ſeveral ſums charged upon them. Thus from the time in which they were brought, they acquired the name of pentecoſtals; as they did that of the proceſſion from the manner in which they were offered: and becauſe the conduct of this affair was charged as a duty upon the archdeacons, ſo when the uſage of the proceſſion ceaſed, the care of bringing the oblations to the mother church was charged upon them. The grounds of this uſage being thus explained, the reader will eaſily perceive the reaſon which led the monaſtery of St. Albans to be at a charge to gain this privilege. For by this means they delivered themſelves from any marks of their dependance on the church of Lincoln; and the abbey appeared from the proceſſion of theſe pariſhes granted to it, to be itſelf a mother church. So great was the ambition, and ſo avowed the vanity of the very men, who were at the ſame time pretending to the moſt extraordinary holineſs and humility! The biſhop of Lincoln was not wanting to his duty; and having engaged the king, the biſhops, and the nobility on his ſide, he prevailed by that intereſt on

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pope Alexander the third, who had ſucceded Adrian, to reſpite the effects of the late grant, till the matter might be enquired into in England, and reported. In the mean time without any regard to the determination at Rome, the biſhop renewed his citations to the abbot and convent to appear at his viſitation; and deſired the king to take cognizance of this affair by his own authority. The king appointed three biſhops and the abbot of Weſtminſter to hear the cauſe; but the diſpute came to nothing, till Henry the ſecond, ſeveral years after, undertook to hear it himſelf in his great council: and that I may finiſh the account of it without breaking in again upon the courſe of the hiſtory, notwithſtanding the preſents and promiſes of the abbot to the king and his court, and the great intereſt made by all the religious in the kingdom who thought it a leading caſe, yet the biſhop's right was ſo undeniable, and the influence of his brethren ſo conſiderable, that the king did not think fit, tho he inclined that way, to determine againſt him. He adviſed the convent to give his lordſhip the manor of Finghurſt, in conſideration of the juriſdiction which he demanded; and he perſuaded the biſhop, and the dean and chapter of Lincoln, to accept the equivalent. By this agreement the abbey of St. Albans, and fifteen churches dependant on it, were exempted from the juriſdiction of the ſee of Lincoln; and the proceſſion was granted to the abbey. The diſpute being thus adjuſted, the abbot was not a little elated with his ſucceſs; and at the Eaſter following, with the mitre on his head, and the gloves and ſandals which diſtinguiſhed a biſhop's habit, he celebrated maſs, and aſſiſted at the proceſſion. The example of this monaſtery begat in others a zeal for the honour of their foundations; and as the proceſſion, which anciently denoted the mother church, was much deſired by theſe ſocieties, ſo they had likewiſe an equal paſſion to have their abbots diſtinguiſhed by the epiſcopal habit. Indeed the religious had been trained up to great pretenſions of holineſs and humility, and were not inſenſible how much their influence with the people depended on an opinion of their ſanctity: but yet their ambition inſpired them with ſuch zeal in the purſuit of pomp and power, as they could not reſiſt in themſelves, nor diſguiſe to other people.

The abbey of St. Albans, if I don't miſtake, was the firſt that led the way to the mitre; and this, and ſome following inſtances of the ſame kind, gave ſuch a ſtroke to the rights of dioceſan biſhops, as at once broke thro the ancient canons of the church, and paved the way to great confuſion in ſucceding times. The biſhops had moſt certainly the advantages of the beſt antiquity on their ſide; and for the moſt part were juſt to their duty in oppoſing the uſurpation; but the ſucceſs did not anſwer the juſtice of their cauſe, nor the zeal and good ſenſe with which it was defended. Their authority, on the contrary, was almoſt every where invaded; and there was ſcarcely a dioceſe in the kingdom, which

which had not, within the compaſs of an age or two, ſome religious houſe taken from the care of the dioceſan, and put under that of the biſhop of Rome. Nay ſeveral had the exterior juriſdiction within themſelves, and were entruſted with the overſight of ſuch of the parochial clergy, whoſe livings were appropriated to their foundations. This was ſo plain a violation of the ancient canons, and occaſioned ſuch a change in the diſcipline of the Engliſh church, as I hope will make a ſufficient apology to the reader for this long digreſſion. But before I diſmiſs the ſubject, let me obſerve the iſſue and conſequences of thoſe exemptions, which the religious were labouring every where, about this time, to obtain. How much ſoever they might think to gratify their vanity and ambition, their ſins returned upon their own heads; and the very exemptions they contended for proved the greateſt unhappineſs that ever befel the Engliſh monaſteries before their diſſolution. For being thus diſcharged from the authority of their biſhops, the abbots were called to Rome in perſon to have their elections confirmed and to receive their benediction; the expences of which, if one of our hiſtorians is to be credited, amounted to little ſhort of two thouſand pounds. The follies of men are often returned upon their own heads, and the crafty are taken in their own ſnare. Thus the abbey of St. Albans, which firſt obtained the papal exemption from its biſhop's juriſdiction, was the firſt that ſmarted under it: the abbot of that monaſtery, ſays M. PARIS, who was a monk of it, "was the firſt who "to his great ſorrow underwent the Roman yoke, and the firſt who "began to groan under their new and unheard of oppreſſions." Indeed the miſchiefs which this drew upon exempted houſes was intolerable. For beſides the certain fatigue and charges of going to Rome, upon every election of an abbot, all the little ſquabbles about the privileges of the monks, and the authority of their abbots and their elections, carried many of the convents to the court of Rome, made them ſlaves to the papal legates, involved them in perpetual quarrels with their dioceſans, and very often expoſed them to the diſpleaſure of their kings. Whilſt the religious who were ſober minded, and contented with thoſe privileges which the diſcipline of the church had placed them under, had an eaſy redreſs of their grievances, and juſtice was almoſt always at their door, the others, whoſe ambition had prompted them to be exempted from the ordinary juriſdiction, were obliged to ſeek redreſs in a foreign land from a foreign power, which inſtead of a remedy was a puniſhment ſevere and heavy. Having purſued this affair beyond the order of time, that it might appear in one view, the reader will give me leave to lead him back again, and to reſume the hiſtory where I left it when this controverſy began.

We may remember the weak condition in which at that time king STEPHEN was on account of the public confuſions; too weak to do

any thing towards ſuppreſſing this controverſy, if he had been inclined to it, which he certainly was not; for he was in the intereſt of the convents againſt the biſhops: and if the miſeries of the ſtate were not ſo laſting as the diſorders which then broke in upon the church, yet they were certainly too much of a piece; and the nation was bleeding under the miſeries of an inteſtine war. In this poſture things continued till the death of EUSTACE the king's eldeſt ſon. This was a blow which extinguiſhed the hopes of STEPHEN, to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion to the crown in his own family; and as it abated the reſolution which had hitherto made the breach between the empreſs and him incurable, ſo it opened away to an accommodation which not long after followed. In the ſame year in which EUSTACE died, the king alſo loſt his queen, who was the greateſt ſupport of her huſband's cauſe: and as he had no children left but WILLIAM who was a youth, and no way likely to ſupport the pretenſions of his family againſt the empreſs and her ſon who were now arrived in England with a great Norman army, ſo the king turned his thoughts to find out a method of enjoying the crown peaceably during his own life, by relinquiſhing the hopes of leaving it to his ſon. In this deſign he was aſſiſted by THEOBALD the archbiſhop: and when his brother the biſhop of WINCHESTER, who had embroiled the kingdom to ſet him upon the throne, ſaw how miſerably it was over-run with rapine and confuſion and almoſt wholly laid in blood and aſhes, he repented his former meaſures; and by employing his good offices, together with the nobility and the biſhops, a peace was concluded in eleven hundred and fifty-three, in which king STEPHEN was left to poſſeſs the throne during his life, and the ſucceſſion was adjudged to HENRY ſon of the empreſs, whom ſhe had made duke of Normandy. The next year this agreement was confirmed in the great council which met at Oxford; and the duke having taken an oath from thoſe who aſſiſted at it, that on the death of the king he ſhould ſuccede to the government of the kingdom without any diſturbance, returned into Normandy. But STEPHEN, whoſe whole reign had been a continued ſcene of war, had but a little time to enjoy the bleſſings of peace. For in the latter end of the year death took him out of the world; and he was buried at Feverſham in a monaſtery which he had founded.

It is impoſſible to ſay too much of the valour and perſonal courage of this prince: but valour and perſonal courage, are of all princely qualities perhaps the leaſt uſeful, and the leaſt valuable to the people. He had however many other good qualities which made him worthy to have lived in better times; and which more than counterbalanced his vices as a king. Theſe vices too ſeem to have been owing to his particular ſituation, in having mounted the throne without any right or title, and in breach of his oaths to the empreſs. Had STEPHEN inherited the crown of England as the lawful heir, or if he had not poſſeſſ-

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ed himſelf of it by faction and cabal, he might perhaps have kept his promiſes with the people. But the manner in which he ſtole, as it were, into the throne, put him upon making ſuch promiſes, in order to ſecure himſelf in it againſt the empreſs, as he never intended afterwards to perform. He had great generoſity and clemency in his temper, which are of great conſequence to the people, and very laudable in a prince: and notwithſtanding ſome of the barons, whom the fortune of war had put within his power, had given too much reaſon to STEPHEN to uſe them with ſeverity, yet there is not a ſingle inſtance of cruelty or rigour to be met with thro his reign. His reign too, it muſt be owned, was a continued ſcene of civil war from the beginning to the end; in which cruelty and rigour are commonly dealt by princes with a very liberal hand: but theſe had no place in his natural temper; and he was ſo much affected with the miſeries which the kingdom had endured on account of this war, that he was determined, and had even began, to take the beſt methods poſſible to redreſs theſe diſorders, when death took him out of the world, and prevented the execution of his great deſign. In ſhort, we may ſay of STEPHEN, that he was naturally a brave and good natured man with great clemency and fortitude; and in other circumſtances and other times, might have made a very uſeful, and a very deſerving prince.

We are now come to the reſtoration of the Saxon line, and to ſee a prince on the throne of England who by the mother's ſide was deſcended from its ancient kings; and who gave the crown a brighter luſtre than ever. None of our hiſtorians take any notice of the empreſs MAUD's reſignation of her right to the crown of England in favour of her ſon; and yet it is certain that ſhe lived ſeveral years after his coronation. It is therefore to be preſumed I think, as HENRY is no where charged with any undutifulneſs towards his mother, or ſnatching the ſcepter out of her hand, that ſhe waved the right which lay in her during her life, that her ſon might ſuccede immediately to the throne upon the death of STEPHEN.

THE

THE

ECCLESIASTICAL

HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK VI.

HENRY the ſecond, duke of Normandy, having a powerful party in the kingdom, and a great foreign force at his command, was in no fear of any diſputes about his title; and made no great haſte to aſſume it, after he heard of king STEPHEN's death. The truth is, the people of England were too much tired out with the civil wars that had raged ſo long in the kingdom, to run the riſque of ſeeing them renewed ſo ſoon. Purſuant therefore to the agreement made with STEPHEN, of which all the barons of the realm were guarantees, HENRY came and took poſſeſſion of the crown of England, tho not till ſix weeks after the death of his predeceſſor, with as much peace and quietneſs, as tho he had been maſter of it many years. But tho he was delivered from the confuſions and miſchiefs which ever attend inteſtine wars, and was in no fear of a rival, yet he had work enough to do, to find a cure for thoſe diſorders which had been introduced, and to put it out of the power of the factious to create any future troubles. He had therefore no ſooner the crown upon his head, than he made it his buſineſs to recover the lands which had been given away, and to demoliſh the great number of caſtles that had been fortified, to baniſh all the mercenary troops which STEPHEN had entertained, and to give new life and vigour to the laws which had been broken in upon in the civil wars. After the king had thus taken all the precautions he thought neceſſary for reſtoring tranquility to the kingdom, he choſe a council out of the moſt eminent men among the laity and the clergy, intending to find a remedy for the diſorders of the church as well as the ſtate. But theſe were not ſo eaſily cured. The ſource of the miſchiefs which had crept into the former lay out of his reach, and appeared to be inexhauſtible:

the diſorders themſelves took refuge under the pretenſions of religion: the boldeſt inſults on the monarchy, and on the laws and church of England, were called the prerogatives of St. PETER, and eccleſiaſtical privileges which he had no right to meddle with: they were alſo covered ſo artfully under theſe ſacred names, that they not only maintained their ground, but it was the moſt difficult taſk of his whole reign to make any tolerable ſtand againſt them, not without a manifeſt danger of being overwhelmed and periſhing in the attempt. Indeed after all the oppoſition that he was able to make, he was at laſt obliged to compound, and yield up ſome of the neceſſary and unconteſted rights of the monarchy to keep the crown upon his head.

One of the firſt things which exerciſed the patience of this prince, was the controverſy begun in the preceding reign, by the ambition of the monaſticks to exempt themſelves from the authority of their biſhops. Enough however has been ſaid already of this controverſy, to give the reader a proper notion of it, without engaging him any further in it. About the ſame time that HENRY came to the crown of England, NICHOLAS an Engliſhman, ſaid to be born at St. Albans, was advanced to the papacy, and took the name of ADRIAN. His predeceſſors had ſet up a claim to univerſal monarchy, and more than in things ſpiritual; for they had broached the doctrine of depoſing kings, and giving away kingdoms; but however as yet, ſpeculation and theory were in a manner all the progreſs which theſe doctrines had made. Indeed the power of thruſting into the affairs of all national churches by their legates, and in ſome caſes of bringing them by appeals to Rome had made too great advances in the weſtern churches: but ſtill this was only a temporary ſuperſeding the authority of dioceſan biſhops; and when the queſtion was determined, their authority returned and became what it was before. Pope ADRIAN therefore was not contented with ſuch an occaſional infringement of their rights: and in an exemption which he granted to the abbey of St. Albans from all eccleſiaſtical authority but that of the biſhops of Rome, there was a total alienation of the inherent right of dioceſan biſhops, and which the beſt ages had thought inſeparable from their function. But there is another inſtance of the preſumption and inſolence of this prelate which makes the violation of the authority of the epiſcopal order leſs ſurprizing; and that is, aſſuming to himſelf a power of giving the dominion of Ireland to king HENRY, without any intervention or conſent of the Iriſh nation. It ſeems HENRY, tho king of England, and duke of Normandy and Aquitain, and earl of Anjou, had not yet however dominions numerous and great enough to ſatisfy his ambition: and therefore he ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Rome, as M. PARIS reports, to ſollicit ADRIAN's conſent, that he might make an expedition into Ireland, and by the conqueſt of that country, reclaim

claim thoſe ſavage people, and force them into a better practice and belief; promiſing in caſe of ſucceſs a penſion of a penny a houſe to the court of Rome, and to maintain the rights of the churches without detriment or diminution. The court of Rome, which never wanted generoſity enough to give away that which they had nothing to do with, was in a ſingular manner very obliging to the king in this inſtance. In Adrian's epiſtle to him on this ſubject, after telling him, "that all the iſlands which had received the chriſtian faith, un-"doubtedly belonged to the juriſdiction of the holy Roman church "and were St. Peter's right," he approves and ratifies the king's deſign of an expedition into Ireland, "to enlarge the borders of the "church, for the increaſe of the chriſtian religion, and for promoting "virtue and ſuppreſſing vice." From the pretenſions of king Henry, and from theſe expreſſions which the pope makes uſe of, the reader perhaps may be of opinion, that chriſtianity at this time had not been planted yet in Ireland, and that it was ſtill a pagan kingdom. Nothing like it. The faith of Christ had for many ages been received and profeſſed in that nation, earlier perhaps than it was in Britain: they had at that time a formed and ſettled church, under the government of their proper biſhops and metropolitans; and for aught appears to the contrary were no leſs orthodox in their belief than regular in their eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. To account therefore for this repreſentation of the people of Ireland as ſavage and uncultivated, the reader muſt underſtand, that the primates of that kingdom had been always married men, and for fifteen generations the ſons had ſucceeded their fathers in that ſtation. But this was not all. Tho the church of Ireland had for ſome ages had four metropolitans, yet not one of them had ever received a pall from Rome, but had performed all the offices of primates and metropolitans without it: and conſequently they had never had a dependance on the biſhops of Rome, but were unacquainted with that plenitude of the apoſtolic power, which the court of Rome was now perſuading the world attended on the pall. Let us add to this, the zeal with which they were labouring to ſubject the weſtern churches to their authority, and what notions of the neceſſity of that ſubjection Gregory the ſeventh had broached, and their emiſſaries were always buſy in propagating to the world, and we ſhall then perhaps find a clue to pope Adrian's meaning, of enlarging the borders of the church, by bringing the kingdom of Ireland to the faith, and of that aſtoniſhing grant which he pretended to make to the king of England.

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tained it for the archbiſhop. The ſervices of this kind which he had done for Theobald, had given the archbiſhop a great opinion of his abilities for public buſineſs: he had beſides the character of a man of courage, knew how to make a figure, and was polite enough for a court. His grace therefore recommended him at this time to the king for the poſt of lord chancellor, and his recommendation ſucceeded. Becket, from a private man, in no other office but that of an archdeacon, was at once lifted up to the higheſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed poſt in the kingdom. Whatever were his abilities, he had cunning enough whilſt he was in that ſtation, to ſhew ſo little of the monaſtic ſpirit, that he was thought rather too gay and too complaiſant for a churchman. His habit and equipages were rich and ſplendid, his entertainments were grand, his company of the mirthful ſort, and his converſation and amuſements chearful and unreſerved. During the whole time that he continued in the office of lord chancellor, he behaved as tho he had forgot his character in the church; but acquitted himſelf ſo well as a miniſter of ſtate, that the king entertained a great opinion of his merit, and believed him one that was always ready to ſacrifice every thing to his ſervice. How much Henry was diſappointed, and how many vexations were given him thro the pride and obſtinacy of this man, the reader will ſee hereafter.

The king of England had hitherto reſiſted all the artifices of the court of Rome, to engage him in the expeditions to the holy war: but yet he ſeems to have imbibed ſomething of that ſpirit, which at this time diffuſed itſelf throwout the weſtern nations; I mean a fierceneſs and violence in religious matters, by which a great deal of blood was ſhed, and whole countries were depopulated, under a colour of ſerving the intereſt, and enlarging the church of Christ. For about the middle of this century, king Henry led the way to that cruel and infernal treatment of men for mere opinions in religion, which in time became as great a reproach to the gentleneſs and humanity of the Engliſh nation, as it always was, and always will be, to the faith and doctrine of chriſtianity. The occaſion of it was this. About thirty people of both ſexes coming hither from Germany with the name of hereticks, the king called a council to meet at Oxford to enquire into their tenets. The biſhops being aſſembled, and the foreigners being brought before them were examined about their belief: the hiſtorians tell us they appeared extremely ignorant and illiterate, except one Gerard their leader; who in the name of his diſciples anſwered, that they were Chriſtians, and believed the doctrine of the apoſtles; but being further interrogated, they denied the uſe of the ſacraments and of marriage; and when they were preſſed with teſtimonies of ſcripture in favour of theſe doctrines, they anſwered only, that they believed as they were taught, and would not diſpute about

about their religion. But the turn and manner with which the hiſtorians of thoſe times ſpeak of what was then called hereſy, is uſually ſo dark and ſo much tinctured with the prevailing uſages and opinions of the age, that it is very difficult to make any judgment of things of this kind from the accounts that are handed down. Nay, the repreſentations which they give of WICKLIFF's doctrine, and of thoſe which are remembered in all our hiſtories by the name of Lollards, are oftentimes ſo falſe and ſcandalous, that it requires great caution and candour, to judge of the opinions of theſe men truly, from the accounts which thoſe writers give. Whatever were the opinions of theſe German hereticks, by ſome of our own hiſtorians called Publicans, by DUPIN the Vandois, who according to MEZERAY were only Calviniſts, the council having turned them over to the ſecular power, as the ſhorteſt way of confuting them, the king cauſed them all to be branded in the forehead, and then publicly whipped out of the town of Oxford; at the ſame time forbidding all his ſubjects to relieve them. Thus in a little time, thro the mercileſs rigour of this ſentence and the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, it being the midſt of winter, theſe poor wretches periſhed in a chriſtian country after a moſt inhuman manner. Thoſe hiſtorians who ſpeak of them in the moſt harſh and uncharitable terms, allow that they behaved with great calmneſs and moderation; and in the midſt of their ſufferings from this ſentence, went ſinging out of the town, "Bleſſed are ye when men ſhall hate you." I know that this has given occaſion to ſome authors to reproach them with prophaneneſs; but their conduct, in my opinion, as it was worthy of the beſt and moſt righteous cauſe, would incline one to think ſomewhat favourably of their doctrine; or at leaſt that it was not ſo very erroneous and heretical as it has been commonly repreſented. Theſe poor inoffenſive foreigners, who I believe left their own country to avoid perſecution, if I miſtake not were the firſt who ſuffered death in England on the ſcore of opinions in religion, ſince the firſt eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity. This barbarous way of confuting opinions in religion, was probably the effect of that unholy and unhappy ſpirit which the war at this time on foot, as it was pretended for the cauſe of CHRIST, had let in upon the weſtern church. For if men can ſo far forget the gentleneſs of the goſpel, as to perſuade others that infidels might be properly baptized in their own blood; that the precepts of CHRIST may be departed from, in order to poſſeſs themſelves of his ſepulchre; and that it was the duty of his followers, to leave their proper ſtations, to ruin their country and their families, in order to engage in this holy war; that princes ought to oppreſs and to deſert their people, and biſhops to abandon all the offices of their function, in order to lead armies for the recovery of a country, which GOD in his good providence had thought fit to give up to infidels; if men could, I ſay, be weak and wicked enough to cheriſh ſuch a diſ-

poſition as this, it is no wonder that the ſame ſpirit ſhould lead them to put an undue value on all their uſages and opinions, and to propagate them in the ſame bloody and antichriſtian manner, to the prejudice and neglect of the common intereſts of the goſpel. But whatever might be the cauſe of it, it is evident that the ſame men, who took the croſs to fight againſt infidels, were the authors of thoſe cruelties, which were inflicted upon their fellow-chriſtians.

The ſee of Rome had about this time an irreparable loſs by the death of Adrian, more eſpecially as it was the occaſion of another ſchiſm which continued eight years. The high and preſumptuous ſpirit of this prelate, was ſo ſuitable to the preſent views and maxims of the papacy, that it is not eaſy to ſay, whether he was inſpired by his poſt, or actuated by the ambition of his own natural temper. The cardinals could not agree about his ſucceſſor; ſome of them chuſing Rowland who took the name of Alexander the third, and others chuſing Octavian who went by the name of Victor the fourth. The warmth of the ſeveral parties was much alike; and they mutually pretended with equal aſſurance to the right of election. The king of England being in Normandy when this ſchiſm began, Theobald, the archbiſhop, wrote him a letter recommending Alexander; it being evident, he ſays, "that "he was a perſon of a more unblemiſhed character, of better conduct "in buſineſs, and of more learning and elocution, and which is more "to the purpoſe, he was generally reported by thoſe who had been on "the ſpot, to have been duly elected." Having ſuggeſted ſeveral arguments in his favour, the archbiſhop reminds his majeſty in the concluſion, that before he came to a reſolution in ſo weighty a matter, it would be requiſite for him to ſummon a ſynod; and not to determine about the church, without taking the advice of his clergy. According to the archbiſhop's deſire Henry convened a ſynod in Normandy, in which after the cauſe had been argued by both parties, it was determined to acknowlege Alexander as the rightful pope. The public buſineſs detaining the king in Normandy, archbiſhop Theobald had the greateſt hand in all the affairs of the Engliſh church: and by the wiſdom and good conduct of this prelate things went on ſo ſmoothly, that except the common changes which death is always making, the three or four laſt years of his adminiſtration afford nothing but the building of monaſteries, the increaſe of the religious, and ſuch other occurrences as the ſtate hiſtorian is chiefly concerned to give an account of. After Theobald had filled the chair of Canterbury two and twenty years, with a great deal of prudence and moderation, he made way for a ſucceſſor of a very different temper. A little before his death finding a ſtorm was likely to fall upon the church, and perceiving his end to be drawing near, he wrote a letter to the king to precaution him againſt ill impreſſions. Amongſt other things he ſuggeſts, "that ſome people "of

" of light and ſlender principles might be very apt to perſuade him, " that the prerogative of the crown would riſe by lowering the autho- " rity of the church: whereas ſuch maxims, from whatſoever quarter " they came, were unſerviceable to his majeſty, and would draw down " the divine diſpleaſure." But this advice of the archbiſhop, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of the reign of HENRY, had no effect. There is nothing to be met with in any of our hiſtorians relating to this prelate, by which his private character may be formed. His ambition to be poſſeſſed of the title and authority of his holineſs's legate, may be reſolved into his zeal perhaps for the ſee of Rome; but it was a weakneſs which he ſuffered for all the reſt of his life, and which introduced an uſurpation upon the ſee of Canterbury that continued to the reformation. The ſame zeal for the rights and powers of the papacy, miſled him ſometimes from his duty to his ſovereign, and his country. Tho the king expreſly forbid his biſhops to attend upon the pope at the council of Rheims, yet the archbiſhop went over in direct defiance of this injunction, and of the laws of England; for which he was baniſhed for a time by STEPHEN. The writers of that age indeed ſpeak of this as meritorious; and the archbiſhop himſelf, ſo complaiſant are the judgments of men to their inclinations, entitles GOD to his diſobedience to the king. He lived long enough however to ſee his error, and to ſmart under the uſurpations of the court of Rome, which he had helped to eſtabliſh in this country. In ſhort it may be ſaid of THEOBALD, that his ill conduct ſeems more owing to the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the times he lived in, than to any bad affections of his own.

The king was ſtill in Normandy when the archbiſhop died, and attended by BECKET his lord chancellor: but whatever thoughts he might have of making him primate, HENRY wanted his aſſiſtance too much, in the poſt which BECKET than filled, to ſend him into England till the next year. --- It has appeared in many inſtances that the power of the clergy had been encreaſed in this country to the diminution of the royal authority: and HENRY had reſolved it ſeems on his firſt acceſſion to the throne, to uſe his endeavours to retrench and bring back this power to its ancient bounds. But the affairs which had employed him in Normandy for ſome years had prevented him as yet from entring on this work. As ſoon as ever his affairs therefore were ſettled abroad, he was determined to begin upon it in good earneſt; with this view therefore he caſt his eye on the lord chancellor, expecting every compliance from him which was neceſſary for his ſucceſs. Without a compliance from the archbiſhop, it would not be an eaſy taſk to reform abuſes, how detrimental ſoever to the ſtate, which were very advantageous to the clergy. Even with his compliance it required a great deal of addreſs and dextrous management, to put the king's deſigns into execution. HENRY had

had loaded the chancellor with marks of his royal favour; and in return he had found Becket obſequious to his will in every circumſtance: add to this that he had ſeen nothing at all of the churchman in him hitherto, and we ſhall not wonder to find the king put that important truſt into his hands, when his majeſty had a project for reducing the eccleſiaſtical power. As ſoon therefore as he could carry on his buſineſs in Normandy without him, Henry ſent him into England, where the prince his ſon had been lately crowned, to be elected to the primacy. By his father's appointment the young king called a council at London, and ſummoned the prior and ſome of the monks of Canterbury to attend: they came accordingly, and with the concurrence of the biſhops of the province, the chancellor Becket was elected archbiſhop of Canterbury. To fit him for this ſtation, being yet but in deacon's orders, he was ordained prieſt on Trinity Sunday, and in the beginning of June following was conſecrated by the biſhop of Winchester and ſome other biſhops of the province. The archbiſhop of York ſent his proxy to claim the right of officiating at this ceremony; and the prelates conſented to grant his demand, provided he would make a canonical ſubmiſſion to the ſee of Canterbury, which he had hitherto refuſed. The archbiſhop not accepting this condition, the conſecration was performed as I have already ſaid. But no ſooner was Becket in the poſſeſſion of this dignity, than he let the king ſee he was miſtaken in his man. He ſent him the great ſeal without giving him any intimation of his deſign; and laying aſide his character as chancellor, he laid aſide his air and addreſs; and altered his whole manner of living, from the greateſt pomp and pageantry, to ſimplicity and auſterity. He is ſaid to have worn ſackcloth next his fleſh as a hermit, above that he wore the habit of a monk, with the dreſs of an archbiſhop over all. Be this as it might: his whole conduct and converſation had a turn ſo different from what they appeared before, that the king ſoon ſaw himſelf deceived; and that there wanted nothing but opportunity and inſtructions from the court of Rome, to render this prelate a fitter inſtrument than any of his predeceſſors, to give the finiſhing hand to the uſurpations, which were already but too inſupportable to the church and kingdom.

Pope Alexander finding himſelf very uneaſy at Rome, thro the power of the emperor who had eſpouſed his rival, made the beſt of his way to France; and that he might concert proper meaſures with the clergy of that kingdom and of England, he ſummoned a council, which met at Tours in eleven hundred and ſixty three. This was an opportunity ſo favourable to the deſigns of the new archbiſhop, as we may judge of them from his ſubſequent conduct, that he could not overlook it: and therefore having obtained leave of the king, who I have ſaid had acknowledged Alexander, he went over into France to attend the

ſynod,

ſynod, accompanied by the archbiſhop of YORK, and the biſhop of DURHAM. The pope received the Engliſh primate with all the marks of honour and eſteem; and in return, if we may rely on the authority of one hiſtorian, BECKET ſecretly reſigned the archbiſhopric into his holineſs's hands; "becauſe, ſays he, he had received his inveſtiture "from the king," and then took it back again from the hands of the pope. BARONIUS likewiſe ſays, that he reſigned his archbiſhopric to ALEXANDER, and gives much ſuch another reaſon; "becauſe his con- "ſcience was troubled for owing his election to the primacy to the fa- "vour of the king;" but then the cardinal fixes the time of his reſig- nation after the council of Clarendon, when BECKET fled into France. In this he follows the writer of the archbiſhop's life; and if he is right as to the time which he fixes for the reſignation, he is probably not miſtaken in the true grounds and reaſon of it. For beſides the ma- ny papal canons which had been made upon that ſubject, HENRY the firſt gave up his right to the inveſtiture of biſhops; and it does not ap- pear that this uſage had been reſumed, either by STEPHEN, or the pre- ſent king. The court of Rome, it is very certain, began about this time to be very impatient of allowing princes any ſhare in the elec- tion of biſhops: and the primate's pretence of being troubled in con- ſcience for being advanced at the recommendation and by the intereſt of the king, was at this time the higheſt and moſt acceptable ſtrain of flattery to the ſee of Rome; who pretended to be the ſupreme patrons, as well as ordinaries of the church. The moſt remarkable canons which were made at this council, in which the Engliſh church was repreſented, was one to forbid the laity from converting any part of the tithes to their own uſe; and decreeing, that if any biſhop or clergy- man ſhall make a grant of any tithe or oblation to a layman, he was to be excommunicated. Another forbids the entruſting parochial cures to ſtipendiary prieſts, who are hired with an annual ſalary by the laity: it being ſometimes the cuſtom for lords of the manor, who had built churches upon their eſtates, to hire a prieſt by the year to officiate in the pariſh, to remove him at pleaſure, and to reſerve what proportion of tithes they thought fit in their own hands. The ſeventh canon pro- hibits biſhops from conſtituting judges in their eccleſiaſtical courts, with a permiſſion to take fees, and to exact as it were an annual ſalary from the clergy, to the oppreſſion of eccleſiaſticks, and the corruption of the biſhops courts.

Beſides the buſineſs which was tranſacted and publicly owned at the council of Tours, it is probable that a deſign was privately then laid, to make the clergy of the weſtern churches, as far as poſſible, a body ſeparate and independant on the civil powers; and that meaſures were concerted in order to carry it into execution. It is evident that when the diſpute on that ſubject broke out in England, archbiſhop

Becket pretended to entitle God to the liberties he conteſted for: and in the management of that controverſy was ſo entirely governed by the ſee of Rome, that in his letters written during his exile, he boaſts "that they were peruſed, and approved of by his holineſs before he "ſent them." But we ſhall ſee further reaſon as we go along, to believe that all the troubles which the primate gave to Henry, were firſt formed by the counſels and conducted by the intereſt of the Roman court; concerted probably at this interview between the pope and the archbiſhop. Be this as it may: as ſoon as Becket returned to England from this council, finding ſome part of the eſtate of the church of Canterbury alienated and in lay hands, he inſiſted upon reſtitution; and claimed particularly the government of the tower and caſtle of Rocheſter from the crown. He demanded homage of the earl of Clare, for the caſtle of Tunbridge, and the lands for three miles round it; but the earl being inſtructed and ſupported by the king, denied the claim of the archbiſhop, and alledged that he held the eſtate under the crown; and ſo that buſineſs dropped. It had been cuſtomary for the primates to preſent to the vacant livings in the towns which held of the ſee of Canterbury; and Becket accordingly collated one Lawrence, a prieſt, to the rectory of Aynesford in the county of Kent. William de Aynesford, lord of the manor, pretending a right to the patronage of the church, ouſted Lawrence, and forced his ſervants out of the town; for which he was excommunicated by the archbiſhop. William thinking himſelf injured by this proceeding, applied for redreſs to the king: the king was much offended with the archbiſhop for not acquainting him with the ſentence before he paſſed it; affirming that it was a part of the royal prerogative, that none of his officers or thoſe who held in chief under the crown, ſhould be excommunicated without his knowlege, and that this notice was to be given, to prevent the king's converſing with an excommunicated perſon, and admitting him, thro want of information, to familiarity, and affairs. Thus began the miſunderſtanding between the king and Becket; but the ground of the quarrel lay much deeper. The king was determined, as it has been ſaid, to recall ſome of the privileges of the clergy, and to bring them under the condition of other ſubjects: the archbiſhop on the other hand, would yield to no diminution, and inſiſted on the liberty of the church; and with this controverſy was England embroiled for many years.

About twenty years before this, as the reader may remember, a canon paſſed in the council of London, held by Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, the pope's legate; in which it was decreed, that whoſoever ſhould lay violent hands upon any clergyman, ſhould not be abſolved but by the pope himſelf, or in his preſence. The pretence which gave beginning to this famous canon, was the miſchiefs which the clergy ſuffered at that time by the civil war; neither of the parties making any

any difference between them and the laity, but taking them priſoners made them pay the ranſom for their liberty: and had this matter reſted here, the world would have been but little intereſted in it; this being little more than what another canon of the ſame council allowed to thoſe who till the ground, and what the imperial law had generally allowed to huſbandmen and merchants in time of war, a ſecurity of their perſons from outrage and violence. But the ſecurity of the perſons of eccleſiaſticks, it is plain, was not all that the court of Rome had then in view; for this alone was not ſufficient to anſwer the great deſign of making the clergy of the weſtern churches a body ſeparate and independent on the civil power. The buſineſs was to deliver them from the authority of their former maſters: and therefore by carrying the cognizance of their grievances, from the courts of the king of England to the biſhop of Rome, and by changing the civil penalty into an eccleſiaſtical cenſure, the canons in effect declared the Engliſh clergy ſubjects of the papacy. The better to engage the eccleſiaſticks on their ſide, they were flattered into a belief of the honour and advantage which would accrue to themſelves and to the church, by being diſcharged from the ſecular power: and by this artifice the deſigns of the court of Rome were ſo well covered, that the clergy generally ran into them; and the well-meaning, for the moſt part, out of a principle of zeal, were the moſt forward. The better to carry on the farce, ANSELM the late archbiſhop, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by invading the rights of the kings of England, and who had given the firſt blow to their authority in church affairs, was now to be canonized at Rome at the requeſt of BECKET: and as this would raiſe a glory to ſurround the head of that prelate, ſo it would at the ſame time ſhew the clergy the example they were to follow; and give new life and vigour to their zeal, by brightening the pattern which was ſet before them. As the body of the clergy was thus enſnared by the artifice and addreſs of the court of Rome, ſo they cajoled archbiſhop BECKET with an opinion of the great honour which would redound to him in after ages; by appearing at the head of thoſe who were to aſſert the eccleſiaſtic liberty. But whatever ſprings the zeal of that turbulent prelate had, he ſoon eſpouſed vigorouſly the cauſe of the clergy; which from a general affectation was called the cauſe of GOD.

One of the greateſt grievances of that time, and which more than any called loudly for redreſs, was a remiſſneſs in puniſhing eccleſiaſticks convicted of any crime. The clergy having acquired an abſolute power over all that belonged to their body, when a churchman was accuſed, the matter was tried in the eccleſiaſtical court, from whence there was no appeal: and the judgments given againſt ſuch as it was impoſſible not to condemn, were ſo very favourable, that the moſt enormous

enormous crimes were puniſhed only with degradation, and others with a ſhort ſuſpenſion, or a light confinement. This abuſe, which was already carried to too great a height, grew every day worſe and worſe: and it was proved before the king, that ſince his acceſſion to the crown, there had been above a hundred murders committed in the kingdom by eccleſiaſticks; of whom not one had been puniſhed, ſo much as with degradation, which was the puniſhment enjoined by the canons. Whereupon, the king being deſirous that juſtice ſhould be equally and impartially diſtributed, ordered that ſuch of the clergy as ſhould be taken in felony, robbery, murder, or burning of houſes, ſhould be carried before the judges, and puniſhed as the laity were when found guilty of theſe offences. On the other hand the archbiſhop aſſerted, that whatever faults the clergy ſhould be found guilty of, they were only triable in the eccleſiaſtical court, and before the ſpiritual judges. The grounds of the diſpute, between the king and the archbiſhop, are thus ſtated by Brompton and Hoveden; who are both abettors of the pretenſions and the conduct of Becket. The biſhops and clergy of the province of Canterbury, in a ſynodical epiſtle to pope Alexander, give much the ſame account in the following words. "The king obſerving the peace of the nation much diſturbed by the "enormous exceſſes of ſome of the clergy, and not thinking the de"grading of them for murder and other enormous crimes, a puniſh"ment ſufficient to anſwer the guilt, or to preſerve the public peace, "cauſed the laws obſerved by eccleſiaſticks, in the days of his pre"deceſſors, to be drawn into a body, and appointed that ſuch of the "clergy as offended might be puniſhed according to thoſe laws; "whereas on the other ſide the clergy inſiſted on their being puniſh"able by the eccleſiaſtical laws only." As the king had the advantage in point of right, having the law and uſage of England on his ſide, ſo he had the advantage alſo in the management of this controverſy: for whilſt the oppoſition on the other ſide was violent and impetuous, and carried on with very indecent reflexions, the king, ſays the ſame provincial letter, "managed this diſpute with all poſſible "reſpect and veneration for the clergy." As he declared that he had no thoughts of leſſening the rights of the church, ſo he promiſed that if it appeared the aforeſaid laws were prejudicial to the good of ſouls or diſhonourable to the church, he was ready to make ſuch alterations, as with the advice of the clergy of his kingdom ſhould be thought fit. There were ſome other collateral branches of this diſpute; as whether there lay any appeals from the king's courts, or whether biſhops might go out of the kingdom without his leave; but the ſtreſs of this controverſy, was in ſhort, whether the king had any authority over eccleſiaſticks, or in cauſes eccleſiaſtical. It will be a matter of ſurprize perhaps to the reader, who remembers the laws and practice of preceding ages in this particular, that it ſhould be now a matter of

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controverſy, whether the clergy were ſubject to the temporal laws of princes, or whether cauſes of an eccleſiaſtical nature were within the cognizance of their courts. But let him recollect the deſign that was then on foot to break in upon the authority and to invade the rights of the king of England, and he will no longer wonder that a man of BECKET's proud and arrogant temper, inflamed with the proſpect of immortal glory for eſpouſing the cauſe of eccleſiaſtical liberty, ſhould endeavour thus to uſurp the prerogatives of the crown.

Whilſt this diſpute was carrying on, it was quickened by a murder committed by a clergyman of the dioceſe of Saliſbury; for which he was only deprived of his benefice, and confined to a monaſtery, on his trial in the archbiſhop's court. The king, having been informed of this partial ſentence, expoſtulated very warmly with the primate, for puniſhing a crime ſo ſlightly; which by the laws of the land was to be puniſhed with death. BECKET received this expoſtulation, as tho it had been without any manner of ground; and boldly aſſerted the immunities of the church and privileges of the clergy: he allowed if they were degraded, and afterwards committed other crimes, that the king's judges might puniſh them as they thought fit; but it was unjuſt to puniſh them twice for the ſame offence. The diſpute being carried on with great heat on both ſides, the king and the archbiſhop parted extremely diſſatisfied with one another. HENRY was very much chagrined to find himſelf ſo far from the execution of his project, and incenſed to the laſt degree againſt BECKET; who ſeemed to make it his buſineſs to mortify him upon all occaſions and to diſpute his prerogative with him. But ſo far was the archbiſhop's oppoſition from cauſing the king to lay aſide his deſign, that it made him the more deſirous to reduce the power of the clergy within proper bounds. The outrages committed by them were very numerous; the contempt of the civil authority was notorious and avowed; and both the miſchief and impunity were of older date, than the advancement of BECKET to the ſee of Canterbury. It was not therefore ſo much the faults of particular men, as a general licentiouſneſs of the clergy, and an inſult on the civil power, founded on a pretence that they were not accountable to it, which put HENRY on the deſign of abridging the eccleſiaſtical liberty; and which gave birth to this unhappy controverſy. But eaſy as it is to account for the foundation of this diſpute, it is difficult to find a reaſon why a miſchief of this nature ſhould grow up unobſerved, or at leaſt, unpuniſhed by the civil authority, till it became ſtrong enough to bid defiance to public juſtice. The moſt probable way of accounting for it in my opinion, is a law of WILLIAM the firſt, which ſeparated the eccleſiaſtical from the civil courts; and the impunity and diſorders occaſioned by the long inteſtine war, between STEPHEN and the empreſs MAUD. Mr. SEL-

DEN is of opinion, that that law in its firſt intention, was rather a reſcript or judgment in a particular caſe, than a general law for all the people: but whether that be ſo or not, he is certainly right in the other part of his conjecture, that it was not received at once, but by degrees. There are many reaſons to convince us, that it did not generally take place till the latter end of the reign of HENRY the firſt; but our hiſtories afford ſuch plain and undoubted marks of it in the reign of STEPHEN, that the general eſtabliſhment of eccleſiaſtical courts is upon good grounds fixed in the reign of that unhappy prince: and this may poſſibly account for the reaſon of bringing the canon law into England in his time.

The authority of eccleſiaſtical courts being thus eſtabliſhed by this law, the perſons of the clergy and the affairs relating to their function being ſubjected to thoſe courts, and the clergy being diſcharged in theſe inſtances from the civil power without any limitation of the bounds of courts eccleſiaſtical, it muſt be owned that the clergy, had at leaſt a colourable pretence, to think themſelves diſcharged from the authority of the ſecular power, and courts of law. However as the civil war made it neceſſary to both parties to make their court to the clergy, it is no wonder that the law we have ſpoken of ſhould be interpreted in their favour; till the miſchief grew up to that exceſſive height, as made it inſupportable in the reign of HENRY. To confirm this conjecture that it was ſo interpreted, the reader will recollect the chief argument of the archbiſhop, "that it was againſt natural "juſtice to be puniſhed twice for one offence:" moreover, as the licentiouſneſs of the clergy did not appear ſo flagrant till ſince this became a general law, ſo nothing, one would imagine, but a pretence of law, could have put a ſtop to or have altered the ancient courſe of juſtice, or ſupported maxims ſo contrary to all the intereſts of the civil government. If the reader obſerves how exactly this exemption of the clergy from the civil authority fell in with the pretence of eccleſiaſtical liberty ſet up by pope GREGORY, and carrying on every where at this time by the court of Rome, he will have a better view of both ſides of the controverſy, and will ſee the reaſon of the mutual warmth and reſolution which attended the carrying it on.

Our hiſtorians, who for the moſt part, wrote after the church of Rome had done all that they could to brighten the character of the archbiſhop, repreſent king HENRY who conteſted with him, as a man of ungoverned paſſions; and cardinal BARONIUS, who copies from them, gives a very diſagreeable and even a frightful character of that prince. But we at this diſtance, who have not their prejudices, ſhall be apt to think perhaps after all they have ſaid, that under ſuch a ſhock to his authority as was enough to pierce the ſoul of any monarch,

narch, and countenanced by a man on whom he had heaped ſo many favours, HENRY's temper and behaviour in the conduct of this diſpute, were not at all unbecoming the character which he ſuſtained. He ſeems determined to put a ſtop to theſe new pretenſions, which were of ſuch fatal conſequence to the rights of his crown; but in a way that might expreſs a tenderneſs to the character and honour of the archbiſhop. To this purpoſe he convened the principal lords of the kingdom, as well ſpiritual as temporal, to meet at Weſtminſter; to concert proper meaſures for redreſſing thoſe grievances that had been introduced into the ſtate: and knowing very well the ſpring by which this affair was moved, he ſent an ambaſſador to the pope to acquaint him with this diſpute. The majority of the temporal lords, among whom there were but few who were not offended with BECKET's haughtineſs, were well enough pleaſed with an opportunity of humbling and mortifying that prelate; and of theſe the king was almoſt ſure. Here therefore he propoſed a regulation to them conſiſting of five articles; which he called the cuſtoms of his grandfather, becauſe they had been obſerved in the reign of that prince. The articles were theſe. That no one ſhould appeal to Rome without the king's conſent. That no archbiſhop or biſhop ſhould leave the kingdom, tho even ſummoned by the pope, without firſt obtaining the king's leave. That no immediate vaſſal of the crown, or officer of the king, ſhould be excommunicated or ſubjected without the king's knowledge. That all the clergy charged with capital crimes ſhould be tried in the king's courts. That ſuch eccleſiaſtical affairs, as all the nation ſhould be concerned in, ſuch as repairing of churches, tithes, and ſuch like, ſhould be decided in the civil court. Theſe articles were approved of without any difficulty by all the temporal lords; but the biſhops and abbots refuſed by the mouth of the archbiſhop to ſubſcribe to them, unleſs this clauſe, which rendered them of no effect, was added; "Saving the rights and privileges of the church and clergy." The king was much offended at this clauſe; and endeavoured to bring the biſhops to an abſolute agreement without any reſervation. But the archbiſhop was reſolute againſt making any ſuch promiſe; and the biſhops all adhering to the primate, the king was thoroughly provoked, and ſuddenly left the council; giving the chief amongſt them to underſtand, that he would take effectual meaſures to ſet bounds to their pride. The prelates were ſo terrified with this threatning and the king's abrupt departure, that before they broke up they reſolved to ſend deputies to beg his majeſty's pardon, and to aſſure him that they were ready to comply with what he deſired. But the obſtinate haughty primate was not to be overcome with the king's menaces, nor to be won by the moderation and good temper of his brethren. He ſtood out therefore with great firmneſs againſt this reſolution. However a legate from the pope arriving ſoon after, with inſtructions for the archbiſhop

biſhop to comply with the king's demands, he came about immediately; and conſented to admit the articles without the ſaving clauſe. A deputation was therefore made to follow the king to Woodſtock, at which Becket was at the head; to aſſure his majeſty that they would obſerve his laws, without any proviſo or clauſe of exception whatſoever. This unanimous conſent of the eccleſiaſticks was a great ſatisfaction to the king: and had Becket never broke his word with him in this reſpect, it is probable that Henry's reign would have been as peaceful and eaſy to him, as it was now turbulent and vexatious. But the affairs of pope Alexander, when he ſent theſe inſtructions to the archbiſhop, were in a very uncomfortable ſituation; and he could not poſſibly break at that time with the king, how much ſoever it was in his inclination.

The way being thus prepared, that the king might the better juſtify himſelf in a controverſy which had made a prodigious noiſe, and bind the biſhops more ſolemnly to their late agreement, he ſummoned a convention or parliament of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, to meet at Clarendon in Wiltſhire; to make a general review or recognition of the laws relating to eccleſiaſtical perſons and affairs, as they were in uſe in the reign of Henry the firſt his grandfather. Here Becket repenting his late compliance declared he had already gone too far in his engagements to the king; and that he thought himſelf obliged to retract his ſubmiſſion. This receding from his ſolemn promiſe ſo lately given, incenſed the king to a great degree; and he ſent him a threatning of great ſeverity. To prevent this ſtorm from falling upon him, ſome of the biſhops and knights templars, and the earls of Leicester and Cornwall threw themſelves at the archbiſhop's feet, and entreating him not to carry things to extremity for fear of the conſequence, adviſed him to wait upon the king immediately, and make a public acknowledgment of his ſubmiſſion. After ſome difficulty, and with great reluctance, he was prevailed upon by the entreaty of theſe his friends to go before the king, and in the preſence of the clergy and laity, to renew his promiſe of obſerving the ancient laws and uſages of England; and all the eccleſiaſticks followed his example. But becauſe there might be ſome ambiguity in a general promiſe which might occaſion a further controverſy, the king ordered the laws of Henry the firſt, concerning the church and clergy to be drawn up, and preſented to the council then aſſembled: and becauſe theſe give us a view of the ancient eccleſiaſtical law of England, and the methods of that court, and at the ſame time ſhew what the king was labouring only to maintain, and the court of Rome to wreſt out of his hands, it will be neceſſary that I ſhould lay them before the reader; which I ſhall do in as ſhort a form as I can. They are called the conſtitutions of Clarendon, and are divided into the ſixteen following articles. I. When any difference relat-

ing to the right of patronage ariſes, the controverſy is to be tried and ended in the king's courts. II. Thoſe churches which are fees of the crown cannot be granted away in the perpetuity without the king's conſent. III. When the clergy are charged with any crime, they ſhall be obliged to make their appearance to the ſummons of the lord chief juſtice in his courts, and plead to their indictment there; as well as to anſwer ſuch articles in the eccleſiaſtical court, as they ſhall be proſecuted for by that court; provided always that the chief juſtice ſhall ſend an officer to inſpect the proceedings: and in caſe any clerk is convicted or pleads guilty, he is to forfeit the privilege of his character, and be protected by the church no longer. IV. No eccleſiaſtical perſons whatever are allowed to depart the kingdom without a licence from the crown; and if they have leave, they ſhall give ſecurity not to do any thing to the prejudice of the king or kingdom. V. When any of the laity are proſecuted in the eccleſiaſtical courts, the charge is to be proved before the biſhop by legal and reputable witneſſes, and the archdeacon not to loſe any part of his right, or the profits accruing to his office: if any offenders are ſcreened from proſecution on the ſcore of favor or quality, the ſheriff at the biſhop's inſtance, ſhall bring him twelve ſufficient men of the neighbourhood, who ſhall take an oath to diſcover the truth according to the beſt of their knowlege. VI. Excommunicated perſons ſhall not be obliged to make oath, or give ſecurity to continue upon the place where they live, but only to abide by the judgment of the church in order to their abſolution. VII. No perſon who holds in chief of the king, or any of his barons, ſhall be excommunicated, or any of their eſtates put under an interdict, before application made to the king, provided he is in the kingdom: and if he is not in England then the chief juſtice muſt be acquainted with the diſpute, in order to make ſatisfaction: and thus that which belongs to the king's court muſt be tried there, and that which belongs to the eccleſiaſtical court muſt be remitted to that juriſdiction. VIII. In caſe of appeals in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, the firſt ſtep is to be made from the archdeacon to the biſhop, from the biſhop to the archbiſhop; and if the archbiſhop fails to do juſtice, a farther recourſe may be had to the king, by whoſe order the controverſy is to be finally determined in the archbiſhop's court: neither ſhall it be lawful for either of the parties to move for any farther remedy without leave from the crown. IX. When any difference ariſes between a clergyman and a layman concerning any tenement, and that the former pretends it is of eccleſiaſtical, and the latter of civil cognizance, in this caſe the tenure ſhall be tried by a jury of twelve men of the neighbourhood, according to the cuſtom of the realm: and if the thing in controverſy ſhall be found of ſpiritual tenure it ſhall be tried in the eccleſiaſtical court; and if a lay fee, it ſhall be tried in the king's court, unleſs both plaintiff and defendant hold the thing in queſtion of the ſame biſhop: in which caſe, the

cauſe ſhall be tried in the court of ſuch biſhop or baron, provided that he who is ſeiſed of the thing in diſpute, ſhall not be diſſeiſed pending the ſuit, on the ſcore of the verdict abovementioned. X. He who holds of the king, in any city, caſtle, or borough, or reſides upon any of the demeſne lands of the crown, in caſe he is cited by the archdeacon or biſhop to anſwer to any crime belonging to their cognizance, if he refuſes to obey their ſummons and ſtand to the ſentence of the court, it ſhall be lawful for the ordinary to put him under an interdict; but not to excommunicate him till the king's principal officer of the town ſhall be acquainted with the caſe, in order to enjoin him to make ſatisfaction to the church: and if ſuch officer or magiſtrate ſhall fail in his duty, he ſhall be fined by the king's judges; and then the biſhop may exert his diſcipline on the refractory perſon as he thinks fit. XI. All eccleſiaſtical perſons whatever who hold of the king in chief, and the tenure of a barony, are for that reaſon obliged to appear before the juſtices and miniſters of the king, to anſwer the duties of their tenure, and to obſerve all the uſages and cuſtoms of the realm; and like other barons are bound to be preſent at trials in the king's courts, till ſentence is to be pronounced for loſing life or limb. XII. When any archbiſhopric, biſhopric, abbey, or priory of royal foundation, becomes vacant, the king is to make ſeizure; from which time all the profits and iſſues are to be paid into the exchequer, as if they were the demeſne lands of the crown: and when it is determined that the vacancy ſhall be filled up, the king is to ſummon the moſt conſiderable perſons of the chapter to court, and the election is to be made in the chapel royal, with the conſent of our ſovereign lord the king, and by the advice of ſuch perſons of the government, as his majeſty ſhall think proper to make uſe of: at which time the perſon elected, before his conſecration, ſhall be obliged to do homage and fealty to the king as his liege lord; which homage ſhall be performed in the uſual form, with a clauſe for the ſaving the privilege of his order. XIII. When any temporal barons or great men, ſhall encroach upon the right and property of any archbiſhop, biſhop, or archdeacon, and refuſe to make ſatisfaction for wrong done by themſelves or tenants, the king ſhall do juſtice to the party aggrieved: and if any perſon ſhall diſſeize the king of any part of his lands, or treſpaſs upon his prerogative, the archbiſhops, biſhops, and archdeacons ſhall call him to an account, and oblige him to make the crown ſatisfaction. XIV. The goods and chattels of thoſe who lie under forfeitures of felony or treaſon, are not to be detained in any church or churchyard, to ſecure them againſt ſeizure and juſtice; becauſe ſuch goods are the king's property, whether they are lodged within the precincts of a church, or without it. XV. All actions and pleas of debt, tho never ſo ſolemn in the circumſtances of the contract, ſhall be tried in the king's courts. XVI. The ſons of copyholders are not to be ordained without the conſent of the lord of the manor where they were born.

These articles having been presented and well considered in the great council, after some debate were unanimously recognized. But when the king ordered the archbishops and bishops to put their seals to the instrument on which they were engrossed, the archbishop swore he would never do it, nor give any other marks of his consent to this body of laws than he had already given. The king perceiving the business he had been labouring, in a way of being almost frustrated by this unsteadiness of the primate, altered the form; and the articles were engrossed as an indenture, one copy of which was delivered to BECKET, and which, against the advice of some of the clergy, he accepted from the king; another to the archbishop of YORK to be deposited in the archives of their sees; and a third was left in the hands of HENRY, to be lodged among the records of the crown. The constitutions of Clarendon lay evidently very contrary to the new maxims of ecclesiastical liberty which the court of Rome had propagated: and BECKET was too vigilant for the interest of that court, not to see the consequence of their being passed. When the convention broke up, he therefore retired from court; and to publish his repentance for what he had done, he imposed a penance and suspended himself from the offices of his function, till he received an absolution from the pope. The king having seen the perverseness and irresolution of the archbishop, had a mind to try if he could fix and persuade him, by bringing the pope to approve the constitutions of the council of Clarendon. To this purpose he sent ambassadors to ALEXANDER, to confirm the articles by a bull, and to desire that the archbishop of YORK might be made legate; that he might over-rule the authority of the primate, and at least put it out of his power to hurt him. But his holiness was as sensible of the consequences of this bull, as the king himself; and sent the archbishop of RHOAN to make up this breach between the king and BECKET without it. The success of the two embassies was just alike. HENRY would hear of no reconciliation with the archbishop, unless the pope would give an authentic confirmation of his articles: and his holiness not only refused to give them the sanction of his authority, as being very detrimental, he said, to the church, and destructive of her privileges, but he likewise witheld the legatine power from the archbishop of YORK, which the king had desired for him. However, ALEXANDER being still in France, and not in a condition therefore to break absolutely with HENRY, sent a bull with a grant of the power of legate to the king himself, "provided he did not use it to the prejudice of the "archbishop;" which was as much as to say, provided he did not use it at all. They must certainly believe at Rome, that the king would sacrifice his wisdom and honour to his resentment against the primate; and rather stoop down from the dignity of a king of England, to take up the authority of a legate from the pope, than not to have it in his power

power to prevent the disturbance which Becket otherwise might give him. But that expedient, as it was one of the grossest and most impudent affronts that had ever yet been given to the majesty of a king, was rejected by Henry, with the scorn and indignation which it deserved. When he found what he was to expect from the pride and obstinacy of one, and from the power and insolence of the other prelate, he was determined to do justice to the laws of England, and to the authority of the crown.

In order to humble his archbishop, Henry appointed another council to meet at Northampton in October following; at which several suits were commenced against him. The first related to a certain manor which he was in possession of, and which the king's marshall pretended was his legal property. The archbishop, having stood a trial, was cast and condemned in a fine of five hundred pounds. This sentence convinced him, that they were resolved to be as vexatious to him as possible; and that he should lose all the actions which should be tried against him. He chose therefore rather to plead to none of them; desiring rather to be cast for non-appearance, than by a peremptory decree. The king did not seem hitherto to intend that he should feel the whole weight of his resentment: but when he found that the archbishop, being elated with the pope's protection, grew every day more obstinate, he was determined to strike him home. To this purpose he ordered him to be accused of two capital crimes; the first, for having converted to his own use, the revenues of the archbishopric of York, and several bishopricks, and abbeys; of which he had the custody, whilst they were vacant, as lord chancellor. The other was, for having imbezzled thirty thousand pounds sterling of the king's money. To these accusations he answered, that not being questioned for these matters at his election, he had thought himself discharged from any further account. However to satisfy the king, he promised to take further advice, and give in his answer. In this emergency he consulted several of his brethren upon the measures which it was proper for him to pursue; but they did not all agree in opinion. The bishop of London, in which he was joined by several others, desired him to consider how much he had been obliged and promoted by the king; that the juncture was cross and unfavourable; and if he persisted in his incompliance, he would not only ruin himself, but involve the whole English church in the misfortune; whereas his submission might not improbably retrieve his affairs, and recover the favour of the king. On the other hand, the bishop of Winchester declared, and in which opinion he was not single, that the measures suggested by the bishop of London, disabled the prelates in their functions, and was evidently destructive of the government of the church. "If a primate of all England should set them such an

"example

« example of compliance and irreſolution, if a biſhop is to reſign his « authority and deſert his charge, at the beck and menaces of the « prince, what could they expect, but that the church ſhould be « thrown off her baſis, her diſcipline made precarious, and every « thing be conducted by an arbitrary court direction?" The archbiſhop's friends being thus divided, in their opinion about the part which he ought to take, he deſired a day further for conſultation; which was not denied him. But the next day being out of order, and the king being informed of his indiſpoſition, his majeſty ſent ſome of the nobility to know if he would give ſecurity to account for the profits of the vacancies which he had received during the time he was lord chancellor; and whether he would ſtand to the judgment of the king's court in that matter? To this the archbiſhop replied, that the king knew he had paſſed his account upon every article required, before he was archbiſhop; and that at the time of his election, the young prince HENRY, the chief juſtice, and all the barons of the exchequer, had diſcharged him from giving any account; and therefore that he did not think himſelf obliged to plead to any ſuch action. However, he added, that the king's courts had no authority over him; that he could not ſubmit to them without a wrong to the papal power, and therefore that he appealed from his majeſty to the pope, and put his perſon, church, and dignity under the protection of the ſee of Rome. This anſwer of the archbiſhop, as we may well imagine, made his caſe ſtill worſe with the king; and he was looked upon not only as a contumacious perſon, but as a rebel that roſe up againſt the authority of the laws. All endeavors were uſed to get him to acknowlege the juriſdiction of the court where his cauſe was brought; but to no purpoſe. He even refuſed to wait on the king, who ſent for him, to try, whether by diſcourſing with him in perſon, he could not bring him ſome way to a better temper. Theſe refuſals from BECKET, furniſhed HENRY with a pretence to bring againſt him two freſh accuſations; for having fled from juſtice, and for having diſobeyed the king's orders; upon which, as he would not plead, all his moveables were confiſcated. The heat and vehemence with which theſe proſecutions were carried on, were better ſuited to the anger, than to the wiſdom, clemency, and honour of the king. But however his majeſty did not ſtop here; perceiving the indictment was ſo formed, that the court could not come upon the archbiſhop's perſon, he ordered him to be accuſed of perjury and high treaſon; for having violated the oath he had taken to his ſovereign, and for having refuſed to pay the obedience due to him. Then was BECKET thorowly ſatisfied that the king was bent upon his ruin; but his being ſatisfied of this did not at all induce him to ſubmit; it ſerved only to make him ſit the faſter in his obſtinacy. One would think that the natural haughtineſs and perverſeneſs of his temper, would not ſuffer him to be won over to any

meaſures againſt his inclination; if we had not found him ſo obſequious to the king's will in every thing, whilſt he had the great ſeal. It is certain he had a ſpirit exactly turned to the intereſt in which he was engaged: his zeal for that intereſt was his reigning paſſion, and he reſolved perhaps to render himſelf famous by a firmneſs, which, in his opinion, ought to have ranked him amongſt the moſt renowned confeſſors of the church. The morning before he was to make his appearance, the greateſt part of the biſhops went to him; and begged him for the ſake of the church and his own ſecurity, to moderate his terms and reſign to the king's pleaſure: ſuggeſting that it was probable, unleſs he took this courſe, that he would be declared guilty of perjury, for failing in his allegeance to his ſovereign lord, and breaking the ancient cuſtoms of the kingdom which he had ſworn to keep. But this did not move him. He vindicated the breach of his oath, treated the biſhops with diſdain, repeated his appeal to the pope, and forbid them to ſit in judgment on their ſpiritual father. Upon this the biſhops left him, and went to court: and as ſoon as he was informed that they were all aſſembled in the king's preſence to proceed upon his offence, he went directly to church, and ordered theſe words of the ſecond pſalm to be ſung, "the rulers take counſel together "againſt the lord and againſt his anointed." Then taking his croſs in his hand, he went into the room where the king and nobility were ſitting, without being ſent to, or aſking leave. The archbiſhop of York, and the biſhops of London and Hereford, ſeeing him enter in that manner ſeverely reprimanded him. They told him that this was an open defiance to the king; and bid him conſider that his ſovereign's weapon was ſharper than his. To which Becket replied with an air of ſcorn and indignation, "it was true the king's weapon "could kill the body, but his deſtroyed the ſoul, and ſent it to hell;" and then left the room. The king was ſo nettled at this inſulting anſwer, which ſeemed to threaten him with an excommunication, that he preſſed the biſhops, upon their allegeance, to join the barons, and paſs ſentence. The biſhops excuſed themſelves upon the ſcore of the prohibition which the archbiſhop had pronounced: however, at laſt, on the king's inſtance and his inſiſting on their oath, they went again to the primate, and repreſented to him how ſtrictly they were obliged by the conſtitutions of Clarendon, and that they were ſurpriſed he ſhould excite them to break their engagements. In anſwer to this he repeated his vindication, that nothing which was promiſed there ought to bind to the prejudice of the church; that a chriſtian king who had ſworn to maintain the liberties of the clergy, could not be ſuppoſed to have any prerogative inconſiſtent with that engagement; and if they had gone too far in their compliance at Clarendon, they ought not to perſiſt in their miſtake, and plead one offence in excuſe of another; but ſhould rather recollect themſelves, awaken their courage, and re-

cover

cover their old ground. Upon this, he was told by the biſhop of CHICHESTER in the name of the reſt, that ſince he had failed ſo groſly in his duty to the king, and broke the laws which he had ſworn to obſerve, that they ſhould no longer acknowlege him as their primate, whom they pronounced guilty of perjury; that they put themſelves and their churches under the pope's protection, and did now ſummon him to appear before his holineſs, to anſwer the charge they intended to bring againſt him. They returned then to the king; who being ſatisfied with this expedient, excuſed their ſitting in judgment upon the archbiſhop, and ordered the temporal lords to proceed to ſentence. The earls of CHESTER and CORNWALL were ſent to give him notice that he might appear and hear it pronounced; but BECKET diſowned the authority of the court, and again appealed to the pope. The lords then repreſenting to him, that by refuſing to ſubmit to the laws of the realm he incurred the guilt of treaſon, he replied, with a ſtern look, "that were it not for the reſtraint of his character, he "would vindicate himſelf in ſingle combat, againſt thoſe who ſhould "charge him with that crime, and make them repent of their ca-"lumny;" and upon that departed from the palace. When the king was informed of his being gone, he ordered a proclamation to be made immediately, that no perſon ſhould outrage the archbiſhop or his retinue with ill language, or give him any ſort of diſturbance: which was a tenderneſs for the honour of the primate, after ſo many provocations, that but ill agrees with the character which cardinal BARONIUS gives us of this monarch. The ſame evening, apprehending the extremity that things might come to, BECKET ſent three biſhops to the king, to deſire his permiſſion, and a paſſport to go abroad. The king ſent him word, that he ſhould have an anſwer in the morning; but the archbiſhop did not care to wait the iſſue of a conſultation, and privately made off that very night in diſguiſe, attended only by two ſervants, and going by the name of DEREMAN, 'till he arrived ſafe at Graveling.

When the king and his council were informed that the primate had left the kingdom, they conſulted about proper meaſures. The earl of ARUNDEL, and the biſhop of LONDON, were diſpatched to the court of France, to give LEWIS an account of what had paſſed; and to deſire that he would baniſh BECKET out of his dominions. But tho this diſpute was neither better nor worſe than a war between the eccleſiaſtical and civil power, and the cauſe of HENRY was the cauſe of all the princes of Europe, yet the French king not only refuſed to baniſh the archbiſhop, but openly protected him, and recommended his cauſe to the court of Rome. His envy prevented him from reflecting, that in this affair he could not wound the king of England, but thro his own ſides; and his extreme deſire to involve HENRY in

troubles, of which he might reap an advantage, prevented all other conſiderations. Another embaſſy was ſent to Alexander, which had much the ſame ſucceſs; tho it conſiſted no leſs than of the archbiſhop of York, and four biſhops, and three other eccleſiaſticks, accompanied with the earl of Arundel, and three or four barons. The king expected from the ſplendour of this embaſſy, that he ſhould be able to convince the pope, that it was the obſtinate humour of Becket, and not the cauſe of God and the honour of his church, that was at the bottom of this diſpute; having deſired nothing but what he had a right to by the laws, and which his anceſtors before him had long enjoyed. It is undeniable that this was the true ground of the controverſy: and tho the king had not ſucceded in his former embaſſy to the pope, yet he was ſanguine enough to flatter himſelf, that the ſervices he had done him ſince, or the need which Alexander might have of his future friendſhip, would engage him at leaſt, to find out ſome accommodation or other, which might end this troubleſome buſineſs to his ſatisfaction; either by obliging Becket to reſign the primacy, or by putting the legatine power into the hands of the archbiſhop of York. Indeed what Henry chiefly aimed at, was Becket's reſignation; which might at once deliver him from the controverſy, and from the ſtiff and haughty prelate who had begun it: but if that could not be obtained, he wiſhed to have the legatine power at his command, that he might prevent the ill effects of the archbiſhop's conduct. To pay his court the better therefore to Alexander, he deſired that two cardinals might be ſent to England, with a power to determine finally the point in queſtion: and when one reflects on what the hiſtorians of that age all agree in, that the very being of this pope in England, France, and Spain, was owing chiefly to king Henry, who oppoſed his rival; and when the emperor formed a deſign to depoſe him, and had drawn the French king into it, it was thro the power of the king of England that the deſign was fruſtrated and Alexander kept in the chair, it muſt be allowed that Henry's expectations were not unreaſonably founded. However, he was diſappointed in every branch of his hopes. Becket repairing to the pope at Sens, delivered a copy of the conſtitutions at Clarendon; ten of which were immediately declared void, and an excommunication denounced againſt all thoſe who ſhould maintain them. He then confeſſed to the conclave, that his election to the ſee of Canterbury was not altogether canonical, it being over-ruled by the civil power: and apprehending the iſſue of this diſpute with the king would prove unſucceſsful, he thought it moſt adviſeable to reſign; and taking off his ring, he delivered it to the pope, and withdrew. Some of the cardinals thought this a happy expedient for making matters up with king Henry, as there would be no difficulty in providing for Becket another way. But the pope would not yield to give up a man who had ventured

ventured his life and fortune in ſupport of his authority; concluding that if the archbiſhop fell in this conteſt, all the biſhops would fall with him; and ſo none would dare to reſiſt the will of a prince. "The "ſtate of the whole catholic church, he ſaid, by this means would "ſink; and the authority of the ſee of Rome would periſh with it: "it was therefore neceſſary to reſtore him again to his archbiſhopric, "tho againſt his inclination." The pope's opinion prevailing, BECKET was called in, and reſtored to his charge; with a public aſſurance of all the aſſiſtance that the church could give him.

The king, having the mortification to ſee his embaſſy come to nothing, which he had fitted out with much parade and expence, reſented the uſage he had received from men whom he had ſo greatly obliged; and endeavoured to provide againſt the worſt that he had to fear from their malice and vigilance. He iſſued out a proclamation to baniſh all the relations of the archbiſhop, to ſeize his revenues for the king's uſe, and to forbid all communication with the pope and BECKET; declaring it high treaſon to bring any bull of excommunication or interdict from either of them; that no appeal ſhould be made to either, or to any others proceeding by their authority. He likewiſe gave orders, that no one ſhould be permitted to go, or return from beyond ſea, without paſſes from himſelf or his governors in his abſence; and that if any one diſobeyed any of his orders, whether clergy or laity, they ſhould be ſent to priſon: if any perſon ſhould think himſelf obliged to obſerve an interdict of the pope and the archbiſhop, he, and all his kindred, ſhould be baniſhed the realm; and if all who held any benefices in England did not return thither in three months, their benefices ſhould be ſeized into the king's hands. Many other proclamations of this nature were iſſued out during the controverſy, which only ſerved to exaſperate BECKET the more; who on his part excommunicated all that adhered to the conſtitutions of Clarendon, and particularly, and by name, ſome of the lords of the council, the moſt active miniſters of the king. In ſhort, the circumſtances and the manner with which he conducted this diſpute, are ſuch, that it is hard to ſay, whether the beginning, or the conducting it, was the moſt unpardonable. On his ſide, after his flight, it was for the moſt part managed by writing, in which ſort of war, it muſt be owned a man's paſſions are leaſt liable to be ſurprized, and his infirmities beſt concealed: and yet thro all his epiſtles on this ſubject, we find evident marks of a boiſterous and unruly temper, and his zeal was fierce and impatient of every oppoſition. In one of his letters to the king, he ſays, "that as his ſon it was the duty of him his biſhop "to reprove and to chaſtize him;" and he is very true to his truſt. But that he might thorowly humble his majeſty, he tells him plainly, "that kings receive their authority from the church; and therefore "they have not a power to command biſhops to abſolve or to excom-

" municate, to require the clergy to appear in their ſecular courts, to " judge of tithes or churches, and many other things which you call " your ancient cuſtoms." After treating him thus roughly, he concludes with letting him know, " that in caſe he was reſtored to his " rights he would be as dutiful as was conſiſtent with the honour of " God, of the Roman church, and of his own order." Many other letters of the ſame ſtrain he wrote to the king during his exile; mixing threatnings with his arguments, to remind the king of what he was to expect. But as tho all this was not enough to make Henry ſenſible of what was meant by eccleſiaſtical liberty, ſo loudly contended for at this time at Rome, he declared the ſtatutes of Clarendon to be void; and all the obſervers, counſellors, and defenders thereof to be excommunicate, and this too without defence, or hearing, or citation. If he did not excommunicate the king by name, as he did his miniſters, and interdict his kingdom, it appears from the account of Baronius, to be owing rather to the caution of the court of Rome, which was afraid of coming to extremities, than to the wiſdom, piety, or moderation of the archbiſhop. Not content with mortifying the king with theſe repeated inſults, he endeavoured to corrupt his ſubjects, and to draw them from their allegeance and duty to him. The clergy, and thoſe of his province particularly, had an extraordinary ſhare of his pious labours in that way. But the biſhops and eccleſiaſticks of his province, it muſt be remembered to their honour, had no ſhare in the guilt of this rebellious prelate: they were true to the king, and to the laws; and diſcharged their duty in all the ways which became their office and character. They ſent many provincial letters to the pope and the archbiſhop; in which they aſſerted the rights of the crown, and the reaſonableneſs of their obedience to the ancient uſages of the realm; reproaching the unwarrantable practiſes of the archbiſhop, and endeavouring to ſet the controverſy in a true light at Rome. But at Rome he had the advantage over all his enemies; and all the encouragement which the circumſtances of that court could give him. Beſides many ſecret arts which were employed in his favour, Alexander wrote to the king, and biſhops of England, for his reſtoration, and conferred on him the title and power of legate.

In the mean time, Henry, being perſuaded that the king of France fomented the diſunion between him and the court of Rome, by offering to ſtand by and ſupport the pope, had a mind to let his holineſs ſee, on how weak a ſupport he relied in caſe things ſhould come to an open rutpure. To this end he levied a numerous army, as well to prevent any revolt, which the pope and Becket might ſtir up in his kingdom, as to be in a condition to oppoſe the king of France, if he ſhould make any attack upon him. This precaution hindered the pope from proceeding ſo vigorouſly as he intended, and brought him

to

to ſee the danger of precipitating his meaſures. In truth, a prince with an army at his command, has it always in his power to make himſelf formidable to thoſe who are armed only with ſpiritual weapons. Beſides this, the biſhops and clergy of the province of Canterbury, wrote a letter to the archbiſhop, to repreſent to him the unwarrantableneſs and dangers of his raſh and illegal proceedings: telling him plainly, that he had neither reaſon, canon, nor example, to juſtify or excuſe him. They reminded him moreover of the mean eſtate from whence the king had raiſed him to ſuch grandeur; of his ingratitude to a prince whom he was ſo much indebted to; and of his arrogance in daring to threaten a monarch, who was ſo much exalted above him. The army which the king had on foot in England made the pope look about him; for he was afraid that HENRY would enter into an alliance with the emperor, and in that caſe, that the king of France would not be able, nor willing to protect him. This conſideration put him upon trying to divert the Engliſh monarch from any ſuch thoughts; by giving him hopes that the difference between him and BECKET, would be made up ſpeedily to his advantage. Accordingly he appointed the legates, which the king had deſired, to go and decide the affair in England; and greatly magnified to the king this piece of condeſcenſion. HENRY not to be wanting on his part, and knowing the temper of thoſe whom he had to do with, ſent good preſents to Rome; and ſo ſoftened the ſeverity of that court, that the pope inhibited the proceedings of the archbiſhop. If the king and his friends were delighted with this ſucceſs, the diſappointed archbiſhop was no leſs exaſperated and provoked. He made heavy complaints, in an epiſtle to the pope, of the bribery and covetouſneſs of the court of Rome; letting his holineſs know how he reſented their proceedings. In ſhort he expreſſed his reſentment in terms as extravagant, as if the goſpel was to be deſtroyed by his diſappointment, and chriſtianity to be extirpated if he did not gain his point. Yet after all this anger, BARONIUS, who leaves the pope's integrity to ſhift for itſelf, takes a great deal of pains to prove, that ALEXANDER was all this while very hearty in BECKET's intereſt, and the cauſe of eccleſiaſtical liberty; notwithſtanding all the proofs which he had given the king of England to the contrary. As an evidence of this, the cardinal tells us, and it is confirmed by other writers, that at the ſame time when his holineſs gave aſſurances to the king, that his legates had authority to anſwer his expectation, he gave a different account to the archbiſhop; and in truth did clogg the powers he had given them with ſuch reſtrictions as tied up their hands from a definitive ſentence. In the mean time BECKET's friends, apprehending the king would be provoked to go to extremities, adviſed him to make it up in time; imagining that he would ſacrifice his private intereſt to the welfare of the church, propoſed it to him to reſign the primacy, if the king upon that condition would give up the articles of Clarendon. But they did not find

find him at all inclined to give such a manifest proof of his disinterestedness and self-denial.

In this manner things passed, from the flight of the archbishop till the year eleven hundred and sixty seven; when he was so much enflamed with his sufferings, and exalted with an opinion of his merit on that account, that even the little temper and patience that he had was at an end. There is nothing so restless, nothing so dangerous, as an obstinate haughty spirit, thorowly sowered and covered with the pretences of religion; for then peevishness, ill nature, and revenge, pass for zeal; and the name of God is to sanctify all the purposes of rage and inhumanity: and thus it was here. Becket not content with the boldest insult that was ever offered to any government by a subject, in declaring all the laws of his prince and of his country void, and excommunicating all who abetted or obeyed them, about this time applied to the pope to confirm his censures, and to obtain leave to excommunicate the king himself: and accordingly the pope tells his majesty in a letter, that if he did not speedily repent, and appease the anger of that prelate, he could no longer deny him leave to execute the censures of the church upon his sovereign. Nor was this all the countenance which the frantic zeal of this holy madman met with: for about the same time that he attacked the legislature of England, the French king attacked the dominions of Henry in Normandy with a powerful army; and we are told the case of this prelate was the chief ground of the war. The king was most exceedingly provoked at these proceedings; and resolved in return to give as much trouble as possible to the archbishop. With this view he sent word to the general chapter of the order of Cistercians, that if Becket, who had been entertained by the pope's appointment in the abbey of Portigny of that order, was not immediately removed, he would banish all the monks of the same order out of England, and seize upon their estates. The pope, and the archbishop, had hitherto but little reason to boast of their success against the king. Becket, deprived of his revenues, languished away his days in a melancholly exile, whilst the pope received no profits from England: and should things remain in this situation, his authority would be in danger of being trod upon, not in England only, but in other parts of Christendom. As soon as his affairs therefore were somewhat settled, he set about measures, in good earnest, to end this contest to his own advantage. That he might begin with giving an uneasiness to the king, he shewed an extraordinary regard for Becket, and confirmed to him all the privileges his predecessors had enjoyed; affecting by this unseasonable and ill timed respect to insult the king. Henry willing to be even with him, made an alliance with the emperor, the avowed enemy of his holiness; and made some overtures towards renouncing Alexander, and acknowledging Paschal, the anti-pope. He even went so far as to

write to ſome of the princes of Germany, that he was juſt upon the point of taking that reſolution: and if the matter indeed had lain in his own breaſt, he would probably have done it without heſitation. But it was no eaſy matter to bring the nation to it: the clergy were for the pope and the archbiſhop, in their hearts, tho fear reſtrained them from ſhewing themſelves openly. This ALEXANDER knew; and it made him more ſtiff and arrogant than he would otherwiſe probably have ventured to be. To let the king ſee that his threats made no impreſſion, he wrote a letter to the biſhop of LONDON, in which he commanded him to admoniſh his majeſty boldly; and in his name to enjoin him to reſtore the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY to his ſee, and to annull the articles of Clarendon. The biſhop executed his commiſſion, but not in ſo imperious a manner as the pope had ordered him: and when he had done ſo, he ſent his holineſs an anſwer; in which he repreſented to him, "that the king had no deſign of diſengaging from him as his "ſpiritual father, provided that relation was anſwered on his holineſs's "part, and nothing was required of his majeſty prejudicial to his crown "and dignity; that if his holineſs had been lately treated with ſome "abatement of regard from his majeſty, it was becauſe the king had "been diſcountenanced in all his late applications, and uſed not alto-"gether ſuitably to the ſervices which he had done the holy ſee: that "as to the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY, his majeſty ordered him to "acquaint his holineſs, he never forced that prelate out of his domi-"nions, and he might ſafely return whenever he pleaſed; on condition "however, that he would deſiſt from any oppoſition to the laws of "the realm, and the prerogative royal, to which he had ſworn to ſub-"mit. Thus far," ſays the biſhop, "I was commanded to ſignify to "your holineſs from the king; and to deal clearly with you, his ma-"jeſty thinks his conceſſions very fair. I therefore entreat your holi-"neſs to conſider well what you do, and that you reſtrain your holy "zeal to a better opportunity; leſt by puſhing things to extremity, "you irrecoverably drive the king, and a great number of his ſubjects, "from your excellency's obedience. In ſhort, lenity, patience, and "gentle advice, are the beſt expedients in this caſe." The archbiſhop conceiving himſelf particularly injured by the biſhop in this letter, ſends him directly a bull of excommunication, to cut him off from the communion of the church; and ſoon after wrote to the dean and clergy of London to acquaint them that their biſhop was under this ſpiritual puniſhment.

How much ſoever the king might hitherto have the advantage of this controverſy with BECKET, yet he wanted to clear his hands of this troubleſome buſineſs; which not only obſtructed his deſign of conquering Ireland, but which he knew in the long run would be prejudicial to himſelf, and the whole nation. At an interview therefore with the

king of France, for concluding a peace with that monarch, and where Becket appeared to vindicate himſelf, Henry was determined, if it was poſſible, to make the matter up with his archbiſhop. The archbiſhop had been adviſed too to make a ſubmiſſion to the king of England; and by his addreſs to his majeſty, and his exterior deportment, the whole audience ſeemed to believe, that every thing would be done on his part, which was neceſſary to heal the breach. But being aſked by the king of France, whether he would own that he was obliged to obey his ſovereign, he made anſwer that he was ready to pay obedience to him in all things "ſaving the honour of God." As plauſible as this might appear, Henry looked upon it as an evaſion; and told the king of France with ſome warmth, that what the archbiſhop ſeemed to promiſe was juſt nothing at all; ſince by this ſaving clauſe he reſerved a power of challenging as much of the prerogative as he did not reliſh, under a pretence that it was contrary to the honour of God. However, ſays the king, "to ſhew that the fault is not at my door if "no accommodation is made between us, I ſhall make him this offer, "which cannot be ſuſpected of a double meaning; there have been in "England, kings not ſo powerful as myſelf, and archbiſhops that have "been great and holy men; let him therefore but pay the ſame re-"gard, as the greateſt of his predeceſſors paid the leaſt of mine, and "I am ſatisfied." The whole company upon this declared aloud that the king had gone far enough in his condeſcenſion; and the king of France being ſurprized at the archbiſhop's ſilence, with ſome emotion aſked him, if he pretended to greater perfection than the ſaints, or thought himſelf a better man than St. Peter? Becket anſwered, that he was willing to receive his ſee upon the terms of his predeceſſors; but as for thoſe cuſtoms, which broke in upon the canons, he could not admit them. Beſides, he ſaid, the affair was now before the pope, and he could agree to nothing without his conſent. How great a partiality ſoever the king of France had hitherto all along ſhewn for the archbiſhop, he was forced to acknowlege upon this occaſion, that the obſtinacy of the primate was the ſole obſtacle to a peace. The Engliſh and French nobility who were at the audience, exclaimed againſt him as a man of moſt intolerable perverſeneſs; who having refuſed ſuch reaſonable terms from both the kings, ought to be thrown out of their protection, and not permitted to live in either of their dominions. This was a declaration very ſerviceable to the king of England; as it ſilenced in a good meaſure, the report that had been ſpred abroad, of his deſigning to aboliſh the privileges and immunities of the clergy. It made no impreſſion however upon Becket; who knew the pope was too much intereſted, and too deeply engaged in the controverſy, ever to draw back. Therefore immediately after the conference, he proceeded to revenge with the ſword of excommunication, the injuries which he imagined had been done the church, and his own

own perſon; and he laid about him ſo furiouſly, that there was ſcarcely a ſufficient number of clergy left out of the cenſure to officiate in the king's chapel.

HENRY, being provoked at theſe inſolent proceedings, by which his prelates and chaplains were diſabled in their character, and by which the foundations of government were overturned, and the legiſlative power aſſumed to the archbiſhop, appealed to a future council; and ſent two archdeacons to Rome, to acquaint the pope, that unleſs he immediately diſpatched his legates to abſolve thoſe who were under cenſure, and with full powers to decide the controverſy between him and BECKET, he would ſecure the peace and honour of his government, in a way that the pope would not be pleaſed with. As fierce and haughty as this holy vicar was, he diſcovered the perplexity which this menace of the king's involved him in. He knew that HENRY had cauſe enough to be provoked; he found by this plain dealing with the holy ſee, with which he had never been uſed before, that his majeſty was enraged to the higheſt degree; and he could not therefore but be afraid, that his late alliance with the emperour might engage the king to declare in favour of the anti-pope. On the other hand, he was ſo notoriouſly deep in the cauſe of the pretended rights of the church, that he could not well deſiſt with honour to himſelf, and without prejudice to the holy ſee. In this caſe he had recourſe to the uſual methods, which the court of Rome has ever practiſed with ſucceſs. He diſpatched his legates to the king of England, with a letter of great ceremony and compliance; in which he tells him, that his legates had full power to hear, and to put an end to the controverſy between him and BECKET, and to abſolve thoſe who lay under the cenſures of the church; but at the ſame time, in another letter to that prelate, he ſays that the buſineſs of his legates, was to accommodate the difference between him and the king, that he eſteemed his grace's cauſe as the cauſe of the church, and adviſes him to diſſemble for a while, though every thing was not ſettled to his ſatisfaction. HENRY was then in France; and the legates, as it was thought, had made up the difference; the king conſenting that the primate might return to England, and enjoy the revenues and juriſdiction of his ſee, "ſaving "the honour of the crown and government." But the private inſtructions which the pope had ſent his legates, not to give a deciſive ſentence without acquainting the archbiſhop of SENS, the ſworn friend of BECKET, led them to cavil at the king's reſtriction, and to refuſe his articles of agreement. Thus this negociation came to nothing. The legates however diſcovered a ſecret, which the king had before but too much reaſon to ſuſpect: for when he ſaid in a paſſion at this ill uſage, that he would take other meaſures to do himſelf juſtice, the legates haſtily replied, "Sir, do not threaten; we fear no threatnings;

" for we belong to a court that is accuſtomed to command kings and " emperors." This extravagantly inſolent anſwer, and the many delays and denials which the king had met with in this buſineſs, convinced him that the reſolution of the ſee of Rome, was to force him to a compliance, and to carry their point.

When the legates were returned without making up the breach, the king of France, hoping to accompliſh by his mediation what had miſcarried in their hands, procured another meeting between the king and the archbiſhop: and here Henry offered, without any clauſe of reſervation, that the primate ſhould enjoy his biſhopric with the privileges of his predeceſſors, and that he would give him a thouſand marks to defray the expences of his voyage to England. The archbiſhop replied, that he had been damaged to the value of thirty thouſand marks, and that without reſtitution the guilt of the injuſtice would ſtill remain. This was all that he could have expected by way of compenſation, in caſe he himſelf had made any ſubmiſſion: but to pretend that the king ſhould begin, with owning himſelf in the wrong, by thus making reſtitution without any advances on his grace's part, was to declare in effect, that he would not come to any agreement. Tho Henry had but little reaſon to hope for any good iſſue of his applications to the court of Rome, yet that he might not be wanting to his cauſe, he attempted by a new embaſſy to prevail with Alexander, to tranſlate his archbiſhop to another ſee, and to remove him from France to Rome; offering to pay the debts of his holineſs, which he knew were not ſmall, and to give him ten thouſand marks beſides, if he gratified him in his deſire. However all that he could obtain, was the ſending other legates to mediate a peace between them: but the king inſiſting on the archbiſhop's promiſe to obſerve his laws, and the primate replying, " that he would never promiſe obedience to any " laws which interfere with thoſe of God, and which overturn the " privilege of the biſhop of Rome, and deſtroy the liberty of the " church," this effort likewiſe came to nothing. In truth the conduct of Becket was in this reſpect all of a piece. The ancient laws of England were ſo oppoſite to the new maxims of eccleſiaſtical liberty broached by the court of Rome, that if they were to remain the meaſure of the rights of the crown, and the duty and honour paid to the king's anceſtors by the clergy continued the ſtandard of their duty, there could be no room for appeals to the pope, no pretence for exempting the clergy from the authority of the civil power, and conſequently he would have left himſelf without excuſe, to cover his late inſolence in declaring void the ancient Engliſh laws. The court of Rome perceiving that Henry ſtill adhered to his right, and being fluſhed with their late victory over the emperor, came at laſt to a reſolution to try extremities. It was proper however firſt to prepare

men's minds for ſo violent and unheard of a ſhock to the natural rights of princes, by poſſeſſing the world with ſuch a character of the king and his laws, as might perſuade them to think, that he merited all the hardſhips which they intended to put upon him. To bring about this deſign, they every where repreſent the king as a tyrant and oppreſſor; his cuſtoms were ſtiled pravities, and his laws repreſented as a violation of the rights of the church, and repugnant to the honour of GOD. On the other hand, the mortification, humility, and holineſs of the archbiſhop, were greatly magnified; and he himſelf was called a martyr to the cauſe of GOD and his church. A decretal bull of ALEXANDER's was at the ſame time publiſhed againſt all the prelates who adhered to the laws of their own country, under the title of court biſhops; wherein he excites them all "to defend the ec-"cleſiaſtic liberty, for which every chriſtian ought to lay down his "life." The way being thus prepared, the pope recalled the inhibition he had before granted, and ſet the archbiſhop at liberty to uſe the cenſures of the church upon the king's perſon. But leſt this ſhould ſucceed no better than the former attempts of that angry prelate, his holineſs appointed three legates, with a power to excommunicate, and put the kingdom of England under an interdict. HENRY, having received intelligence of what they were doing againſt him at Rome, publiſhed another edict; in which he renounced the authority of the pope and the archbiſhop, and forbid any orders from either of them to be received in England. He likewiſe decreed, that in caſe a letter of interdict ſhould be brought into the kingdom, whoever ſubmitted to it ſhould be hanged on the ſpot as traytors to their king and country. In ſhort he commanded all eccleſiaſticks that were abroad, to return to their churches, on pain of forfeiting all their incomes; and ſuſpended the payment of Peterpence to Rome, till further orders. Theſe vigorous proceedings having convinced the pope, that his attempts to ſubdue HENRY were premature, and that poſſibly an unlucky revolution might take place, if he continued to puſh things to an extremity, his holineſs thought proper to hold his hand for the preſent, and to wait for an opportunity more favourable to his deſign.

In this interval, the king, who had been almoſt four years in Normandy, returned home to regulate ſome affairs which required his care and attention. When this work was over, he convened a general aſſembly of all the principal perſons in the kingdom to meet at Weſtminſter, where he cauſed his eldeſt ſon HENRY to be crowned by the archbiſhop of YORK; the biſhops of LONDON, and DURHAM, aſſiſting at the ſolemnity. This coronation, which was performed with an univerſal conſent, gave the king a double pleaſure; both as it ſecured the crown in his family, and ſeverely mortified archbiſhop BECKET. BECKET indeed was weak enough to let the king obtain

his end, with reſpect to him; for he complained to the pope of the injury which had been done him, in performing a ceremony of that importance, which he pretended was a privilege inſeparable from the dignity of archbiſhop of Canterbury. Upon this application, the pope ſuſpended his grace of York, and excommunicated the biſhops who aſſiſted in that ſolemnity: and leſt the world ſhould miſtake the reaſons upon which his holineſs acted in this particular, he ſays in the body of the bull of ſuſpenſion, that his chief motive for it was, "becauſe the new king had ſworn to obſerve inviolably the ancient cuſtoms, whereby the dignity of the church was put into danger." But his anger did not reſt entirely upon the biſhops. He ſent word to the king, that if he did not make his agreement with the archbiſhop of Canterbury by the time which he appointed in his letter, he would pronounce the ſame ſentence againſt him, which he had pronounced againſt the emperor: and with his holineſs's approbation, the archbiſhop ſeconded this inſolent reſolution, by notifying to his majeſty, "that if he did not make his peace within fifteen days he would put the kingdom under an interdict." Notwithſtanding the reſolution which Henry had hitherto ſhewn, in oppoſing the uſurpations of the court of Rome, yet having a great paſſion for his family, and being abundantly ſenſible from the advancement of his predeceſſor, and the controverſy which had given him ſo much trouble, how difficult it would be for a minor, to bear up againſt the prevailing power of the clergy, headed by the biſhop of Rome, he was now determined to come to an agreement with the archbiſhop; and accordingly ſent word to the legates who brought theſe epiſtles, that he deſigned immediately to paſs into Normandy, and would there put an end to the diſpute with Becket, in the way that they ſhould deſire. The hiſtorians who have wrote the primate's life, ſay that the king was frighted into the agreement, as not daring to ſtand the ſhock of the interdict, and ſentence of the pope. Indeed the late ill treatment of the emperor by that holy ſee, might probably quicken his majeſty's apprehenſions of ſome danger, from the ſame quarter; and it is not unlikely, that he was wearied out with the vexatious and incurable obſtinacy of the archbiſhop: it might not be any of theſe conſiderations ſingly, but a combination of them all, which determined him to bring this controverſy to an iſſue. But whatever were the reaſons by which Henry moved in this affair, as ſoon as he recovered from a violent fever which ſeized him on his arrival in Normandy, he had a conference with the French king at Montmirail; where the archbiſhop was preſent, and where his majeſty agreed to every thing that was demanded. As a confirmation of his promiſe, the primate deſired that the king would give him the kiſs of peace; and took it into his head to ſay, as he roſe up to receive it, that he was going to ſalute him "to the honour of God." The king not being

ing thorowly ſatisfied of the archbiſhop's ſincerity, and imagining there was ſome hidden myſtery in the expreſſion, excuſed himſelf from the ceremony of the ſalute; by ſaying, that he had ſworn once in a paſſion, never to kiſs the archbiſhop's cheek, tho he might be otherwiſe reconciled to him. On the other hand, BECKET, not being ſatisfied that there was not ſome unfriendly reſerve in this excuſe, inſiſted on the kiſs of peace, as they called it; and thus by the great nicety, or the ſuſpicion of both parties, the conference broke up without concluding any thing. The king however being determined to quit his hands of this buſineſs at any rate, procured another interview ſoon after, where, in the preſence of the king of France, and ſeveral princes, and noblemen, he was in good earneſt reconciled with BECKET; giving leave to him, and all his followers, to return to England, and to enjoy all that they were poſſeſſed of, before this controverſy had a beginning: and this without ſo much as a promiſe on the ſide of the archbiſhop to obſerve the laws of England, or ſo much as HENRY's "preſuming to "open his mouth for thoſe uſages"--- to uſe his grace's own words to the pope--- "which with ſo much obſtinacy he had before defended:" and thus to all appearance, this great diſpute, which had laſted ſeven years, was ended.

The king, tho he had gained no part of his end, in recovering the ancient laws of the kingdom againſt the new and exorbitant power of the clergy, was yet pleaſed with this agreement; as it delivered him from the daily inſults of one of his own ſubjects, and from the threatenings of the court of Rome. I wiſh for the honour of his character, that I could ſay as much of the archbiſhop's forgiveneſs as is to be ſaid of the king's. But this prelate, notwithſtanding the great encomiums which the church of Rome gave of his ſanctity, mortification, and humility, ſhewed evidently by his behaviour, that he was a ſtranger to the ſpirit of his own religion. The king, forgiving heartily every thing that had paſſed, reſtored BECKET and his adherents, not only to his royal favour, but to every thing that they had forfeited by going out of England. But the primate, tranſported with his ſucceſs, let looſe his natural temper; unreſtrained by the conſiderations of prudence, or religion. Having therefore in his cuſtody the pope's letters of cenſure againſt the archbiſhop of YORK, and the other biſhops who aſſiſted in the coronation, he was all on fire to be revenged on them for this affront, and determined to have the cenſures executed before his departure out of France. But the young king and his council being apprehenſive of this deſign, they ordered all the ports to be guarded on that ſide the coaſt, and the perſons who brought the letters to be impriſoned. This care however notwithſtanding, the letters came, and were delivered; and in a little time after, came the angry prelate who had ſent them. Upon his arrival at Canterbury, ſome officers from

from the court were ſent to him, to command him in the king's name to abſolve the ſuſpended and excommunicated biſhops; but he defended the cenſures with a zeal and implacability agreeable to the ſpirit which had procured them. Upon this, the prelates thus injured, repaired to the old king in Normandy, with a bitter invective againſt the primate; whom they did not ſcruple to accuſe "as a public incendiary, the "perſecutor of his own order, the king's determined enemy and the "deſtroyer of all good men who came in his way." His inſolence was ſo encreaſed, they ſaid, ſince his accommodation with his majeſty, that he always came to court with a guard, and attempted to enter the young king's palace with his guards about him. It is no wonder that Henry, upon this repreſentation of his injured friends, ſhould loſe all temper: he ſaw himſelf affronted in this ill uſage of thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in his ſervice; and the archbiſhop of York aſſured him, that as long as Becket was alive, it would be impoſſible for England to enjoy any tranquillity. Exaſperated with theſe complaints, and being thus plagued inceſſantly with the inſolence of a ſubject whom he had himſelf raiſed from the duſt, he complained aloud in a paſſion of his own unhappineſs; "to maintain a great number of cowardly ſloth-"ful men of quality, not one of which had ſpirit or gratitude enough "to revenge him of a ſingle prieſt, who braved him, and ſought to "depoſe, and diſinherit him." Whatever may be the ſimple meaning of theſe words, the king certainly did not intend to direct an aſſaſſination of the archbiſhop. In the height of paſſion, men ſay things that they never mean; and raſhly wiſh events which would afflict them all their lives, if they were accompliſhed. However, four gentlemen of the king's houſhold, not having made this obſervation, or having an enmity againſt Becket, took the king at his word; and being officious beyond their duty, and the king's intentions, reſolved upon the archbiſhop's death. Having concerted the method of putting their deſigns in execution, they haſted away to England; and with many circumſtances of inhumanity they murdered this unhappy prelate in his own cathedral church.

Thus ended the life of Thomas Becket, the famous archbiſhop of Canterbury; who made ſo much noiſe in Europe, before, and after his death; and whom ſome people have ranked amongſt the moſt illuſtrious martyrs, whilſt others believed, that they might deny him the character of an honeſt man or a good chriſtian. As there does not ſeem to be any thing laid to his charge till the time of his being made archbiſhop, we may conclude that his behaviour, as archdeacon of Canterbury, and as lord chancellor, was unexceptionable. We have therefore only to conſider him, ſince his advancement to that poſt, in order to form a character of this prelate. The firſt diſadvantageous idea which he gives of himſelf, according to the hiſtory, is the laying down

down his former poſt, and returning the great ſeal, without the king's knowlege or conſent. It is evident that the king was far from intending he ſhould diveſt himſelf of that employment; and as there was nothing inconſiſtent in the two characters, he ſhould methinks have continued both, in gratitude to his benefactor, till he could have brought his majeſty to conſent to his delivering up the ſeal. But as this was the firſt, ſo it was perhaps the leaſt oppoſition which he made to the king's pleaſure, during all the reſt of his life. If aſſuming a power to himſelf, of diſpenſing with the laws of England, in the exerciſe of his archiepiſcopal juriſdiction, may not be ſaid to derogate from the character of an honeſt man, it is certainly incompatible with that of a good ſubject, and a chriſtian biſhop. His zeal for the ſee of Rome, and the rights and liberties of the order which he was at the head of, muſt be an apology for ſome of the meaſures which he purſued in conſequence of that zeal. Whatever can be imputed to ignorance, and prejudice of opinion, ſhould have its weight in the judgment which we make of his indiſcretions: and this will exculpate him not a little. However, amidſt all the blindneſs of his zeal, he muſt know that the clergy were not a body diſtinct from and independent on the ſtate, but a part of the body politic, who owed a ſubjection to their princes, and an obedience to the laws of the realm. He muſt know, that under theſe laws it was, that the clergy challenged all the privileges they enjoyed; and notwithſtanding he had told the king, "that princes derived their au-"thority from the church," that this was falſe in fact. His inſiſting therefore upon the exemption of the clergy, from his appearing to anſwer in the civil courts, muſt be imputed to his zeal for the eccleſiaſtic liberty, at that time contended for by the ſee of Rome; and was a zeal not according to knowlege. But under what ſhade of human frailty ſhall we cover his riſing up againſt the articles of Clarendon, juſt after he had ſworn to obſerve them, by his appealing to the pope, and withdrawing out of the kingdom againſt the king's conſent, which in thoſe articles were expreſly prohibited? This was a conduct which ſurely made againſt him as an honeſt man. Whether a good chriſtian biſhop, who was all humility, mortification, and ſelf-denial, as the friends of BECKET repreſent him, ſhould have carried things to extremities, with a prince to whom he owed ſo many great obligations, for inſiſting only on the prerogative of his anceſtors; and whether a good chriſtian biſhop, even ſuppoſing his cauſe to have been wholly right and good, ſhould have excommunicated this prince, and laid his own country under an interdict in revenge; are queſtions which I will leave to the reader's own deciſion. But to ſpeak my mind freely, I think it inconſiſtent with the character of a good biſhop, as well as a good chriſtian, to have been ſo implacable and unforgiving, as, when this prince had condeſcended to make up the quarrel upon his own terms, and to paſs by all that had been practiſed againſt himſelf, to ſuſpend and excommunicate

communicate his brother biſhops, for aſſiſting at a ceremony by the king's command, when he himſelf had made it neceſſary, by deſerting from his poſt; even ſuppoſing, which is not true, that he alone had a right to crown the king. I believe therefore we muſt take Becket out of the niche of ſaints, unleſs zeal for the ſee of Rome will wipe off every ſtain, and cover every crime, and place him at the head of the liſt of unworthy prelates. We may ſay, and we ought to ſay in his favour, that he made uſe of no fraud nor double dealing throwout the conteſt; and that many of his faults were more the faults of the age, than of the man. Had he lived in other times, his zeal might not have been perhaps ſo fiery; and had it not been for his zeal, he would have been an honeſter man, and a better prelate. He was certainly far from deſerving the reputation of a ſaint; and yet it was become a point ſo ambiguous, that about fifty years after his death, it was the ſubject of a public diſpute in the univerſity of Paris, whether his ſoul was in heaven or hell. In ſhort, I think it may be ſaid of Becket, upon an impartial view of his whole conduct, that his good qualities were greatly overſhadowed by his ill ones, that he was leſs blameable as a man than as a ſubject, as a ſubject than as a biſhop, and that he was in all reſpects better by nature than he was by grace.

Whatever hopes of tranquillity the king might form to himſelf by being rid of this great diſturber of his quiet, yet being rid of him in this manner, which was barbarous and horrible beyond all excuſe, his majeſty ſoon perceived, that Becket when dead would create him no leſs trouble than when he was living. His enemies took advantage of the murder of the archbiſhop, to blacken the guilt of it, and fix it upon the king. They wrote letters to the pope, to draw St. Peter's ſword upon Henry, and to think of ſome new and exemplary juſtice; the univerſal church being concerned in the puniſhment of the crime. This was the French king's exhortation. The archbiſhop of Sens charges the king home with the aſſaſſination of the primate; and moves the pope for an interdict upon his dominions. Tho it was impoſſible to prove that Henry had any hand in this murder, yet his holineſs had a mind however to ſuppoſe him guilty, that he might have an opportunity of humbling this monarch, who had ſo reſolutely oppoſed the uſurpations of Rome. He ſaw it was a fit juncture to wreſt ſome advantages in favour of his ſee, which he ſhould never be able to obtain in a friendly way. Beſides, the court of Rome had reaſon to fear the conſequences of this violence to the archbiſhop's perſon; leſt it ſhould intimidate their abettors, and make them cold in a deſign in which that great prelate had ſo fatally miſcarried. It was therefore highly neceſſary, that the horror of the fact ſhould be founded high all over Europe; in order to give the world

world ſuch an idea of it, as might make impreſſions fitted to their intended purpoſes. As ſoon as theſe tragical exclamations were ſpread abroad, the pope fulminated at Rome; HENRY himſelf was to be excommunicated, and his kingdom put under an interdict, unleſs he immediately gave marks of his ſincere repentance. The king foreſeeing the ill uſe, and the repreſentations which would be made of this unlucky affair at the court of Rome, did not without reaſon dread the iſſue of it to himſelf. He therefore took all the ſteps he could, to do right to his own honour and innocence; by ſending ambaſſadors every where to diſown, and to abhor the fact, and to prevent the ill effects of it. An embaſſy was diſpatched particularly to Rome; but the ambaſſadors at their firſt appearance were rudely treated, and refuſed an audience; 'till feeling the pulſe of that court, they gained an admiſſion by the expedient of five hundred marks: and by making a ſolemn promiſe in their maſter's name in the conſiſtory, that he ſhould abide by the judgment of the church in this affair, they prevented the interdict, and excommunication; a promiſe however, which in time entangled the king in ſuch difficulties as he was never able to overcome. It was the cauſe of the ſee of Rome, and the intereſt of the papacy, for which the late archbiſhop loſt his life; and they were reſolved to be well paid for the blood of their martyr. If it was true, that the blood of the martyrs of the firſt ages was the ſeed of the chriſtian church, it was no leſs true, that the blood of BECKET afforded a plentiful harveſt to the court of Rome: and after all the noiſe and clamour which they made about his murder, it appears plainly by the iſſue, that their zeal and affection for him was only an artifice to ſell his blood the dearer. Tho the legates which were ſent into England to enquire into this affair had orders to abſolve the king, yet they took depoſitions from all that offered them to try to prove him guilty; that they might enhance the favour which the pope was then about to grant him. However, after abundance of affected difficulties and delays, he was permitted to clear himſelf of the archbiſhop's death, by taking a ſolemn oath, that he neither commanded nor aſſented to his aſſaſſination. He then publicly declared, that he was extremely ſorry for having been the occaſion of it, by the imprudent words he had raſhly dropped, and that he was ready to undergo whatever penance the legates of his holineſs ſhould enjoin him. The reader will eaſily gueſs, that this was not a light one. The king was then in Normandy, and the terms of his accommodation were drawn up in ſeven articles; ſome of which ſo nearly concern the church of England, as make it neceſſary that I ſhould inſert them in this hiſtory. The firſt is, that the king ſhould never withdraw himſelf from pope ALEXANDER and his ſucceſſors, ſo long as they acknowledged him as a catholic king. The ſecond obliges him not to hinder appeals himſelf, nor to permit others

others to hinder them; but that in all eccleſiaſtical cauſes appeals ſhould be freely made to the biſhops of Rome; provided that any one, ſuſpected of ill deſigns againſt the king or kingdom, ſhould give ſecurity before they departed out of his dominions, to do nothing prejudicial to either. By the third article, the king engaged himſelf, to go to the holy land in perſon for three years, unleſs diſpenſed with by the pope; and in the mean time that he would maintain for a year two hundred men for that ſervice. The fourth article confirmed the pardon of all the adherents of Becket, and a reſtitution to the ſee of Canterbury of all that had been taken from it in the exile of that prelate. By the laſt, the king was obliged to aboliſh all the laws and cuſtoms which had been introduced in his reign to the prejudice of the church. Theſe, and the other articles being agreed upon, a council was called; in which the king and the Norman biſhops and abbots took an oath to adhere to this agreement; and then all the articles were ſealed with his majeſty's ſeal. Thus the death of this unhappy prelate, drew more deſtruction after it, than all the endeavours of his life, as great and furious as they were; overwhelming the rights of the crown and church, and letting in an uſurpation which bore down all before it. All that the poor king got in exchange, for granting away every thing that he had been ſo long contending for, was an abſolution from the legates for a crime, of which he had been obliged firſt to ſwear, that he was not guilty.

Whilſt Henry the father was making this ill bargain abroad, there were ſome who were endeavouring all they could to make him ſtill leſs at home. For the young king Henry having aſſembled the biſhops of the province and the prior and monks of Canterbury to aſſiſt at the choice of a new archbiſhop, the latter demanded a free election; that is, in other words, to have the ſole power of election to themſelves, excluſive of the king, and the biſhops of the province. But neither the king, nor the biſhops, being willing to give up their rights, the prior and the monks returned home, without proceeding to an election. About three weeks after, they had a ſecond ſummons to court; and continuing ſtiff in their demands, were referred to Henry the father then in Normandy; where the prior and monks went, to aſſert their right, and their reſolution. The king had the example of Becket ſo much upon his thoughts, that he could not but be ſenſible of the importance of this election: and having experienced what miſeries the pride and bigotry of one metropolitan was able to draw upon a kingdom, he was ſo uneaſy from the apprehenſions of this new diſpute, and was ſo led from the ſteadineſs and reſolution that became his wiſdom and character, that in a manner very unbecoming a prince, he begged the prior to have pity on him, and to uſe his intereſt with the chapter that the biſhop of

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BAYEAUX might be elected. The prior who took his pattern from the late archbiſhop, remained inexorable; and all the addreſs and entreaty of the king ſerved only to puff him up, and to add haughtineſs and inſolence to his obſtinacy. He was therefore ſent back into England, to ſee what impreſſion they could make upon him there. Upon his return to Canterbury, he had another ſummons from the young king; but not relaxing a tittle from his demands, was again ſent back to his convent, without any election. One would think that the ſpirit of BECKET had deſcended upon his monks which he had left behind him. But however as the deſign which they were embarked in was a novelty, they were at laſt ſo much afraid of the iſſue of it, that they choſe three perſons among themſelves, and ſent their nomination to the chief juſtice; deſiring the royal aſſent to one of the three. The ſtep was new, and the conſequence of it dangerous; the chief juſtice therefore ſummoned the biſhops of the province, who accepting ROGER abbot of BEC in Normandy, one of thoſe named by the convent, the chief juſtice gave the royal aſſent to the election: but ROGER refuſing the primacy, either becauſe of the circumſtances of the election, or for other reaſons, the ſee of Canterbury remained vacant.

In the mean time, a very unhappy miſunderſtanding aroſe between the king and his ſons, which inſtead of quieting the diſpute, carried it higher; or at leaſt gave ſuch encouragement to the prior and the monks, that they made another ſtep towards obtaining the ſole power of electing the archbiſhop: and inſtead of acting in conjunction with the chief juſtice, and the biſhops of the province, as they had done before by returning three for their approbation, they elected RICHARD prior of Dover; who promiſed fidelity and ſubmiſſion to the king, "ſaving the honour of his order;" but without a word of obſerving the cuſtoms and the laws of England, as had been uſually done by his predeceſſors. HENRY however, finding that the convent ſtood inflexible, and that neither threats nor entreaties could bring them to a better mind, was obliged to yield to the neceſſity of his affairs, and conſented to the election. But before RICHARD could be conſecrated the young king interpoſed; and under a pretence that his father was bringing unfit perſons into the church, and that the royal aſſent to the election could not be given without him, he ſent a mandate to the convent to ſtop proceedings, and appealed to the court of Rome. In conſequence of this appeal, the new archbiſhop repaired thither; where the father eſpouſed, and the ſon oppoſed, his cauſe. But the pope confirmed the election, conſecrated RICHARD, and ſent him back to England with the additional character of his legate. The ſee of Rome was by this means, and with the king's conſent, let into a power of confirming the elections of metropolitans; from hence the

pretence of confirming dioceſans became eaſy, and to make themſelves judges of all diſputed elections, and at laſt to aſſume the very diſpoſal of them: in ſhort the miſchiefs are unſpeakable which enſued from that branch of the papal uſurpation; and as the kings of England had the diſhonour of opening the way to it, ſo they were not long before they felt the ſmart of it. About the ſame time that Richard was confirmed archbiſhop of Canterbury, the pope iſſued his bulls declaring his predeceſſor a martyr and a ſaint, and appointing the day of his death to be received into the calendar. How deſirous ſoever Alexander might be, to ſhew his gratitude to one he was ſo much obliged by, there was ſtill a neceſſity for the world to be convinced, that God approved the cauſe for which he died; his canonization otherwiſe might be objected to. Accordingly, all on a ſudden, the miracles of the new martyr ſhone with ſuch a blaze, that in any other age but that, inſtead of ſatisfying the world, they would have offended it. Neither Christ, nor his apoſtles, worked ſo many miracles, and ſo great, to prove the truth of chriſtianity, as this new ſaint performed, to authorize the privileges and immunities of the clergy. There is a ſtory in the monkiſh writers of thoſe times, that the king himſelf on his return from Normandy, alighting three miles from Canterbury, walked barefoot as a pilgrim to pay his devotion at Becket's tomb; where he voluntarily ſubmitted to be ſcourged by the monks of the convent. This was a diſcipline that was never heard of in the chriſtian church, till the latter end of the eleventh century; and if men had not learnt to conſecrate their own abſurdities, and to ſet up their own inventions as the ſtandard of true devotion, it would moſt certainly have continued unknown to this very day. It is indeed ſo far from the ſcripture method of reclaiming ſinners, that it is difficult to determine, whether this treatment was more diſagreeable to the ſpirit of Christ, or more reproachful to the majeſty of a king. However had Henry ſtopped here, the difficulty of his circumſtances, and the age he lived in, might have made ſome apology for him: but ſo fatally did his late conceſſions break all his meaſures, that he never ſtopped, till he gave the finiſhing ſtroke to that intereſt, which deſpoiled his own family, and plunged his poſterity into miſchiefs, which the ages paſt had never heard of. But to return.

The king having ſettled his affairs, and received his ſons again into favour, the archbiſhop of Canterbury called a provincial council, which met at Weſtminſter; where eighteen conſtitutions or canons were agreed upon, collected from the ancient councils, and the latter decrees, and epiſtles, of the biſhops of Rome. The firſt enjoins the celibacy of the clergy, and forbids the ſon to ſuccede the father in any eccleſiaſtical promotion. The ſecond prohibits the clergy from frequenting public houſes, unleſs it be on a journey. The third forbids eccleſiaſticks

eccleſiaſticks aſſiſting in the judgment of capital cauſes. The fourth enjoins them modeſty in their apparel; and if their hair was long, it was to be cropped by the archdeacon. The fifth forbids the biſhops to ordain any that were not of their own dioceſe. The ſixth directs, that pleas in criminal matters ſhould not be held in churches or church yards. The ſeventh forbids the taking money for chriſm, baptiſm, euchariſt, extreme unction, burial, conferring orders, or receiving the profeſſion of the religious. The eighth prohibits diſpoſing livings under the name of dowry or jointures; and ſelling the preſentations, under the penalty of forfeiting the advowſon. The ninth forbids the religious renting farms; and the tenth the clergy to bear arms. The eleventh forbids vicars attempting to diſpoſſeſs thoſe whoſe vicars they are. The twelfth enjoins a general payment of tithes. The thirteenth requires litigious perſons, who begin ſuits they are caſt in, to pay coſts. The fourteenth forbids the uſe of any other prefaces, in the holidays therein mentioned, but ſuch as were then in uſe. The fifteenth forbids the adminiſtering of the ſacramental bread ſteeped in wine. The ſixteenth prohibits clandeſtine marriages, under penalty of ſuſpenſion to the prieſt who marries. The ſeventeenth forbids the conſecration of the euchariſt in any thing elſe but gold or ſilver. The eighteenth pronounces marriages, without conſent of parties, void; and ratifies marriages of minors, which they conſent to, when they come to age. To this ſynod, ROGER archbiſhop of York ſent ſome proxies, to claim the privilege of carrying the croſs in the province of Canterbury, and a metropolitical juriſdiction over the ſees of Lincoln, Cheſter, Hereford, and Worceſter. Beſides this, they appealed to the pope againſt the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY, who had excommunicated ſome clergymen of the province of York, for officiating in the church of St. Oſwald's in Glouceſter, and for refuſing to appear at his grace's ſummons. Wherefore the pope ſent a legate, to adjuſt the difference between theſe prelates; by whoſe interpoſition the primate abſolved the clergy whom he had excommunicated, and conſented that St. Oſwalds, for the future, ſhould be exempted from the juriſdiction of the ſee of Canterbury. As for the other important branch of this controverſy, whether the croſs of his grace of York might be ſeen in the province of Canterbury, this was referred to the deciſion of the archbiſhop of RHOAN; and for the ſpace of five years, during which the diſpute was to be finally determined, all animoſities between the contending parties were to be laid aſide; and they were reciprocally to treat each other with all the marks of kindneſs and regard. But the contending parties were ſo heated with zeal for their ſeveral rights, that notwithſtanding this agreement, a quarrel aroſe between them, at a council in the ſame year, about ſitting at the right hand of the legate. The archbiſhop of YORK attempting to thruſt the primate out of his place, who had ſeated himſelf according to his priority, the primate's ſervants, in reſentment

reſentment of this uſage, treated his grace of York ſo roughly, that they threw him down on the pavement; by which he was not a little bruiſed, his habit torn, and his cap broke to pieces. Tho it ſignifies little to the reader, whether Roger beat Richard or Richard beat Roger, yet it imports him to obſerve, what extravagant follies the greateſt men run into, when they ſuffer their paſſions to get the better of them.

Whilſt the legate ſtaid in England the old diſpute about the liberty of the clergy was brought under conſideration: and whatever end the king and the two archbiſhops might have in bringing him over, the ſettlement of this liberty was probably the chief view which the court of Rome had in ſending him. As this appears to have been the great errand, ſo the principal remains that we have of this embaſſy, is an agreement between the king, and that prelate, in the four following articles. "I. That no clergyman, for the time to come, ſhould be "carried in perſon before any ſecular judge, for any crime or tranſ- "greſſion; unleſs for abuſes of the foreſt, or for ſuch ſervices, as by "reaſon of ſome fee, they owed to the king, or other ſecular lord. "II. That no archbiſhopric, biſhopric, or abbey, ſhould be detained "in the king's hands above a year, unleſs there was an apparent neceſ- "ſity for it. III. That ſuch perſons as ſhould confeſs, or be convicted "of having killed a clergyman, ſhould be puniſhed in the preſence of "the biſhop. IV. That a clergyman ſhould not be obliged to defend "himſelf by duel." If what has been already related had not enabled us to account for this tranſaction, one would ſtand amazed at an attempt, to diſcharge the clergy from the laws of the ſtate in which they live; and much more to find, that this claim was founded on a pretended grant of Christ; who declared his kingdom was not of this world, and both lived, and died, a great example of the doctrine which he delivered. But however, the tyrannical oppreſſions, and the cruel uſage, which the clergy afterwards met with under the papal uſurpations, make it plain that the ſee of Rome, meant nothing more by their zeal, in aſſerting this eccleſiaſtical liberty, than to cover their own deſigns the better; and to make uſe of the clergy, firſt of all to aſſiſt them in humbling their ſeveral princes, and then to put the yoke about their own necks. The ſecret for the preſent was ſo very artfully covered, that the clergy ſeem to have been very fond of the pretence; which makes it eaſy to account for the conduct of them on this article. But one is at a great loſs to diſcover how it came to paſs, that the kings of England, who could not but ſee the dangerous conſequences of this deſign, ſhould be brought at any rate to concur in it. However, if the views of the king hurried him on too faſt, to ſee the tendency of this encroachment on the rights of princes, it is certain that his council did not over ſee the danger, and were

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juſt to him in their advice. For in his letter to pope ALEXANDER, upon occaſion of this grant, the king tells him, that the wiſeſt and the greateſt men of his kingdom oppoſed it very much. The zeal and bigotry of ANSELM, BECKET, and a few others, were paſt all excuſe; but theſe excepted, it ought always to be remembered to the honour of the Engliſh biſhops, that they unanimouſly oppoſed every attempt of the ſee of Rome, againſt the rights of the church, and the prerogative of the crown. Whoſoever therefore will well conſider the ſeries of the hiſtory we have gone through, will ſee reaſon enough to believe, that the uſurpations of the court of Rome, were chiefly, if not entirely owing, to the ill conduct of the preſent, and the two preceding monarchs; who to ſerve ſome preſent turn, or to ſtave off ſome impending danger, made ſuch conceſſions to the apoſtolic chamber, as in time deſtroyed their own authority; and ſo put it out of their power to preſerve the rights of the church of England. I have no need to point out the particular inſtances of theſe falſe politicks: they have been already taken notice of in the preceding pages: I ſhall therefore go on with the hiſtory.

So unhappy was the condition which England by theſe means at this time was in, that the intereſts of the church and ſtate became now divided: the one headed by the biſhops of Rome, and the other by the kings; and in the ſequel we are to ſee theſe two ſeparate powers for ever jarring againſt each other. What was yet more unfortunate, the clergy, who of all men ought to be moſt tender of the peace and honour of their country, were by theſe unhappy changes, put under a fatal neceſſity of becoming parties in an unnatural and ſcandalous uſurpation of the rights of the crown and church of England: and whoſoever is to be blamed for letting in that uſurpation, the clergy are never to be excuſed, for what they afterwards contributed to make it laſting and inſufferable. Whilſt the court of Rome was every day making ſome new advances in their deſign of ſubjecting princes to the papacy, they did not forget to humble and mortify their biſhops; and with this view, they took all occaſions to encourage thoſe, who attempted to break thro the ancient diſcipline of the church. About this time, the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY had a flagrant proof of the inclinations of that court, in a diſpute occaſioned by the vanity and ambition of his monks; in which he not only ſaw his authority diſobeyed, and the offender ſupported in his rebellion, but even put in a condition to hold him at defiance, and to inſult him in the convent of his own cathedral. The monks having driven out their former prior, and by their intereſt at Rome got him deprived, they choſe one ROGER in his room; who, requiring the archbiſhop to come to Canterbury to give him his benediction, was told, that it was the duty of the priors of monaſteries, to attend the archbiſhop wherever he ſhould appoint. Nevertheleſs

the primate conſented to go down, and humour this haughty prior; provided he would make the ſame profeſſion of canonical obedience to his grace, as had been always made to his predeceſſors. But the archbiſhop's condeſcenſion ſpoiled the prior's temper; and inſtead of winning him over to the ſide of humility, made him ſtill more inſolent and inflexible. What does he do therefore, but poſt away to Rome, where he knew he ſhould meet with friends too powerful for the primate? and he was not diſappointed. He returned to England with the ring and mitre, the enſigns of his authority, and with a mandate from the pope; requiring the archbiſhop to go down to the monaſtery and give the prior his benediction without any profeſſion of canonical obedience being made to him by the prior. The archbiſhop was true to the rights of his poſt, and refuſed to obey a mandate ſo derogatory to his authority: the prior therefore went back again to Rome, and there received his benediction. The refuſal of the archbiſhop however was not to eſcape unpuniſhed: the pope pretended to confirm the ſcheme of Gregory the great, and to determine that the two archbiſhops ſhould have precedence according to the priority of their conſecration: yet it does not appear that this conſtitution anſwered any other end, than to perpetuate the quarrel upon this ſubject, and to make the preſent primate uneaſy. At the ſame time, by a conſtitution directed to the biſhops of the province of Canterbury, he tells them, that tho their archbiſhop as metropolitan had no cognizance of things ariſing in their dioceſes but when brought to him by appeals, yet as legate he had cognizance of every thing in the firſt inſtance, and commands them therefore quietly to ſubmit, and to ſuffer the cauſes to be brought to his legate; or in other words, quietly to yield up their rights and authority, as a ſacrifice to the uſurpation which was now too ſtrong to be reſiſted. This was the return which the court of Rome made to the biſhops, who had neither courage wiſdom nor virtue enough to defend their metropolitans: if they had any favour it was only this, to ſee the authority of the crown, and the rights of the national church, periſh firſt; and to be themſelves the laſt devoured.

Whilſt theſe things were doing in England, the French king, and Henry, had been prevailed upon by the addreſs and intrigues of Alexander's legate, who had made a peace between them, to turn their arms againſt the inhabitants of the ſouthern parts of France, who had yet preſerved the purity of their religion, and to attempt their converſion with fire and ſword. The deſolation and ſlaughter made by this direction, under a pretence of zeal for religion, was to give the world an idea of the gentleneſs and compaſſion which they were to expect from the eccleſiaſtical monarchs. To give them likewiſe an opinion of the glory of that court, and of the advances

which had been made in the new ſupremacy, the pope iſſued out his ſummons to the weſtern biſhops, to attend at a general council, which he intended to hold at Rome in the beginning of the year eleven hundred and ſeventy-nine. There were probably ſome alive in this kingdom at that time, who could remember the fruitleſs attempts of GREGORY the ſeventh to convene the Engliſh biſhops to his councils; and with what contempt his threats were treated by this church: and tho ſome of the Engliſh biſhops aſſiſted at the councils of Rheims and Tours, yet it was chiefly, if not entirely owing, to the unlucky circumſtances of the princes then on the throne, rather than to any opinion of the rights of the pope of Rome to convene them. But now a new face of things preſents itſelf; and we are to behold the intereſt of the papacy carried to ſuch a height, as that the ill-judged compliances of the king's for their own intereſt were now made arguments for their duty; and the ſame men, who had created to themſelves this power over princes, had aſſurance enough to tell the world, that it was a power which came from GOD. Things being brought to this ſtate, the pope appeared at the head of a council, conſiſting it is ſaid of above three hundred biſhops, and profeſſedly convened for the ſuppreſſion of hereſy. It is probable that this was the real opinion of the men who called this council; for hereſy was a word of a bad ſound, and applied to every thing which the ſee of Rome did not approve of. The archbiſhop of CANTERBURY had not yet forgot the treatment, which his holineſs gave him in his conteſt with the prior; and tho he was got as far as Paris in his way to Rome, yet had ſo little regard to the ſummons, that he went no further. Four Engliſh biſhops however had zeal enough to attend upon this council; in which ſome of the canons breathe ſo much the air of the court which formed them, againſt the natural rights of ſtates and princes, that notwithſtanding the then embroiled condition of Chriſtendom, and the ſucceſſes of the papacy, one is amazed to ſee ſuch doctrines exhibited to the world by chriſtian prelates. The ſecular power was forbid to judge the perſons of the clergy under the penalty of excommunication; to impoſe taxes on their eſtates, or to take any thing from them, but when the purſes of the laity were inſufficient to ſupport the public burdens, and the clergy voluntarily offered their aid. Another canon calls for the extirpation of hereticks by the civil power; forbids princes to cheriſh them in their own houſes, or to permit them to live in their dominions; and requiring them to confiſcate the goods of ſuch, and to make them ſlaves, grants the ſame indulgences to thoſe who take arms againſt hereticks, as were granted to thoſe who engaged againſt infidels. This, it muſt be confeſſed, is a ſtrange ſcene to us, who behold it at a diſtance; that an aſſembly of chriſtian biſhops ſhould unanimouſly agree to contradict a great law of religion, which requires ſubjection to the higher powers; and

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in the ſame ſynod in which they affirmed, that princes had nothing to do with religious matters, and had no authority over their clergy, they ſhould call upon them to ſuppreſs hereticks, make them judges of diſputed doctrines, and command them to exerciſe a power which they had forbidden them to pretend to. But the truth of the matter is, the court of Rome having broken the ſecular power, overwhelmed all the ancient order of the chriſtian church, and raiſed the ſpiritual monarchy to ſuch a height, it was now reſolved to bear no more oppoſition; but to ſubdue thoſe by force, who would not be deluded into their intereſt. Having followed four of the Engliſh biſhops to this council, to give the reader a view of the original and ſecret ſprings of thoſe principles, which occaſioned ſo many miſchiefs to the world, and of which this church and nation had a very unhappy ſhare, in the compaſs of a few years, it is time now to return, and ſee what was doing in England. About this time, the monks of Malmſbury having elected a new abbot, in contempt of the biſhop of Salisbury their dioceſan, the abbot got a clandeſtine benediction from the biſhop of Landaff; and to juſtify their diſobedience, the monks redoubled their guilt by forging charters to defend it. The biſhop of Salisbury complaining to the archbiſhop of this encroachment, which touched a ſore of his own that was not healed about the prior of Canterbury, it gave occaſion to an excellent epiſtle to pope Alexander from that prelate: in which, with the freedom that became his rank and character, he repreſents the wickedneſs and the miſchiefs of thoſe exemptions, which the court of Rome had granted. He tells him "that obedience, which is the "cement of ſociety, is grown an unfaſhionable reſtraint; and that "the abbots relaxing the diſcipline of the cloiſter give pleaſure and "fancy their utmoſt range. As for the monks, that they ſpend their "time in idleneſs; they live perfectly at diſcretion, without any thing "of precedent, or authority, to keep them in order: and if "your holineſs," ſays he, "does not give check to theſe diſorders, "and ſtep in with a reaſonable relief, it is to be feared that as the "abbots have revolted from their biſhops, the biſhops may practiſe "upon the example, and the deans and archdeacons may take the "ſame liberty with the biſhops. I humbly conceive, that thoſe who "are in the ſupreme poſt of authority ſhould conſider theſe things; "and take care that injury and encroachment ſhould not flow in "upon us from the fountain of power and law; from whence juſ-"tice and equity is expected. If a man might ſpeak his thoughts, "theſe ſtrains of authority are by no means ſerviceable to the biſhops "of Rome: and if that latitude is taken in the church, which "would not paſs without cenſure in the ſtate, muſt it not be a ble-"miſh upon the ſpiritual adminiſtration? But the exemptions were "ſo far from anſwering the pretended end, that they expoſed the re-

" ligious to greater trouble and charge, than if they were ſubject to " the regular courſe of government; ſo that the wiſer and better " houſes, if they had exemptions, threw them up; and it was only " the proud and vicious part of the religious who contended for theſe " exemptions; ſuch as the abbot of Malmſbury, who had declared, " that for the yearly payment of one ounce of gold, they might " purchaſe their freedom at the court of Rome." There is ſo much good ſenſe and courage in this remonſtrance from the archbiſhop, that I thought the reader would be pleaſed with this extract from it. But addreſſes of this kind to the apoſtolic ſee, were of no more effect than pouring ſupplications into the graves of the dead. The long wiſhed for monarchy was now juſt at hand; and they knew at Rome, that it was raiſed, and muſt be ſupported, on the ruins of the ordinary powers of the church and ſtate.

The exemptions of the clergy from the ſecular power, which many of them ſeemed ſo fond of, were of much ſuch advantage to them, as the exemptions of monaſteries to the religious from the authority of their biſhops. It was now but ten years ſince the death of BECKET, and ſince the king had granted the clergy a general exemption from the civil power, except in the abuſes of his foreſt: and yet this great privilege, which had made the archbiſhop a ſaint, and was eſteemed the great branch of the eccleſiaſtical liberty, was by this time become ſo apparent a diſadvantage to the clergy, that the primate paſſionately laments their condition, in a letter to the biſhops of WINCHESTER, ELY, and NORWICH. He complains, " that if a " Jew, or the meaneſt among the laity, was murdered, the offender " was preſently put to death: whereas if a prieſt or clergyman of " whatever rank is murdered, excommunication is all the puniſh- " ment; and ſo the ſtealing a ſheep or a goat is more ſeverely pu- " niſhed than the murder of a prieſt. But this," ſays the archbiſhop, " and what is ſtill more inſupportable, is nothing but what " we have deſerved by our ambitious uſurping an authority which no " way belonged to us: for by that accurſed juriſdiction, which we " have ſo preſumptuouſly aſſumed, we have provoked GOD and the " king; and opened a ſafe way to the laity to pour out their malice " upon the clergy. Thus a very learned and worthy prieſt was lately " murdered at Wincheſter, by a man and his wife who do not deny " the fact; but the murderer is going away to Rome, and makes " no doubt, but by proſtituting his wife who is a handſome woman, " that he ſhall not only obtain the abſolution of that court, but be " well paid alſo for his journey thither." The clergy, fondly perſuading themſelves that their liberties could no where be ſo ſafe, as in the keeping of the apoſtolic chamber, who had appeared ſo zealous in contending for them, had in one of their councils made a canon,

which the reader may remember, " that whoſoever ſhould lay violent " hands upon a clergyman ſhould be excommunicated, and not ab- " ſolved but by the biſhop of Rome himſelf, or in his preſence." The conſequence of this was, thoſe who had a quarrel with the clergy laid violent hands upon them; and having ſatiated their revenge, went away to Rome, where money eaſily procured an abſolution, and an abſolution hardened them in their wickedneſs, and prepared them for freſh miſchief, when freſh reſentments required it. But I muſt return to give the concluſion of the primate's letter. He entreats the biſhops " to think of ſome way to put a ſtop to this miſ- " chief before it is become incurable: in his own opinion however " there was no other way likely, but by reſtoring the rights of the " crown, and leaving things to their ancient channel; for thus the " royal and ſacerdotal power will be mutually uſeful to each other, " and God and Caesar will have their due. Whilſt the cenſures of " the church bring the criminal to repentance, the ſanctions of the " prince may have their effects on his body, or eſtate; which will " be ſo far from puniſhing men twice for the ſame fault, that this " conjunction of the offices and cenſures of the church with the ci- " vil ſanction, alone completes the puniſhment of the offender." Why the archbiſhop writes this letter to the three prelates only abovementioned, it is difficult to determine: but the reaſon is not far to ſeek why theſe are marked out particularly in a complaint to the ſee of Rome, as men that embarraſſed themſelves too much with ſecular affairs, and lived at court to the neglect of their epiſcopal duty: and why the pope ſhould write them a ſevere reprimanding letter, for preferring the buſineſs of the world to that of their character. The reproach of court biſhops was never heard of from Rome, for having the ear of their princes, and aſſiſting in their councils, if that intereſt was made uſe of to ſerve the ends of the holy ſee: and therefore it is probable, that being ſenſible of the weight and wiſdom of the archbiſhop's reaſoning, theſe prelates had been true to the honour of their country, and the rights of the crown, notwithſtanding the new maxims of eccleſiaſtical liberty. The archbiſhop however took up the complaint, and giving ſome ſtrokes of ſatyr againſt the informers, writes to the pope in vindication of the prelates with great ſpirit and vigour. But this was not the only inſtance of that archbiſhop's wiſdom and integrity; neither did he confine himſelf to the rights of the crown, and of his own order. He aſſerted likewiſe the rights of the lower clergy, againſt the uſurpations of the court of Rome; who had exempted the lands, given to ſome new orders of monks, from the payment of tithes. In an epiſtle to an Engliſh abbot of the Ciſtercian order, he tells him, " that tho the pope had exempted them " when they were poor and few at their firſt beginning, to provide " for their neceſſities, yet now they were grown numerous and their

" poſſeſſions

" poſſeſſions great, this privilege was no longer the inſtrument of re-
" ligion, but ſerved the purpoſes of ambition; and therefore they
" were bound in conſcience not to take the tithes, which of right be-
" longed to other men." He concludes with aſſuring the abbot,
" that if thoſe of his order perſiſted in this ſacrilege, he would ex-
" communicate every one who ſhould pretend to give, or ſell them
" lands, diſcharged from tithes; and did not doubt of the aſſiſtance
" and ſupport of the ſecular power." How many miſchiefs and ſcan-
dals might have been prevented, if this able upright prelate had come ſooner into the primacy, or had had power enough to put a ſtop to this ſpiritual ſupremacy in the apoſtolic ſee! But it was now too late to remonſtrate againſt an authority which was become paſt reſiſtance.

In ſome of the fits of good humour which ALEXANDER was in with the king, he had conſented that the ſee of Lincoln ſhould be filled by GEOFRY, one of the natural ſons of his majeſty, tho he was under age; and he accordingly enjoyed the revenues of it. But having continued thus to poſſeſs the temporalities without being ordained or conſecrated, a complaint was made of it to the pope, as a very indefenſible practiſe. The pope, upon this, ſent an order to the archbiſhop not to admit of any further excuſes from GEOFRY, but to preſs him to this alternative; either to qualify himſelf immediately and complete his character, or elſe to reſign the biſhopric into the archbiſhop's hands. He choſe the laſt for ſome reaſon or other; tho plainly not for that, which one of our hiſtorians gives, " as thinking it an employment above his
" management," becauſe he ſoon after accepted of the ſee of York. As the pope was at this time in friendſhip with the king, there does not ſeem to be any other reaſon for preſſing upon his ſon in this manner, but the rectitude of the thing itſelf: and to do the duty of an hiſtorian by giving every one his due, I mention this to the honour and advantage of pope ALEXANDER. Had the exertion of his power as ſpiritual monarch, been always, or even generally, employed to ſuch a laudable purpoſe, I ſhould have related it with more pleaſure than I have now reflected on it with aſperity. This was one of the laſt acts of this prelate relating to the church of England; as he was ſoon after called to give an account of his conduct in the other world. He had ſate two and twenty years in the papal chair; and had raiſed the power of his court to ſuch a height, that his ſucceſſor LUCIUS had no ſooner mounted the throne, than he reſolved to leſſen the power of the ſenate and people of Rome. To this end he applied to the king, and clergy of England, for their aſſiſtance; and ſo artfully repreſented the dangers of St. PETER, according to their uſual cant when their ambition and authority were reſiſted, that the king and clergy reſolved upon raiſing money for his ſervice. The application, and occaſion however, were new and unprecedented; and as the biſhops were not ignorant of the ſpirit and addreſs

addreſs of the court they had to deal with, they entreated the king to make a preſent to the pope in his own and their name, for which they would be anſwerable; and that the legates might not be permitted to come into England to receive it, "leſt this example ſhould be drawn "into cuſtom to the prejudice of the kingdom." But this precaution came too late to be of uſe; and this very aid gave beginning to a pretence, for raiſing money on the Engliſh clergy, which in time proved the heavieſt and worſt oppreſſion that the Engliſh clergy ever knew. Thus whilſt ſome of that body, unwarily diſputed the rightful power of their prince, and diſturbed the peace of their country, under a colour of preventing the encreaſe of the ſecular power, they rendered their whole order an unpitied ſacrifice to the rapine and oppreſſions of the eccleſiaſtical monarchy. In the beginning of the next year, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was taken out of the world; after filling that high ſtation above nine years, with great ſatisfaction to the king, much honour to himſelf, and with more advantage to England, than could have been expected from one, who was elected to that chair, by a party which trod in the ſteps of his predeceſſor Becket. The late pretences to eccleſiaſtical liberty had by this time produced a ſpirit ſo oppoſite to the intereſts of civil government, that the ſame reaſons which led thoſe, who wiſhed well to their country, to honour the memory of this primate, prevailed on others to aſperſe and blacken it. His enemies indeed allow him, to have been very humble and inoffenſive, and to have expended in a proper manner the revenues of the archbiſhopric: but they complain of his feeble paſſive conduct, and conniving at the injuries done to the church, by the crown, with too much indifference. Had this prelate been as paſſive under the violent uſurpations of the court of Rome, as they repreſent him under the king's meaſures, I believe we ſhould have heard no blemiſh in the character of archbiſhop Richard.

If the death of this good prelate put an end to all his troubles, it had a different effect upon king Henry; whoſe affairs were much embroiled by it. For the king appointing a council to meet at Reading to elect a ſucceſſor to the primacy, a diſpute aroſe, as before in the laſt vacancy, between the biſhops of the province, and the proctors for the monks of Canterbury, which fruſtrated any choice. Another council was ſome time after appointed to meet at London for this purpoſe; where the biſhops not only avowed their rights, but pretended to a priority of ſuffrage in the election; whilſt the monks denied both the one and the other, and challenged the ſole right to themſelves, by virtue of a particular charter from the king. Henry, it ſeems, not conſidering how far the honour and intereſt of the church and nation were concerned in the choice of biſhops, had imprudently given up one of the moſt important rights of his crown, to the humour, or the deſigns of a body of men, who had little deſerved his confidence; and now was ſenſible

he could not be ſafe without the power he had given away. Therefore having fixed his thoughts on BALDWIN biſhop of Worceſter, the biſhops of the province proceeded to elect him primate, and the king gave his aſſent. The monks, on the other hand, denied the biſhops right, declared the election void, and braved the king with his own charter. The king, foreſeeing the conſequences of this diſpute, went down to Canterbury; and tho he forgot his character, and ſtooped below his dignity to entreat a parcel of monks, yet all that he could obtain by his condeſcenſion, was, that taking no notice of the paſt election, the convent promiſed to chooſe BALDWIN for their archbiſhop. A council being accordingly met a third time at Weſtminſter, the prior and monks elected that prelate, the biſhops of the province choſe him a ſecond time, and the king a ſecond time gave his aſſent. But the new primate perceiving the obſtinate and contentious ſpirit of the convent, and how dangerous it might be to the nation, if the election to that truſt ſhould always continue in that body, he projected an expedient which might either reduce them to their duty, or elſe in time put it entirely out of their power to do any miſchief. To this purpoſe, BALDWIN propoſed building a college for ſecular canons, at Hackington, within a mile of Canterbury; and the better to cover the ſecret, to pull down the church which was dedicated to St. STEPHEN, and having beautifully rebuilt it, to dedicate that, and the college, to the honour of St. STEPHEN and St. THOMAS the late martyr; whoſe memory ſtill made ſo great a blaze in chriſtendom. The king was eaſily perſuaded to give his conſent and approbation to the deſign: and the appearances looked ſo honourably, and gave ſo good a colour to the undertaking, that pope URBAN, who had ſucceded LUCIUS, not only commiſſioned him to purſue his model, but aſſigned him a fourth part of the offerings made at BECKET's tomb, for the better carrying on of the work. But all the precaution of the archbiſhop did not hide the ſecret from the eye of the monks. They ſaw even more than he intended by it: and the impreſſions they were under put them upon all the ways that could be thought of to break the deſigns of the archbiſhop. They filled the nation with clamours againſt his perſon; and made ſuch heavy outcries againſt his undertaking, as if the very being of chriſtianity had depended upon the power and the wealth of the monks of Canterbury. They not only applied to the king, and called in all the religious to their aid, but they magnified the zeal of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this diſpute, as tho they had been martyrs and confeſſors for CHRIST. The court of Rome however was their ſure refuge, and thither they ſent an appeal: and all that the proctors of the archbiſhop could alledge in favour of the work, which was in a manner finiſhed, ſignified nothing. To ſay that the deſign was favoured by the king, and the provincial biſhops, was in effect to confirm the inſinuations of the convent, that they were entered into mea-

ſures to break the monaſtic intereſt, and conſequently that of the court of Rome. This awakened therefore ſo much the jealouſy of that court, that Urban in ſpite of every thing, determined immediately on the ſide of the monks, revoked his own bull in favour of the archbiſhop, and commanded him to reſtore the monks whom he had ſuſpended for appealing to the holy ſee. But Baldwin, after all, purſued his undertaking: and becauſe he had not ſtone enough ready for the chapel, he built one of wood, and refuſed to appear himſelf, as the pope had commanded, to anſwer to the appeal. The pope therefore thundered in another bull againſt the building, and appointed three abbots his legates to ſerve the monition on the archbiſhop: but when they attempted to execute the inſtrument from Rome, the primate not only ſerved them with an inhibition from the lord chief juſtice, but a writ was alſo granted againſt the prior and convent to appear at the king's bench. From this oppoſition the pope acquired more ſpirit; he commanded the archbiſhop to demoliſh his work, and make void every thing he had done; even to unhallow the ground which he had conſecrated, and to ſuſpend all who ſhould preſume to officiate in the new erected church. But this prelate dying ſoon after, and being ſucceeded by Gregory the eighth, who did not run into the violence againſt the ſecular power to which the Hildebrandine ſpirit had led his predeceſſors, the archbiſhop's buſineſs took another turn, and the monks loſt their cauſe. In a ſhort time after his elevation to the popedom, Gregory died; and Clement, a man of the old ſtamp, filled St. Peter's chair. This unlucky change gave the finiſhing ſtroke to Baldwin's undertaking; and notwithſtanding he had the king, and biſhops, and ſecular clergy on his ſide, by the oppoſition of the monks and their intereſt in the court of Rome, the archbiſhop was obliged to give up his deſign at Hackington, and to demoliſh the buildings which he had erected. But that he might not loſe all the fruits of his great expence, he bought the manor of Lambeth of the church of Rocheſter; and with the timber and materials intended for his new foundation, he began that building which has ſince been made a palace for his ſucceſſors in the primacy. Thus ended a conteſt which had been carrying on for four years; and it ended as much to the uneaſineſs and indignity of the king and clergy of England, as to the honour and ſatisfaction of the monks of Canterbury.

But this was not the only cauſe of diſquiet which Henry had at that time: the undutifulneſs and oppoſition of his own children, tho he had always got the better of it, ſat heavy upon his mind; and an expedition to Paleſtine, which the court of Rome had now engaged him to undertake, drew greater miſeries ſtill upon his family, and the Engliſh nation. A tenth of all the revenues, and of all moveables and chattels, both of the clergy and laity, thoſe excepted who under-

took the expedition in perſon, was levied with all poſſible rigour throwout the kingdom. But whilſt this was carrying on, it pleaſed GOD to put an end to the life of this prince, after a long unfortunate reign of five and thirty years. The beginning of it was full of glory to himſelf, and proſperity to his dominions. But that fatal quarrel with BECKET, which created him ſo much uneaſineſs, and which led him in the end to ſacrifice the rights of the crown of England to the hopes of eſtabliſhing his family in it, brought ſuch a reverſe of fortune to this prince, that from being the happieſt, the moſt powerful, the moſt feared abroad, and the moſt reſpected at home, of any monarch in Europe, he was ſcarce a king in his own kingdom. What with the papal uſurpations, which had transferred the allegeance of the clergy from the ſecular power to the ſee of Rome, and what with the diſobedience of his own children, for whoſe ſake he had ſtooped to ſo many indignities from that ſee, injurious to himſelf and to the crown he wore, he had at laſt but little of the fear, and leſs of the love, of his Engliſh ſubjects. Notwithſtanding the greatneſs of his genius, for which all our hiſtorians have extolled him, yet he let in more miſchiefs to this church and nation, than the weakeſt of his predeceſſors had ever done before him. There was ſo great a mixture of vices and virtues in this prince, that it is a very difficult thing to give a general character that will exactly ſuit him. Had he had leſs ambitious views for his children, and more ſteadineſs and reſolution to withſtand the encroachments of the church of Rome, there are few princes who have made a better figure on the Engliſh throne, than HENRY would have done. But the tame ſubmiſſion which he paid to the court of Rome, in order to ſecure the crown to his family, not only deprived it of ſome of its beſt and moſt valuable rights, but gave a beginning to thoſe miſeries which the nation groaned under for ſome ages, and of which his own two ſons in particular had a double ſhare. This is ſuch a ſtain upon the political part of his character, for which indeed he is celebrated by every writer, as in my own opinion no other part of his conduct can ever wipe away: and this is not the only one. His cruel uſage of the unhappy foreigners, under the name of Hereticks, who came into England to avoid the perſecution of their own country, whoſe opinions gave no diſturbance to his government, and who were in themſelves very peaceable and inoffenſive, was not more a reproach to him as a king and a chriſtian, than as a ſound and able politician. Political wiſdom ſhould have the good and well being of ſocial life for its great object: and the frame of any government muſt be very ill contrived, which cannot ſubſiſt in peace and ſafety without violating the laws of GOD. In other reſpects, HENRY was not wanting in tenderneſs and compaſſion; which leaves his treatment of theſe unhappy ſtrangers without the excuſe of temper and conſtitution. He took widows, orphans, and diſtreſſed

diſtreſſed people, under his own immediate protection; and provided particularly for the relief of thoſe who had ſuffered ſhipwreck. Tho he had great perſonal courage, yet his natural diſpoſition led him to peace and quietneſs; and as he was tender of the lives of his ſubjects, he never expoſed them to the chance of war without an abſolute neceſſity. In times of public tranquillity, he applied himſelf to letters and ſtudy, in which he had made a great progreſs; and if his reign was not anſwerable to his abilities, his ill ſucceſs, humanly ſpeaking, muſt be attributed to his love for his children, which got the better of his underſtanding, and put him upon thoſe compliances with the court of Rome, which was the bane of all his glory. Whether it was really a love of his children at the bottom, which made him ſo deſirous of their proſperity; or whether it was only his own ambition, which prompted him to acquire, and ſecure to his family, as many dominions and as much power as he could, will perhaps admit of ſome diſpute; when his conſtant courſe of lewdneſs, which ſtirred up his children againſt him in reſentment of their mother's ill uſage, and his ambitious temper are recollected. Never ſatisfied with love or empire, he ſpent his whole life in purſuing new conqueſts in both. In ſhort the luſtre of his reign was ſullied by the effects of his paſſion in theſe two inſtances; and merely thro the ambition of making his houſe illuſtrious, from being a very formidable, he became a very feeble prince, and his beloved ſon John proved a diſhonour to the monarchy and the Engliſh nation. Few princes in our hiſtory have had a longer reign, a higher reputation for abilities and endowments, or a greater extent of dominion than Henry the ſecond: and yet with all theſe advantages, many Engliſh monarchs have been happier in themſelves, and a greater bleſſing to their ſubjects. Upon the whole it may be ſaid of him in a few words, that as his virtues aroſe more from his natural temper than from any principle of religion, ſo his vices were owing more to his conſtitution than to any iniquity of his heart; and with very kind intentions towards his family and his people, he was the unfortunate occaſion of many miſchiefs to them both.

His eldeſt ſon Richard being with his father in Normandy at the time of his death, came over ſoon after into England; and was crowned at Weſtminſter, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, without the leaſt diſturbance. The new king took the uſual oath at his coronation to protect the church in her eſtates, and to continue the cuſtomary privileges of the clergy. However the archbiſhop took the freedom to tell him, that few of the monarchs had made a conſcience of keeping this oath; and therefore he muſt conjure him in the name of God, to obſerve the engagements he was entered into, upon his taking upon him the royal authority: to which Richard made anſwer,

ſwer, "that by GOD's aſſiſtance he would punctually perform them "all." The late king his father had made great preparations for the expedition to the holy land; and it had been happy for this nation if that deſign had died with him. But RICHARD, having taken the croſs in his father's life-time, the ceremony of his coronation was hardly over, when that deſign was revived, and puſhed on with all the vigour that was natural to a young prince of courage. The affairs therefore which required cool and deliberate counſels were hurried on too faſt; and there was not that care taken, in the ſettlement of the government, which to a new reign is neceſſary. In the filling up the vacant biſhopricks and abbeys, which was a thing of no ſmall importance, and which was one of the firſt things he did in the buſineſs of the church, he very imprudently gave the archbiſhopric of York to GEOFRY his natural brother; who had refuſed to take orders for the ſee of Lincoln, and againſt whoſe election, the biſhops of DURHAM, and SALISBURY, and the dean and chapter of York, appealed to the pope. This promotion revived likewiſe the old controverſy between the archbiſhop; BALDWIN demanded that the elected prelate ſhould come to him to receive the order of prieſthood, and after that his conſecration; and make profeſſion of canonical obedience to the ſee of Canterbury. On the other hand, GEOFRY inſiſted on the rights and privileges of his ſee; and receiving the orders of prieſthood from the biſhop of Candida Caſa in Scotland, went to Rome the year following for his pall, and his conſecration. Not long after this, the diſpute about building a college at Hackington was again revived, which gave a great deal of trouble to the king and his council. As inconſiderable as that diſpute appears in the firſt view, yet it was in truth a branch of that important controverſy, between the court of Rome, and the crown and church of England. The chief juſtice therefore adviſed the monks, to refer the matter to ſome of the nobility, biſhops, abbots, and clergy; telling them "that it "was the intereſt of Rome only which they were ſeeking, and Rome "only would deſtroy them." The monks however would not conſent to the arbitration: and the king, tho he thought every minute loſt which was not laid out upon his intended expedition, yet having ſeen in his father's reign, what great troubles ariſe from very ſmall beginnings, was unwilling to leave England till he had brought this diſpute to ſome concluſion. He ſent a letter therefore inſtantly to the convent, commanding them not to think of ending this affair by the authority of the biſhop of Rome; for he was determined that no legate ſhould come over, either upon his own, or on their buſineſs, to deſtroy his kingdom: but if they would yield to the judgment of the biſhops and abbots he would acquaint the primate, and reimburſe the charges which the convent ſhould be at in making the reference.

The monks retaining their ancient ſpirit, inſtead of acknowledging the king's good offices, and being obliged to him for his gracious offer, diſpatched away a meſſenger to the pope's legate in Normandy, to acquaint him that they ſhould be forced to yield to the king's terms, and their convent would thereby be utterly ruined, if he did not immediately come to their aid. The cardinal legate was too ſenſible of the ſervices of the convent to his court, to delay his coming to England, tho without leave of the king. But at his landing at Dover he was ſtopped, and not permitted to do any thing, or ſo much as owned as legate, 'till this diſpute was compromiſed by removing the canons of Hackington to Lambeth, and by the cuſtomary profeſſion of canonical obedience from the monks to the archbiſhop. This tranſaction I am aware may appear too trifling to many readers to deſerve ſuch a long and minute account: but it muſt be conſidered, that things of this kind give us the trueſt light into the ſpirit and genius of the age, and ſhew how the changes that are ſo much to the diſhonour of the church and nation broke in upon theſe kingdoms.

The king having engaged himſelf to accompany the king of France to Paleſtine, his example, and the addreſs of the court of Rome, which animated all operations of this kind, made ſuch impreſſions on the Engliſh nation, that the people of all ranks ran headlong into this viſionary undertaking. It is really melancholy to remember what an ill uſe was made of the ignorance and ſuperſtition of a warlike age; and that the care of ſouls had not weight enough with the clergy, to keep them from a warfare, very different from that to which they were appointed. The archbiſhop of Canterbury went thro his province to preach up the cruſade; and too many others of the ſame order followed his ſteps. I have before obſerved, that the late king had levied a great tax upon his people juſt before his death for this pious purpoſe: but the expences of the new reign had in a great meaſure conſumed it; and the ordinary ways of raiſing money were not ſufficient for the deſigns of the young monarch. Richard therefore ſold ſome of his crown lands, pledged many caſtles and manors, and uſed a great many unworthy arts, to ſupply the neceſſities which his raſhneſs in this undertaking had drawn him into. Amongſt many other methods for raiſing money, that of commutations was not the leaſt; a great many perſons being ſurprized into vows of aſſiſting in the expedition, and when they had time to cool, repented. The king, taking advantage of this circumſtance, obtained a bull from the pope empowering him to releaſe thoſe for a ſum of money who deſired to be diſpenſed with: and this was a new harveſt of oppreſſion which raiſed a great deal of money indeed, but ruined many families, and was a precedent of very ill conſequence to poſterity.

Money however being thus provided, not only women and men in years dropping into their graves, engaged in the expedition, but all the ties of nature and religion gave place to this holy madneſs. Parents abandoned their children, husbands left their wives, monks threw up their vows, and biſhops and clergy the cure of ſouls; in ſhort the holineſs of the undertaking was ſo magnified, that no obligation whatever was able to ſtand before it. BALDWIN, archbiſhop of Canterbury, threw up that important truſt, and GLANVILL lord chief juſtice left the bench to illuſtrate the liſt of the pious warriors. It is melancholy enough to behold the flower of the Engliſh nation going to ſeek their graves in the Eaſt, and their own country impoveriſhed to defray the charges of the funeral: but this was not the worſt part of the ſtory. For while the papal uſurpations grew up under cover of theſe holy wars, the candor and gentleneſs of the goſpel ſpirit were quite extinguiſhed, and a ſpirit ſo much reſembling that of MAHOMET was introduced, that it is not eaſy to ſay, whether propagating religion by violence and the ſword was carried to the Eaſt, or learned from it. It is very certain that from this time, the followers of CHRIST came too near the example of the Mahometans, not only in propagating their common faith, but their own particular notions, at the price of blood and deſolation: and the ſame men who engaged in this undertaking againſt infidels, may be ſeen weltring in the blood of their fellow chriſtians; encouraged and led on by thoſe who ought to have taught them to abhor ſuch inhumanity. I have already obſerved, that the king had ſet his heart ſo much upon this expedition, that the adminiſtration of his kingdom had not that care and time beſtowed upon the ſettlement of it, which a new reign, and ſo long an abſence, neceſſarily required. Having a jealouſy of his brother JOHN, who was naturally of an aſpiring and inconſtant temper, the king had obliged him and his brother GEOFRY, to promiſe him by an oath, before he quitted Normandy, that they would not go into England for the ſpace of three years, without his leave. Beſides this precaution, he had likewiſe conſtituted ſix lords juſtices in his abſence, to carry on the affairs of government, and to prevent any diſturbances which his brother might give the nation. But his choice was not made with judgment. The biſhop of ELY being lord chancellor, was not only firſt in the commiſſion, the primate having exchanged his mitre for a helmet in the holy land, but at the king's deſire was made legate from the holy ſee of Rome. Poſſeſſed of theſe great and important truſts, and being naturally haughty and aſſuming, the biſhop took to himſelf ſo great a ſhare in the adminiſtration, and ſo overbore all the reſt of the lords juſtices, that before the king arrived in Paleſtine, he had the mortification to hear, that every thing was in confuſion in England. Whether the jealouſy and diſtruſt which RICHARD had ſhewn

of

of his brothers, rather exaſperated than reſtrained them, which is not improbable, it is certain that they came both in a little time to England, notwithſtanding their oath to the contrary: and what with their diſſaffection, and the diſcontent of the lords juſtices againſt the chancellor and his party, the ferment roſe to ſuch a height, that both ſides were obliged to have recourſe to arms; and the nation was embroiled in a ſort of civil war. It is not the purpoſe of this hiſtory to enter into a further detail of this diſorder, nor to relate the king's ill ſucceſs in his way to Paleſtine, and the glory which he acquired by his perſonal valour at the ſiege of Acon; where death deprived him of his primate and chief juſtice, and a great number of other illuſtrious ſubjects. I am under a neceſſity however of taking notice, that after the king had been forced to make a diſhonourable truce with the emperor of the Saracens, in his attempt to return home he was taken priſoner in the Auſtrian dominions and delivered up to the emperor. In this inglorious manner ended an expedition, which was began in oppreſſion and injuſtice to the people: and in this miſerable condition we muſt leave this unfortunate prince, whilſt we look a little back to the affairs of England.

John, taking the advantage of the king his brother's impriſonment, entered into meaſures directly with the king of France, to deprive him unjuſtly of his crown and kingdom: he went ſo far as to do homage for the dukedom of Normandy, and to make large offers to the emperor to continue Richard a priſoner all his life. But notwithſtanding theſe attempts, the people of England remained ſteady and immoveable in their allegeance to the king; as much divided as they were into factions on account of the legate's adminiſtration. In the mean time upon the death of Baldwin, the pious pope Celestine, taking the advantage of the vacancy, revoked the bulls which had been granted to the late archbiſhop; directing that even the chapel which had been built at Hackington ſhould be demoliſhed: and the monks upon his authority without waiting further for what might be ſaid againſt it, or expecting the orders of the government, ſet on the mob and immediately pulled the chapel down to the ground. Nor did the court of Rome ſtop here: but under a pretence that the whole kingdom was under the protection of that ſee, in the king's abſence, all affairs of any moment were carried thither; and each party ſtrove who ſhould be moſt obſequious to the pope. We have ſeen that their pretenſions of hearing cauſes by appeal, had been long a ſubject of diſpute in the reign of the king's father; as their right to judge on the place by their legates had been in the time of his grandfather: but to judge primarily on complaint or information, and to determine finally without ſummoning the parties concerned, was an encroachment reſerved for the unhappy reign of Richard. The king's ranſom being at laſt agreed for with the emperor, at a hundred thouſand marks of ſilver, and fifty

gallies with two hundred knights for a year in that prince's ſervice, a fourth part of the yearly revenue as well of the clergy as the laity, twenty ſhillings upon every knight's fee, and the wool of that year belonging to all the monaſteries of the Ciſtercian order, beſides the gold and ſilver plate from churches, were granted for this purpoſe. The zeal with which the eccleſiaſticks had every where diſtinguiſhed themſelves in encouraging the late expedition, and now in ranſoming the king, gave ſuch a colour to the privileges they pretended to, that before the end of this reign they had generally withdrawn themſelves from the civil power. Every religious houſe grew up by degrees into a ſort of little principality; and ſo weakened the government, that the king had reaſon to complain, as his fathers had done before him, that he was little more than the ſhadow of a king. Upon the death of his primate, RICHARD wrote to the convent of Canterbury, to recommend WILLIAM archbiſhop of Montreal for the ſucceſſor in that chair: but the monks, after a good deal of trifling and chicanery, pretending they were not ſufficiently aſſured of their archbiſhop's death, evaded this direction from the crown. In a little time after, the king directed a council to meet at Canterbury on this occaſion; at which place ſeveral prelates were aſſembled, and ſeveral more were on their way: but the prior and convent, to maintain the privilege of their body which they pretended to, without the advice or concurrence of the biſhops then arrived, or waiting for the reſt, elected REGINALD biſhop of Bath for their archbiſhop; to which the biſhops of the province, rather than embroil the nation which was already in a diſtracted condition, yielded. This prelate died in a fortnight after his elevation; and the king recommending HUBERT biſhop of Saliſbury to ſuccede him, by a joint election of the biſhops and convent at London on a day appointed, the latter choſe him at Canterbury the day before; and when the queen and the provincial biſhops were aſſembled in purſuance of the king's direction, the proctors of the convent preſented their archbiſhop for the royal aſſent. Tho the dangerous conſequence of this proceeding was eaſily to be foreſeen, and in fact at the next vacancy ſet the whole kingdom into a flame, yet the king being ſtill under confinement and every thing out of order in England, the regency thought it adviſeable to paſs over this inſolence, and to content themſelves with hopes of finding a fitter time to cure it.

A part of RICHARD's ranſom being paid, and hoſtages given for the remainder, he was received at his return hither, with all the marks of joy and with all the pomp and ceremony, uſual on ſuch occaſions. He was a prince of uncommon bravery; and the fame he had gained by it abroad, in the favourite undertaking of that age, was of great uſe to him at home, in breaking the party which had eſpouſed his brother JOHN in England; whoſe fortified caſtles

were ſoon reduced to the king's obedience. But he had a much worſe affair upon his hands than this, which was a war with France: and the Engliſh nation having been ſo much impoveriſhed by what was paſt, that the legal ways of raiſing money were not anſwerable to his occaſions, oppreſſion and injuſtice were made uſe of to ſupply them. Whilſt the king's affairs were in this ill poſture, and his dominions labouring under the poverty and depopulation occaſioned by the late expedition to the holy land, the pope endeavoured to revive the deſign: and for that end ſent letters to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to the biſhops and abbots of England, to lay out all their zeal in perſuading his majeſty to ſend his forces thither, and to excite the people to take the croſs. But the king of England was in no condition at that time to contribute any thing more to the holy war than his good wiſhes. His hands were full, with the oppoſition made to him by the French king and his brothers; and all his bravery was little enough to defend his own dominions. The archbiſhop of York his natural brother, forgetting his obligations to the king, and the oath he had ſworn not to come into England without his leave, had entered into meaſures with his brother John, and the king of France, againſt him. Richard, therefore, immediately after his return, ſeized the temporalities of the archbiſhopric: and having procured the legatine commiſſion for the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with a particular exception to the privileges of the ſee of York, Hubert was ſent thither the following year to hold a legatine council, in order to mortify archbiſhop Geofry; and to enquire into a charge which was exhibited againſt him by the dean and chapter of York. The dean and chapter having firſt proteſted againſt his authority, as archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſubmitted to him as legate: and here he delivered ſeveral conſtitutions to be obſerved by the clergy and religious of the dioceſe. Whether the biſhops of the province were ſummoned to this aſſembly, does not appear; but it is plain that they were not there: and if the conſtitutions had the good liking and approbation of the council, which conſiſted of the dean and precentor, the archdeacons, the chancellor, and canons of the church, the abbots, priors, rural deans, and the lower clergy, yet they had no binding power but from the ſole authority of the legate. This was a council for which the ancient church had no name: and as it ſeems to owe its exiſtence to the king's diſpleaſure againſt the archbiſhop of York, rather than to a deſign of reforming any thing that was out of order in his province, and affords no new light in the hiſtory of the age, ſo I ſhall not trouble the reader with any further account of the conſtitutions agreed to in it, than that ſome of them were taken from the ancient canons, but moſt of them from the latter papal councils, and were in all eighteen. Whether the charge againſt archbiſhop Geofry was thought malicious and unjuſt, or whether the legate declined the ungrateful office of executing the pope's cenſure againſt him, we are not informed;

informed; the next year pope CELESTINE himſelf ſuſpended him, and in another bull proclaimed his ſentence to the province of York. But however before the end of the year, GEOFRY went over to Rome, and told his ſtory ſo well to the conſiſtory, that his holineſs not only took his ſuſpenſion off, but gave him a bull to declare him innocent, and the things to be falſe which were laid to his charge. The king nevertheleſs was ſo little ſatisfied with what had paſſed at Rome, that he kept poſſeſſion of his temporalities, and would not permit him to return to England.

The diſpute between archbiſhop BALDWIN and the monks of Canterbury, having been compromiſed in the manner which has been related, HUBERT reſumed the deſign of his predeceſſor, and carried on the collegiate church at Lambeth intended for the canons. One would have thought that ſettling a college ſo far from Canterbury might have put an end to the fears of the convent for their rights: but they were ſo ſollicitous to preſerve a ſucceſſion of men, who might be animated by BECKET's ſpirit, and follow his example in oppoſing the civil power, that they ſent about this time one of their body, to remonſtrate with the archbiſhop againſt his deſign. But HUBERT had ſo much regard to the peace and honour of the civil government, that the remonſtrance of the convent, rather encouraged him in the undertaking, than put any ſtop to it: and therefore inſtead of giving them hopes that he would comply with their deſire, he adviſed the monk who came to him in their name to return home, and told him that he prayed to GOD to bring the convent to a better mind. Tho this remonſtrance had not the ſucceſs which the monks expected, and the archbiſhop ſtill went on with his building, it turned his thoughts however to find out a temper, which might poſſibly give ſome ſatisfaction to the convent. He ſoon after therefore ſent them a project of accommodation; in which he propoſed, that whoſoever ſhould be made a canon of Lambeth, ſhould go down to Canterbury at his admiſſion to that dignity, and take an oath at the high altar of the cathedral church, that he would neither by himſelf, nor by any body from him, claim a right to the election of the archbiſhop, nor aſſiſt, adviſe in, or do any thing prejudicial to the rights of the church of Canterbury; and that if any ſuch canon ſhould refuſe to go to Canterbury, and give his oath there to this purpoſe, he ſhould loſe his prebend. Moreover, to preſerve a friendſhip between the two ſocieties, the primate propoſed, that the prior of Canterbury ſhould always be a canon of the church of Lambeth, and privy to all the buſineſs of that body. To give a yet farther aſſurance of his good intentions, he promiſed to obtain the king's and pope's conſent to this agreement, and that he and all his ſucceſſors ſhould ſwear to the obſervance of it. But all this condeſcenſion from the archbiſhop could not win the convent:

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and therefore two of the monks were privately ſent away to Rome upon this buſineſs; where they had all the ſucceſs that their hearts could wiſh for. Celestine, haughty and arrogant as he was, had a ſucceſſor now in the chair, Innocent the third, who went beyond him; and who knowing the neceſſity of encouraging that body of men, iſſued a bull in their favour, in a turn and ſtile ſo haughty, as might much better become an eaſtern emperor than a chriſtian biſhop. He not only commanded that the college of Lambeth ſhould be demoliſhed, and the canons diſpoſſeſſed, but he alſo threatened that if he was not obeyed in thirty days, he would order the biſhops of the province not to own archbiſhop Hubert as their metropolitan, and would ſuſpend him from his office as a biſhop. It would be utterly inconceivable, why the court of Rome, which in all other inſtances ſhewed ſo much zeal for ſuch foundations, ſhould oppoſe this of the archbiſhop with ſo much vigour, if they had not been apprehenſive that it would ſometime or other ſtand in their way. But however notwithſtanding this inſolent menace from his holineſs, the king wrote a letter to the prior and convent of Canterbury; in which he tells them, that he was not pleaſed to hear, that ſome of their body going to Rome, "had by concealing the truth and by falſe ſuggeſtions, "obtained an order for demoliſhing the church of Lambeth. Where-"as," ſays he, "it has by immemorial uſage been received as a law "of England, that the king or the biſhops might build in their own "lands conventual churches and endow them, yet without our know-"ledge you have endeavoured to deſtroy this church erected by the "archbiſhop, contrary to the law, and to the dignity of the realm. "When the demoliſhing of the church of Hackington was agreed "upon, it was alſo agreed, that the ſociety ſhould be tranſlated to "Lambeth: and as this agreement was made by us, with the con-"currence of the biſhops and barons, and ſealed with our ſeals, ſo "it was confirmed by the biſhops of Rome; yet notwithſtanding all "this, to the prejudice of our crown and dignity, you have at-"tempted to deſtroy this agreement; which preſumptuous attempt "we cannot nor will not ſuffer to paſs unpuniſhed." In the concluſion therefore he requires, that as they valued his favour and their own liberties and poſſeſſions, they ſhould abſtain from the execution of that bull, which they had ſurreptitiouſly procured from the court of Rome; commanding likewiſe the prior and ſome of the monks to come to him, and to give ſatisfaction for the injury done to him, and his kingdom. Leſt this ſhould not be ſufficient, he took the houſe at Lambeth into his own immediate and ſpecial protection, and commanded all his officers not to ſuffer the archbiſhop, nor any other perſon, to attempt any thing to the prejudice of that collegiate church: and to the ſame effect he wrote to all the biſhops of England. Nor did the reſentment of the king determine here: he moreover com-

manded the high ſheriff of Kent to ſeize the temporalities of the convent. Thus far it muſt be confeſſed, that the king wrote and acted upon this occaſion like himſelf; with a ſpirit and firmneſs which became a powerful monarch of an heroic temper, againſt the encroachments of Rome, and the ſeditious attempts of a few contemptible eccleſiaſticks. Had his majeſty ſtopped here, he would in all probability have carried his point: but he imprudently appealed to the court of Rome; which was neither better nor worſe than undoing all he had done before, and allowing that authority which he had contradicted and denied. Such unhappy circumſtances had the unwary conceſſions of this prince's anceſtors, and his own unfortunate expedition, drawn upon him! Pope INNOCENT, who had all the ambition of GREGORY the ſeventh, and all the zeal and fury of ALEXANDER the third, but more art and temper and a better addreſs than either of them, ſeeing the tendency and importance of this diſpute, ran into it with a paſſion ſuitable to the intereſt which the holy ſee had in it. He therefore not only employed the cardinals to attempt the archbiſhop's reſolution, by repreſenting to him the great dangers which he would expoſe himſelf to by perſevering in his deſign, but by a new bull the pope confirmed his former ſentence: and to let the world ſee he had now mounted the throne, for which his predeceſſors had ſo long contended, he tells the king in one of his letters, "that he could "not bear any contempt of the apoſtolic ſee; and that thoſe who "attempted any thing to its diſhonour, ſhould learn by their puniſh-"ment, how hard it was to kick againſt the pricks." In another letter on the ſame ſubject, in language better fitted to the prophet of the Turks than a ſpiritual paſtor of Chriſtians, he tells the king of England, "that he held the place of GOD upon earth; and without "diſtinction of perſons he would puniſh the men and the nations "that preſumed to oppoſe his commands." Thus after all the courage and reſolution of this warlike prince, he was forced to give way to the deſtruction of the college of Lambeth, to ſee his authority controlled by a ſovereign power, and a wiſe and brave effort to reſtore the rights of his crown, fall away and come to nothing: and yet what RICHARD ſuffered on this occaſion, was nothing, compared to the injuries which his family, and the Engliſh church, owed to the wickedneſs of pope INNOCENT. The whole nation was aſtoniſhed at this proceeding at Rome: the king himſelf was very uneaſy under this uſage, and had courage and firmneſs enough to have attempted a redreſs, if GOD had given him time, and his affairs had been in a condition to permit it. But an unexpected accident this year, put an end to his deſigns and his life together. Approaching too near the walls of a caſtle which he had beſieged in Aquitain, he received an unfortunate arrow from a croſs-bow into his ſhoulder, which for want

of a ſkilfull ſurgeon proved a mortal wound; and to which, it is ſaid, his own intemperance did not a little contribute.

Thus fell this great and valiant prince; who for his uncommon martial ſpirit was ſirnamed Coeur de Lion. He had many princely accompliſhments which might have added a luſtre to the crown he wore, if they had not been overſhadowed greatly by his vices. Theſe, it is ſaid, he intended to lay aſide; and he was in reality much reformed by his impriſonment. But the dark part of his character has been aggravated by the monks who write of him, beyond what his hiſtory will authorize, or confirm. It is true he loaded his ſubjects with exceſſive taxes and impoſitions; but this was not from an inſatiable love of money, as they repreſented it; it was to purſue an undertaking which the artifices of the court of Rome, and the prevailing humour of the age, embarked him in. That one raſh expedition, began indeed by his father, at the entrance of his reign, was the ſource of infinite miſchief to him and his people all the reſt of it. He left his dominions, and three parts in four of his treaſure, to his brother John; reſerving the remainder for the poor, and his domeſticks. He ordered his body to be interred at the feet of the king his father, to give a teſtimony of his ſorrow for the many uneaſineſſes he had created him during his life. There could be no reaſon to induce him to favour the prince his brother, who had been always almoſt in arms againſt him, and to the prejudice of Arthur his nephew, but the apprehenſion of the commotions which John would raiſe in ſtruggling for the crown. Tho he has therefore been accuſed of having no affection or tenderneſs for his people, yet this muſt be limited to caſes where his own military glory was concerned, or the accuſation will not be true. What with the Paleſtine expedition, the rebellion of his brother, and his unavoidable war with the king of France, the whole ten years of his reign was almoſt all ſpent in military undertakings, at a great expence to his ſubjects. But this was not ſo much the fault of Richard, as his misfortune; and if he had lived in other times and under other circumſtances, I am perſuaded that he would have made a very great figure in the Engliſh hiſtory. His vices as a man, it muſt be owned abate the luſtre of his character as a prince: when we conſider however that the firſt are magnified, and that he had not time and opportunity to diſplay the laſt, Richard ought to have a better name in the liſt of kings than moſt writers give him.

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THE

ECCLESIASTICAL

HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK VII.

NOtwithſtanding the prior right of ARTHUR to the crown of England as the ſon of GEOFRY elder brother to JOHN, and whoſe right of ſucceſſion was allowed abroad in ſome of the Norman provinces, yet this prince being a minor and in a foreign country his title was not conſidered here. RICHARD knowing his brother's turbulent and contentious temper, which could never ſuffer the young prince his nephew to enjoy his dominions without diſturbance, as far as in him lay, devolved the crown upon his brother. John on his part was not wanting to ſecure it to himſelf by liberal promiſes: and therefore, doubtful at beſt as his title was, it was ſo generally owned in England on the death of RICHARD, that he was ſoon after crowned without any oppoſition, all the people ſwearing allegeance and fealty to him. He was ſcarcely ſeated on the throne, before he ſmarted under the changes which the papal uſurpation had made in the polity of the Engliſh church. The biſhop of St. David's having died in the year preceding, the king, according to the uſual method of later ages, had ſent his writ to the chapter; requiring that ſome of the body authoriſed by the reſt, ſhould repair to him into Normandy, to aſſiſt at the election of a new biſhop. King RICHARD dying before the proctors of the chapter arrived in Normandy, they applied themſelves to his ſucceſſor. But inſtead of purſuing the directions which the king and his chief juſtice gave them, they made two elections without his approbation, and finally inſiſted on having GIRALDUS archdeacon of Brecknock, whom the king had from the beginning principally objected againſt, for their biſhop. HUBERT archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was likewiſe made lord chancellor by JOHN

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at his coronation, and Geofry the chief juſtice, had nominated two other perſons to the chapter as moſt agreeable to the king: but they inſiſted on their right of election without his majeſty's interpoſition, and would elect no other biſhop but Giraldus. This man was born in Wales; and conſidering the age he lived in, had an uncommon ſhare of learning: but the opinion he had entertained of his own merit and ſufficiency, made him ſo vain and inſolent, that he treated every body elſe with great contempt, and was very unacceptable to the court. However being thus elected by the chapter, tho againſt the king's conſent, he hurried away to Rome; where he not only hoped to get his election confirmed, and to receive conſecration, but to withdraw Wales from the juriſdiction of the ſee of Canterbury, and to reſtore St. David's to the metropolitical power it had anciently been poſſeſſed of. Giraldus had from his nature, all the haughtineſs, obſtinacy, and ambition that were neceſſary to qualify him for ſuch an undertaking. He was moreover a very indefatigable ſollicitor, and free with his money and his promiſes. He ſounded high the honour and advantages that would accrue to the apoſtolic chamber, if his holineſs acceded to his pretenſions. He promiſed not only a penny a houſe to the holy chair, from the whole Welſh dominion, but alſo a tenth of their cattle and moveable goods. Nor did he forget to remind Innocent of the ancient ſtate of the Britiſh church, which had been independent on that of England till the conqueſt of Henry the firſt; and that the biſhops of St. David's had been the metropolitans. On the other hand, it was eaſy for king John to ſee, that if the church of Wales had been ſet free from a dependance on that of England, the civil dependance would ſoon after follow; which gave ſo much ground to the king's jealouſy, that it is no wonder we ſhould find him taking this affair to himſelf: and indeed the attempt of this chapter to chooſe their biſhop againſt his conſent, was ſo direct a violence to his ſovereign power, that his ſhare in this diſpute ſeems to be greater than that of the archbiſhop, whoſe province was attempted to be divided by it. However the king and the archbiſhop ſent their embaſſadours to the holy ſee: and the better to ſecure their intereſt in that court, which did not favour the authority of ſecular princes in ſuch elections, the king thought proper to wave his nomination, and conſented to one of the abbots whom the chapter had firſt elected before Giraldus. Upon this condeſcenſion, Innocent refuſed to confirm the election of the archdeacon, and for many reaſons would not conſent to the ſetting up St. David's as a metropolis independent on the ſee of Canterbury. To make Giraldus however ſome little amends for his preſents and diſappointment, he granted him the adminiſtration of the temporalities of the vacant biſhopric; tho he muſt know that by the law of England they fell in a vacancy to the crown.

Whilſt this controverſy was on foot, a new ſcene appeared, and not a little ſurprizing to the whole chriſtian church. The zeal with which the court of Rome had been ſtruggling to get the right of inveſtitures to themſelves, and to engage the princes of Europe in the holy war, was well enough known to the world: and tho there was great reaſon to think, that all that zeal was not laid out for nothing, yet the ſecret which lay at the bottom was not fit to be diſcovered, till all the difficulties which croſſed their deſigns were ſurmounted, and the papacy was fallen into proper hands. That time was now come: and INNOCENT, a ſubtle, daring, ambitious prelate, was admirably well qualified to put the finiſhing hand to that building, which the court of Rome had been by degrees erecting for ſome ages. The ſecret therefore being now fit for the light, INNOCENT, in the ſecond year of his papacy, laying aſide the uſual cant of intreating aid for the holy war, or preaching up the merit of it by little emiſſaries, iſſued out his bull, requiring all metropolitans to convene their provincial ſynods, and all biſhops the ſynods of their reſpective dioceſes, in order to make an eſtimate of all eccleſiaſtical preferments, as well the exempt as the unexempted orders of religion; and that they ſhould be all charged with the fortieth part of their revenue towards carrying on the holy war. This was the firſt inſtance that the world had ever had of this kind. GREGORY the ſeventh had aſſerted a right to diſpoſe of church preferments; pope LUCIUS had ſent to England to beg for aid; and ALEXANDER the third had pretended to exempt the eſtates of the church from being taxed by the ſecular power: but to exerciſe a ſovereign authority over the church, by an arbitrary and particular charge upon the revenues of it, was what had never been heard of before this time. However, leſt the views of this deſigning prelate ſhould lie too open, or as he expreſſed it himſelf, "leſt any one ſhould wonder or be trou-"bled at the authority which he made uſe of on this occaſion," he pretended the neceſſity, and the hopes of ſucceeding in the expedition: and to prevent the alarm which an attempt of raiſing money on the clergy and religious, without conſulting their princes and biſhops, might produce, INNOCENT promiſed that it ſhould not be drawn into an example, and that what he did at this time ſhould be no prejudice to them in time to come. But notwithſtanding this promiſe, it will ſoon appear that he had nothing more at heart, than to make a precedent of raiſing money on the clergy without the authority of their princes; and that the court of Rome might become maſters of the wealth of the weſtern churches. Let us ſee how his audacious attempt ſucceeded here in England. It is impoſſible that kingdoms ſhould ever be too jealous, where a ſupremacy is pretended to by a foreign power; eſpecially a ſupremacy which pretends to break in upon the tender and moſt ſenſible part of the legiſlature, the power of raiſing money upon the ſubject.

Notwithſtanding therefore a council was convened by archbiſhop Hubert, and which met at Weſtminſter to enforce this mandate from the Roman ſee, yet the chief juſtice ſent him a prohibition. It is no wonder that able miniſter ſhould foreſee, the evil conſequence of laying impoſitions upon the ſubjects of England, by virtue of ſuch a mandate: the wonder is, that the archbiſhop, who from the time of his advancement ſeems all along to have acted the part of a good ſubject and a prudent ſtateſman, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to take any part in an affair, ſo prejudicial to the crown and church of England. It is certain however Hubert held a council at Weſtminſter in the laſt year of this century; at which ſeveral conſtitutions were agreed upon, moſt of them taken from thoſe of former ſynods, and with which I ſhall not therefore trouble the reader. The new ones relate, to the ordering of the voice in divine ſervice, forbidding either huddling the prayers over haſtily, or drawling them out with a ſleepy negligence; to the retinue of the biſhops and archdeacons in their viſitations; to payment of tithes without deduction for expence of harveſt; to the reſidence of the clergy on livings above the value of three marks a year; and to the avarice of the religious. In the laſt canon we have the original of vicarages in England, by directing that in all future appropriation of tithes to religious houſes, a miniſter ſhould be eſtabliſhed and proviſion made for his ſubſiſtence. Before this time, appropriations of pariſh churches had extended to all the tithes, as well ſmall as great; and for the moſt part thoſe who lived in religious houſes were ſent out from thence to ſerve the cures. But if it remedied this inconvenience, it probably occaſioned another. For by providing for the reſidence and ſubſiſtence of perpetual vicars, it took off the great objection to the appropriation of tithes; and ſo opened a way to the pretenſions of nuns, military orders, and lay fraternities, as well as of the religious, to procure a part of the revenues of the church; this alienation, in time, went a great way towards eating up the plentiful proviſion which the piety of preceding ages had made for the parochial clergy: a miſchief which ſucceding ages had great reaſon to lament, but which the government was not ſenſible of, 'till it had ſpread too far, and was become incurable.

The archbiſhop of York, as we have ſeen, being of a very turbulent and ambitious ſpirit, and wanting to make himſelf popular, had oppoſed the levying a tax within his dioceſe, which the ſtates had conſented to give the king. This unreaſonable and ungrateful ſtep againſt his brother, to whom he had great obligations, furniſhed the king with a pretence to ſeize his temporalities. But the daring ſpirit of this prelate, was not to be humbled by that puniſhment. He excommunicated the ſheriff of the county of York, with all his officers that were employed in levying the tax; and becauſe the people did not ſupport him, laid his whole dioceſe under an interdict. But when he

he ſaw that no body ſtirred, and that he was left to act alone, he ſought to be reconciled: and the king, going to York in the firſt year of the thirteenth century, accepted his ſubmiſſion, and the diſpute was ended. JOHN had another controverſy with the monks, which laſted much longer, and gave him a great deal more trouble. The rector of the church of Feverſham in Kent dying about this time, the king preſented WELLS, chancellor of Canterbury, to the archbiſhop. But the monks of St. Auſtin's who pretended a right to it, and were reſolved to take the profits of it to themſelves, were too quick for the crown; and immediately on the incumbent's death, ſent one of their body to take poſſeſſion of the church and parſonage; who by force kept out the clerk preſented by the king. The king being exceedingly provoked at this proceeding, ordered the ſheriff of the county to diſpoſſeſs the monks; which was accompliſhed not without a reſiſtance that cauſed ſome blood to be ſhed in the church. The monks, encouraged by the ſucceſſes of thoſe of the cathedral, and by the aſſurance they had of the favour of the court of Rome, deſpiſed all the offers of the archbiſhop, and ſuch of the nobility and clergy, as endeavoured to make up this unhappy breach. They not only purſued their pretence, with an obſtinacy equalled by nothing but that of the monks of Canterbury, but according to the uſual method of thoſe people, they entitled GOD to their quarrel, and ſheltered their greedineſs under the umbrage of religion: in ſhort they deſpiſed and affronted the king, and every body that oppoſed them, and forgot all which looked like gentleneſs, good nature, or good manners. They knew what great things their brother monks of the cathedral had done for the ſee of Rome by their obſtinacy, and what returns had been made them from it. They ſaw that every inſult offered to the ſecular authority, did ſomething towards leſſening it in the eyes of the people; and ſo was therefore a welcome ſacrifice to that court. For this reaſon, without taking any notice of the courts of law, in attempting to redreſs this grievance, the monks of St. AUSTIN's, when they were diſpoſſeſſed of the church of Feverſham, appealed to the court of Rome. INNOCENT, we may be ſure, immediately eſpouſed the cauſe; and by an epiſtle, directed the biſhop of ELY, to excommunicate thoſe who had diſpoſſeſſed the monks, to put the places they inhabited under an interdict, and then to reſtore the abbot and convent to their poſſeſſion. The king forbade the execution of this inſolent bull; and both he and the archbiſhop oppoſed the pretenſions of the monks. But as the obſtinacy of theſe religious was not to be overcome, ſo they were well aſſured of the favour and ſupport of the ſee of Rome. INNOCENT accordingly wrote a letter to the king; in which he tells him, that every one ought to ſtand or fall to his own maſter, and that it was not prudent in his majeſty to intermeddle in the affairs of eccleſiaſticks, of which he had not the proper cognizance.

zance. The reader perhaps will wonder, what right his holineſs could have to judge in an affair of private property, between the king of England and the convent of St. Auſtin's: he made himſelf however a party in it, was both advocate and judge; and in an epiſtle to the biſhops of England, declares himſelf to be the only defender of that houſe. Accordingly, after the king and the archbiſhop had had a great deal of fruitleſs wrangling with them about the patronage of this church, the king, ſeeing no other remedy, but either to give up his right, or to come to an open rupture with the court of Rome, yielded at laſt to the uſurpation; and permitted the monks to reap the fruit of their own pride and obſtinacy. Had this been one of the firſt ſteps towards humbling the Engliſh monarchy, we might wonder indeed at the aſſurance of it; but they have been ſo frequently taken for many years paſt, that they have no other effect now, than to make us wonder at the folly and the madneſs of the Engliſh nation, in permitting an impoſture, ſo wicked, groſs, and dangerous, to grow upon them.

Notwithſtanding the great addreſs with which the Paleſtine expedition had been magnified at the court of Rome, yet a little thinking and experience had ſo cooled the zeal of our anceſtors for the holy war, that great numbers repented, and would have excuſed themſelves from the undertaking. But the conſiderations of leaving parents wives and children to deplore their abſence or their death, had no weight with Innocent: he knew how to find his account in it; and therefore without regarding the ties of nature or religion, he iſſued out a bull directed to the biſhops of England, by which he commanded them to excommunicate by name, every ſunday, all thoſe who drew back from their vows of aſſiſting in the expedition. The king himſelf, tho under very great difficulties, and tho obliged to lay heavy burdens upon his people to provide for the neceſſities of the ſtate, was yet prevailed upon from Rome, to grant a fortieth part of his revenue for carrying on this war, and to exhort his nobility to do the ſame. But in the letter which the chief juſtice wrote to them on this occaſion by the king's direction, he informs them, "that it was "not by right, or cuſtom, or compulſion of the papal authority, "that this impoſition was either granted, or commanded:" a clauſe however which only ſhews us, that the late tax upon the clergy was not forgotten, and that the nation had not yet given up the jealouſy, which that uſurpation had occaſioned among all ranks of people.

If the ill poſture of affairs abroad was ſome little excuſe for theſe compliances of the king, there is nothing to be ſaid in his juſtification, for the death of Arthur his nephew; who was taken priſoner by John at the ſiege of Mirabell, and who was ſuſpected to have been diſpatched

diſpatched by the king's own hand. The circumſtances of the fact, by which that young prince loſt his life, remain ſtill a ſecret; but beſides the general opinion that he was privately made away with by his uncle's orders, there are other reaſons to ſuſpect that the king himſelf was at the bottom of his murder; becauſe he never attempted to clear himſelf of the accuſation, and never made any enquiry into that barbarous act. The taking away the life of ARTHUR in this wicked unnatural manner, inſtead of giving his affairs a better turn, as he certainly thought it would, had an effect which is very common to the wiſdom of ſuch impiety: it not only drew greater difficulties upon him abroad, but it ſunk him ſo low, in the opinion of the world, and in the affections of his people, that he was never in a condition to extricate himſelf out of them; and probably helped forward that fatal calamity which in a little time overwhelmed him. If it was not the hand of GOD which ever after purſued this prince, yet his conduct was ſuch, that one can ſcarce attribute it to any thing elſe. Whilſt the king of France was reducing the beſt part of Normandy to his obedience, JOHN, inſenſible of his loſſes, thought of nothing but his diverſions, and the careſſes of his queen whom he had lately married: he ſaw, with an amazing ſtupidity and unconcernedneſs, the king of France over-running his dominions, ſeizing his caſtles, and laying his towns in aſhes; and neither his duty nor his intereſt, the advice of his friends nor the reproaches of his enemies, were able to awaken him out of his dream of idleneſs and pleaſure.

Whilſt JOHN was thus loſing all his dominions in France, and the hearts of his people in England, by an unaccountable inſenſibility, the death of HUBERT, his archbiſhop and chancellor, opened the way to ſuch a ſcene of papal tyranny and uſurpation, as ought to perpetuate the reſentment of the whole Engliſh nation againſt the ſee of Rome: and if any thing can be aſtoniſhing after what we have beheld already, this ſcene muſt carry down aſtoniſhment to after ages, as far as hiſtory and time can reach. But before we enter upon this tranſaction, the nature of my work obliges me to ſay ſomething of HUBERT's character, who had been chief miniſter of ſtate, and chief juſtice to RICHARD, and ſate in the chair of primate eleven years; having alſo from king JOHN the cuſtody of the great ſeal. He was an Engliſhman by birth, and had his education under the famous GLANVILLE the chief juſtice, who inſtructed him very ably in the cuſtoms and conſtitution of the kingdom. He was no graceful ſpeaker, but he had a great genius for buſineſs; and moſt of the good laws, which paſſed in the reign of RICHARD, were drawn up under the influence, and by the direction of this prelate. His conduct in his controverſy with the monks of Canterbury, ſhews him to have been a man of an excellent good temper, at the ſame time that he did not

want a proper firmneſs of ſpirit. Had Hubert lived in an age before the papal uſurpation had got ſo ſure a footing, he would probably have been of eminent uſe to the church of England, as he was in his own age to the ſtate. His great experience as a miniſter gave authority to his counſels; and thoſe counſels prevented many of the inconveniences, to which the weakneſs and inconſtancy of king John expoſed him. This appeared plain to all the world after that prelate's death; becauſe the king being then left at his liberty to follow ſuch advices as were moſt agreeable to himſelf, immediately loſt the affections of his people; and when he ſtood moſt in need of his ſubjects, his ſubjects withheld the aſſiſtance which they ſhould have given him. There does not ſeem the leaſt objection to the conduct of Hubert, either as primate or lord chancellor, except that of his holding a council at Weſtminſter, tho prohibited by the chief juſtice; and for which our hiſtorians give no probable reaſon. The only reaſon given by any of them, if I don't miſtake, is given by Mat. Paris: but what he ſays, of the archbiſhop's convening this ſynod without the uſual licence from the king, which occaſioned the prohibition, that he might comply with the deſign and direction of pope Innocent in depriving princes of all authority over the church, this is ſo inconſiſtent with all the other parts of Hubert's conduct, as in my opinion makes it improbable to the laſt degree. There is not a ſingle inſtance in any writer of his favouring the pretenſions of the court of Rome, againſt the authority of his ſovereign and the intereſt of the kingdom: and therefore if this is true, as all hiſtorians agree, that the chief juſtice prohibited the meeting of this council, which Hubert held notwithſtanding, the true reaſon upon which he acted, I believe, will never be known. Notwithſtanding the two great ſtations which he filled, we hear no complaints of his pride and inſolence: and if living up to the ſplendor and dignity of thoſe ſtations is a ſort of neceſſary pomp and magnificence, the character of Hubert is without a blemiſh. Yet ſome hiſtorians, Rapin particularly from a hint of M. Paris, have charged this prelate with vanity, from his endeavouring in ſome meaſure to equal the king, if not to ſurpaſs him, in ſtate and grandeur. But when we conſider that this extraordinary magnificence was confined to one Chriſtmas at Canterbury, where he entertained the king and queen at their coronation, and that his way of living at all other times, was rather generous and hoſpitable, than ſuperfluous and magnificent, we may ſurely exculpate him from the charge of vanity. He was naturally generous and of a great mind; and among many other public benefactions which were ſuitable to the age, he enlarged the Tower ditch, and brought the Thames to flow round it. His carrying on the deſign of his predeceſſor at Lambeth has been already mentioned: he was in other reſpects a great benefactor to the biſhopric, and particularly careful not to ſink his character in any inſtance; but

at the ſame time that he behaved with great condeſcenſion, he preſerved his dignity. In ſhort if we conſider HUBERT as the chief miniſter of two princes, and poſſeſſed of the two greateſt offices in the kingdom, with many virtues, without any vice, and of eminent abilities and good temper, it will be but barely doing juſtice to his character, I think, to ſay, that he was one of the greateſt, and one of the beſt men, of the age in which he lived. I return now to the ſcene I mentioned.

No ſooner were the eyes of the archbiſhop cloſed, than the monks of Canterbury held a chapter privately in the night, and choſe REGINALD their ſubprior to ſuccede him. But foreſeeing that the king would not tamely ſubmit to ſuch an injury to his crown and dignity, they obliged their new elected primate to take an oath of ſecrecy, till he had leave of the convent to make his election public. Their confidence lay in the court of Rome, whoſe work they knew they were carrying on; and therefore before this tranſaction could tranſpire, REGINALD with ſome of the chapter were diſpatched thither, to get the election confirmed, and the archbiſhop conſecrated. But being arrived in Flanders where he thought himſelf ſafe, the prior was too much elated with his new character not to make it known: having firſt forgot his duty to the king in this clandeſtine election, he now forgot his oath of ſecrecy to the monks; and as he went on towards Rome, aſſumed every where the dignity of an archbiſhop. The affair being thus made public, the monks who remained in the convent, either fearing the king's diſpleaſure for this impudent attempt upon his prerogative, or elſe reſenting the prior's impiety and indiſcretion, or as ſome hiſtorians ſay, not knowing of this tranſaction, ſent ſome of their body to court, to deſire the king's leave to elect a new archbiſhop. The king's anger, which had been raiſed at the news of an election without his licence, being appeaſed by this ſubmiſſion, he recommended GRAY biſhop of Norwich, who was unanimouſly choſen, and put in poſſeſſion of the temporalities of the ſee of Canterbury. But the biſhop of the provinces thinking themſelves to be ill-uſed, in not being called upon to aſſiſt at or give their aſſent to this election, ſent proxies away to Rome, to complain of this injury, and to aſſert their right of aſſiſting in the election of a metropolitan, according to the law and ancient uſage of England. There was a deputation alſo from the convent at the king's expence, to get the election of GRAY confirmed; and the ſubprior and his aſſociates were already upon the ſpot to ſollicit in favour of their own pretenſions.

The ambitious deſigns of the holy ſee made it ſo neceſſary to encourage ſtrife and contention of this ſort, that theſe were welcome gueſts, and received very kindly at the court of Rome. The claim of the biſhops of the province was heard firſt: but the preſent turn of JOHN's affairs lying ſomewhat croſs to this claim of the biſhops, and there being nothing

thing therefore to fear from them, Innocent, without ſcruple, determined againſt their claim; tho it had the law and cuſtom of England, and the canons and uſage of the ancient churches on its ſide; and decreed the ſole right of election to be in the chapter of Canterbury. In this iniquitous ſentence, the reader ſees the ground work of all the miſchiefs, which this controverſy occaſioned afterwards to king John: but becauſe it ſerved his preſent purpoſe, and gave him hopes that the election of the biſhop of Norwich would be confirmed, he ſate down quiet under it; not ſeeing, or not being willing to ſee, the danger which attended his complying with it, till it broke in upon him with an irreſiſtible fury. He had taken an oath from the monks whom he had ſent to Rome, that they would not conſent to elect any other primate but the biſhop of Norwich; and confiding in this ſecurity, he had ſent a letter to the pope, aſſuring him that he would acknowlege any archbiſhop whom the convent ſhould elect. The king, being got thus far within his holineſs's net, Innocent proceeded to pull it over him; and vacating both the elections made by the monks at Canterbury, commanded thoſe who were then at Rome, to proceed to a new election. The deputation from the convent pleaded their oath to the king; and when the pope obliged them to elect a ſecond time, they again elected the biſhop of Norwich. But oaths and obligations were of no weight with Innocent, when they lay croſs to his inclinations: and therefore recommending cardinal Langton, an Engliſhman then at his court, commanded the monks, on pain of excommunication, to chooſe him their archbiſhop. In vain it was to urge their oath, the neceſſity of the king's conſent, and a further authority from the convent, to a prelate of Innocent's imperious temper. "The validity of their oath lay in "his own breaſt, which he would abſolve them from; the conſent of "princes was not neceſſary where he himſelf was preſent; and they "were the repreſentatives of the whole monaſtery." With theſe anſwers, and with his threatenings, all the monks except one were overruled to elect the cardinal, whom his holineſs had fixed upon them; and whom he conſecrated himſelf.

Thus as he defeated the chapter, and ſnatched out of their hands the freedom of election, for which they had long and obſtinately contended, ſo he turned the king's promiſe againſt himſelf; making it all along throwout the controverſy the great argument for his ſubmiſſion to this flagrant inſult. But tho John had held out very quietly as long as there was room for any hopes, yet his expectation being diſappointed, and a man entirely in the French intereſt put into a truſt of ſo great importance to the church and kingdom, he loſt all patience; and the monks of Canterbury were ſoon made to feel the effects of his reſentment. Two military knights, being ſent down with ſufficient force, entered the monaſtery ſword in hand; charged the monks with high treaſon for electing the ſubprior without the royal aſſent; and commanded them in the king's name to

depart his dominions without delay. Tho JOHN's reſentment did not ſo effectually reach the court of Rome, yet he made them ſenſible how much he thought himſelf injured by this appointment of an archbiſhop, who was a ſtranger to him and the chapter, without his approbation. He diſpatched a letter to the pope by an ambaſſador; in which he expreſſes his aſtoniſhment and indignation, at his holineſs's thus invading the prerogatives of his crown, by preſuming to void the election of the biſhop of NORWICH. He then charges him with ingratitude to the Engliſh nation, from which the holy ſee had received more advantage and acknowledgment, than from all the other countries on this ſide the Alpes: and in the concluſion he tells him plainly, "that as he was de-"termined to maintain the election of the biſhop of NORWICH, and "would rather part with his blood than with the juſt rights of his "crown, ſo unleſs his holineſs would gratify him in this affair, he "would for the future prevent all appeals to the holy ſee, and content "himſelf with the learning and ſufficiency of his own prelates, with-"out any application to a foreign authority."

Had king JOHN been in the ſituation that his father was in the former part of his reign, this was language becoming a king of England to a biſhop of Rome; and would no doubt have anſwered his deſign in uſing it. But by the weak compliances of his father, and the unavoidable conceſſions of his predeceſſor, the court of Rome had now raiſed itſelf in the perſon of INNOCENT, above the indignation of this unfortunate prince: and therefore inſtead of making ſubmiſſion, and aſking the king's pardon for this audacious inſult, the pope in his anſwer tells him, "that if he did not quietly acquieſce in the deciſions of "the apoſtolic ſee, he would plunge himſelf into difficulties from which "he would not be able to extricate himſelf; that it was in vain to "think of oppoſing one, who was vicar to, and ſupported the autho-"rity of him, at whoſe name every knee muſt bowe;" and as tho this was not plain enough to be underſtood, he further aſſures him, "that "it was not ſafe to reſiſt GOD and his church, in a cauſe for which "archbiſhop BECKET had ſacrificed his life, and which his own father "and brother had already yielded up to the holy ſee." The tenour of all the epiſtles of INNOCENT on this controverſy is the ſame; which as it lets us into the ſprings and ſecret trains of thoſe diſputes, which gave ſo much trouble to the Engliſh nation, ſo it likewiſe diſplays the flouriſhing ſtate of the eccleſiaſtic monarchy, and enables us to account for the fate of this unhappy prince, which has made him a ſubject of aſtoniſhment to all ſucceding ages. The eccleſiaſtic monarchy, was at that time not only the moſt formidable power in Europe, but it was in the hands of a very daring, young, and active prelate; a man of great capacity, great application and addreſs, and of unbounded pride: he was ſo exactly fitted to put the laſt hand to the vaſt deſigns which

the court of Rome had projected, as tho God had raiſed him up for an original of craft and ambition; that mankind might ſee in him, what baſe and ill deſigns might be covered and carried on, under the colour of religion and the name of Christ. Be this however as it may; Innocent, ſeeing the king reſolute to maintain the poor remainder of his authority, laid the kingdom of England under an interdict; and commanded the biſhops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to pronounce the ſentence; which was too ſoon obeyed.

The king being moſt exceedingly enraged at this inhuman treatment, carried his revenge to ſuch a length as did him great diſſervice. Had his whole reſentment turned againſt the ſee of Rome, and the three biſhops who executed the unrighteous ſentence, he would probably have engaged almoſt all the kingdom on his ſide. For except baptizing children, taking the confeſſions, and giving the ſacrament to dying people, all the offices of divine ſervice ceaſed; and the dead were brought out of the town and villages, and buried in ditches and highways, like ſo many dogs and aſſes. All the churches were ſhut up, the altars forſaken, and the honour of God and the care of ſouls, were ſacrificed to the tyranny, ambition, and wickedneſs of the court of Rome. But John, in the firſt tranſports of his anger, let looſe his rage upon the whole eccleſiaſtical order, as well clergy as religious; taking the biſhopricks, and abbies, and revenues of the church, into his cuſtody: and the event was anſwerable. For whilſt the three biſhops who had provoked him to this ſeverity, and been inſtrumental in the confuſion, got out of the reach of danger, and lived in a foreign country at their eaſe, the clergy, and religious, finding the innocent and guilty involved in the ſame fate, and that dutifulneſs to the king was no ſecurity, carried the reſentment of this uſage, on their ſide, to ſuch extremities, as were unjuſtifiable, and very prejudicial to the king's affairs.

The king having thus provoked this whole body of men by his ill conduct---and which is a leſſon to princes not to ſuffer their paſſions to be the rules of juſtice---was not only obliged to receive thoſe into his favour, and to reſtore them to their revenues, who refuſed to obſerve the interdict, but to endeavour alſo to ſecure his lay ſubjects faſter in his intereſt. To this purpoſe he cauſed the oath of fealty to be renewed, and hoſtages to be taken of many of the nobility: but ſuch precautions, as give people room to believe that they are ſuſpected without cauſe, commonly operate in a wrong direction; or if they ſhould tie up their hands, they let their affections looſe, and carry their hearts another way. This offenſive precaution, and the heavy impoſitions which the king's circumſtances made neceſſary, ſtill encreaſed his difficulties, and gave advantage to his enemies. The court of

Rome being well informed of the terms upon which JOHN ſtood with his people, INNOCENT thought it a proper time to take another ſtep towards his conqueſt: he excommunicated the king by name, and required that the ſentence ſhould be pronounced againſt him, every Sunday and holiday, in all the churches of the convents throwout the kingdom. But this excommunication had not all the effect which the court of Rome expected. For tho ſome few of the prelates and abbots fled out of England, to avoid the difficulties which this might have drawn upon them, yet the greateſt part paid no regard to a ſentence founded in injuſtice, and attended with a good deal of danger. The honour and intereſt of the court of Rome, however, were too far engaged to draw back, or to give up the point. INNOCENT therefore wrote a letter to all the biſhops in JOHN's dominions; blaming their coldneſs and want of zeal for the eccleſiaſtical liberty; exhorting them "to ſet themſelves "as a wall of defence to the houſe of GOD; and commanding them "to lay aſide all fears of the king." He then addreſſed the nobility; and that he might engage them againſt their prince, he tells them that the king was fighting againſt GOD; and conjures them, as they tendered the welfare of their ſouls, that they would oppoſe his deſigns, and not permit him to ruin them. But leſt they ſhould imagine that this was only the effect of a ſudden heat, he aſſures them that his heart was ſo much ſet upon this affair, that he was determined never to give it up, but if occaſion was to lay down his life in the defence of it: and profanely alluding to what the prophet ſays of the almighty, the haughty prelate added, "that his hand was not ſhortened, but by the grace "of GOD was ſo ſtrengthened, that he ſhould be able to oppreſs and "cruſh all them who incurred his anger."

Tho there was too much ground for an inſinuation of this kind, yet the conduct of the king would lead one to believe, that his indignation and reſentment, if not his honour, had raiſed him above theſe impreſſions, and left no room for fear. But whatever might be the caſe of JOHN at that time, the pope had addreſs enough to break thro the duty and the ſteadineſs of ſome of his miniſters; of which WELLS the lord chancellor, and now elected biſhop of Lincoln was an unhappy inſtance. The king had had great experience of this prelate's fidelity to him during the interdict, and being willing to avail himſelf ſtill further of his integrity, he appointed him biſhop of Lincoln; commanding him to go to Normandy to receive his conſecration from the archbiſhop of RHOAN, and not to acknowledge LANGTON the pope's archbiſhop of Canterbury. But WELLS, who had been as chancellor a very faithful ſubject, and whoſe intereſt in that employment did not claſh with his integrity, was now inveſted with a character, which, according to the late pretenſions of the court of Rome, transferred his allegeance to another ſovereign; and therefore he went to LANGTON, and received conſecration from him.

him. Tho the king reſented this affront as it deſerved, and ſeized the temporalities of the biſhopric, yet this defection gave him ſo great a diſtruſt of thoſe about him, as in all probability broke his own ſteadineſs and reſolution; and induced him to think of ſome meaſure which might reconcile his ſafety with his honour.

Accordingly, when the brother of Langton came to him, to adjuſt this diſpute, and to get the primate acknowledged, the king offered to receive him; to recall the biſhops who were in exile; to reſtore the monks of Canterbury; and to obey the monitions of his holineſs; ſaving to himſelf and his heirs the dignity rights and liberties of the crown. But this did not ſatisfy the pretenſions of the court of Rome; which evidently lay at the bottom, and animated this controverſy. The anſwer therefore which was given to this propoſal from the king, was, that the archbiſhop would do nothing unleſs his majeſty would yield himſelf up to his mercy. Had the acknowledgment of archbiſhop Langton been the only point contended for, as it was in fact the only open ſubject of debate, the king's propoſal was ſufficient to put an end to the quarrel: but it is plain that the court of Rome made this only a handle to render the whole body of eccleſiaſticks independent on the king. It was this independence, which made it ſo very difficult, to find out a proper temper for putting an end to this diſpute: and that the reader may be more convinced, that this was the ſecret ſpring by which this affair was moved, he need only to be informed, that when the king afterwards propoſed to empower the pope himſelf, or his delegates by a commiſſion to deliver the temporalities to archbiſhop Langton, and to receive his homage, yet this expedient was not accepted. It appears by an epiſtle of the pope's upon this ſubject, that the reaſon of this refuſal, was, "leſt it might poſſibly be a prejudice "to the eccleſiaſtic liberty, by leaving the king ſome appearances of "that power which he pretended to:" and yet all that this expedient left him, God knows, was but the ſhadow of that right, which the kings of England had for many ages enjoyed unqueſtioned, and might always have continued to enjoy, if the court of Rome had not ſacrificed the rights of ſtates and kingdoms, and the peace of Chriſtendom, to their own ambition.

The king having reſolved upon an expedition into Wales, and Northampton having been fixed upon as the place of rendezvous, he was attended there by his great council. The pope having ſent two legates into England at this time, under a pretence of accommodating this difference between the church and ſtate, but in reality to penetrate only into the king's intentions, they had an audience of his majeſty whilſt this aſſembly was convened. The king being made acquainted with their commiſſion, and with his holineſs's deſire to reſtore peace and

tranquillity to the Engliſh nation, if the king would ſwear to make reſtitution of all that had been taken from the eccleſiaſticks, and to receive the archbiſhop into his favour: JOHN replied in great anger, that he was willing to make reſtitution as far as he could, but that as for the archbiſhop, whatever ſafe conduct might be granted, he would certainly hang him if ever he came into England. The dialogue on this occaſion, between the king and PANDULPHUS, as the annals of Burton recite it, is a very long one; and as it contains only a repetition of what has already been taken notice of, I ſhall trouble the reader with no more of it, than with another propoſal that JOHN made to the legate, which was to yield to the nomination of another primate by the pope, if LANGTON would reſign. The legate, with an inſufferable inſolence, made anſwer "that it was not the cuſtom of the "holy church to degrade an archbiſhop without ſufficient reaſon, but "it had been uſed to humble princes who rebelled againſt it." The negotiation breaking off in this manner, the legates publiſhed the ſentence of excommunication againſt the king; pronounced the ſubjects of England abſolved from their allegeance to him; and declared that none of his poſterity ſhould inherit the kingdom after him. But all this was not enough to ſatisfy the pride and reſentment of the court of Rome: the utmoſt endeavours were therefore uſed to blacken the king; by repreſenting him as an apoſtate from religion, an enemy to the liberties of the church and the rights of his people, and as one who had offered to renounce his faith that he might preſerve his ſovereignty. In ſhort there was nothing left unſaid, which might encourage the king's enemies, or diſcountenance his friends: and the wicked reports thus induſtriouſly raiſed, made ſuch impreſſions, and took ſuch root, that the hiſtorians who wrote his reign, have generally ſpoken of him, as the vileſt and moſt deteſtable miſcreant in the world.

But becauſe it was not very eaſy to libel and rail a prince out of his kingdom, who had a fleet and army at his command, a wicked impoſtor, called PETER the hermit, was ſet up to prophecy, that before aſcenſion day next enſuing, JOHN ſhould ceaſe to be king of England, and none of his poſterity would ever come to the crown. The credit and confidence of this hermit was of great diſſervice to the king: and as popular credulity is to this day the reproach of the Engliſh nation, ſo the prophecy was not more induſtriouſly propagated thro the country, than it was univerſally believed. In the mean time the pope, under a pretence of applying a remedy to the calamities of the church of England, called a conſiſtory to conſult about the means of ſubduing the obſtinacy of this prince. The reader will eaſily gueſs at the little chance for juſtice which JOHN could have

in a conclave at Rome; where there were none but his accuſers, and thoſe accuſers judges. The king being there convicted of rebellion againſt the holy ſee, they decreed that Innocent ſhould depoſe him, and place another king over England in his room. The ſentence of depoſition was immediately thundered out; and to engage the king of France to put it in execution, Innocent not only promiſed him a ſeat in heaven, but the fee ſimple of the crown of England to him and his heirs, if he would take up arms and drive king John from off his throne. Nor was this the utmoſt extent of the pious rage of Innocent. He ſent letters and emiſſaries all over Europe, to perſuade the world that it was a ſervice to God and religion, to enſlave the king and kingdom of England: the pardon of ſins, the indulgences and protection of the holy ſee, and the privileges uſually granted to thoſe who engaged in the expeditions to the holy land, were promiſed all who ſhould aſſiſt in ſubduing this contumacious prince. The king of France deſired nothing in the world more, than to deprive John of his dominions on this ſide the water, as he had already done in Normandy: and covering his revenge and ambition under the umbrage of religion, after the example of pope Innocent, he prepared a powerful fleet and army to execute his deſign.

The king of England was no ſtranger to all the efforts that were making againſt him, and was not negligent in his defence: he drew together an army of threeſcore thouſand men; and that he might keep his enemy at a diſtance, he manned out a ſtrong fleet to diſpute the paſſage of the French at ſea. Whilſt theſe preparations were made on all ſides, and every thing ſeemed ready to decide the quarrel by force of arms, two knights templars landed at Dover, and acquainted the king that Pandulphus was in France, with propoſals from the pope for an accommodation; if his majeſty would permit him to come over, and would give him an audience. The king was then at the head of his army, expecting the arrival of the French; and having given leave for the legate to come to England was ſoon made ſenſible of his misfortunes. The legate opened his commiſſion with a letter from Innocent; in which he tells king John, that "bleſſing "and curſing were ſet before him, but that if he did not ſubmit to "the terms preſcribed and ſent him by Pandulphus, he would de-"liver the church of England, as God did that of Iſrael out of "Egypt, by a ſtrong hand:" moreover, that he might not fail to give the impreſſions which he intended, he reminds the king of his having humbled all the princes who had preſumed to oppoſe him. As ſoon as John had red this imperious letter, the crafty legate made a terrible repreſentation of the preſent conjuncture; from the numerous army which the French king had ready, and from the diſloyalty of his

his own nobility and principal ſubjects; who, he aſſured him, had ſent an invitation to PHILIP to invade his kingdom, and a promiſe of aſſiſting him againſt their ſovereign.

Having thus awakened the king's fears, and ſomewhat broke his ſteadineſs, by this artful repreſentation of danger from his own army, he then told his majeſty, that notwithſtanding his ſituation was thus melancholy, there was yet a way to diſpel the cloud and to retrieve all, which was to throw himſelf into the arms of the church: there being no doubt but that his holineſs would take him into his protection, as a merciful father does a repenting ſon, if he would promiſe to perform faithfully whatever INNOCENT ſhould enjoin him. As the danger which might ariſe from the defection of his own army, was one of the chief artifices on which the court of Rome built their hopes, ſo all poſſible care was taken to cultivate the king's jealouſy and diſtruſt. Beſides what the legate had inſinuated in the former conference at Northampton, and what he now affirmed to him in direct terms, JOHN had intelligence of the conſpiracy ſent him from ſo many different places, and theſe accounts were contrived to follow ſo cloſely at the heels of one another, that he had no longer any doubt of the reality of the fact; eſpecially when he recollected the harſh and arbitrary manner in which his ſubjects had been treated by him. Never was any prince in circumſtances of more perplexity, than JOHN was in at this time; he was ſtanding upon a precipice with the utmoſt danger on each ſide, and was under an abſolute neceſſity of leaping down one of them, without having time to deliberate which was the leaſt hazardous. On one hand the legate was inceſſantly playing off the artillery of the church to quicken his motions: on the other hand the king of France was every moment embarking with a formidable army, which might drive him out of the kingdom, and which his own army would not oppoſe. In this unhappy dilemma, the king loſt all his ſpirit, and ſunk beneath his misfortunes: he conſented to the propoſals which the legate made him, and took an oath to ſubmit to the award of INNOCENT, whoſe whole deſign was not yet uncovered. He had hitherto only ſounded the eccleſiaſtic liberty, and the vaſſalage ~~of~~ wrung the Engliſh church was held in by her king's; and probably JOHN thought no more would be required of him, but giving up ſome part of his prerogative in eccleſiaſtical affairs.

But the time was now come, when INNOCENT believed he might ſafely take off the maſk, and avow the deſign of erecting a monarchy over all the nations of the earth, which ſhould raiſe and humble princes at its pleaſure. Accordingly the firſt article of this agreement, which was drawn up in form of letters patents, and ſealed with the king's ſeal, but which the pope himſelf owns in a letter to LANGTON,

" was

"was projected, and with great deliberation formed at Rome," is in the following words; "that the king ſhould ſurrender and yield up "the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and for the time to come "hold both as fees of the papacy; the former under the yearly tri-"bute of ſeven hundred marks, the latter under the tribute of three "hundred." In conſequence of this agreement, the king repaired on the morrow to Dover church, attended by the legate and a numerous train of great men and officers of his army; where in the preſence of all the people, having taken the crown from off his head, he laid it with the other enſigns of royalty at the legate's feet; and the legate received his majeſty's homage for his own kingdoms, in the name of pope Innocent, and the church of Rome. He ſigned a charter after that, by which he yielded up the patronages of all the churches in England which belonged to the crown; and here he declared ſolemnly, that not being conſtrained by force, but of his own free will, and with the advice and conſent of all the barons of the realm, he made this reſignation of his crown and kingdom, as the only means of attoning for his offences againſt God and his church. But to bind his chains yet faſter about his neck, he was obliged to take the oath which is uſually given by vaſſals to their ſupreme lord or ſovereign. A propoſal like this, could not but extremely ſurprize and ſhock this unfortunate prince: he had however gone too far to draw back; and he was obliged to go yet further. For that Innocent might a little cover the ambition and deſigns of the court of Rome, with a zeal for juſtice and religion, he took care to comprehend the intereſts of the clergy in this agreement; for whoſe ſake alone it was pretended that this oppoſition to the king was made. John was obliged therefore to ſtipulate, to reverſe the outlawries againſt the nobility, biſhops, clergy, and religious, and to make ſatisfaction for the loſſes they had ſuſtained during the interdict. Beſides this general aſſurance of his favour and forgiveneſs, letters patents were directed to each of the prelates from the king; entreating them to return to England; confirming all the particulars inſerted in the agreement with the pope's legate; and acquainting them that ſeveral biſhops and barons had bound themſelves by oath to ſee that they were performed. The legate, having thus enſlaved the king of England, kept the crown and ſcepter five days in his poſſeſſion: and tho this tranſaction was on the Monday before Aſcenſion-day, the king ordered the hermit to be hanged for a falſe prophet; but in the opinion of moſt people it was for telling the truth, becauſe he had certainly ceaſed to be a king when he had reſigned his dominions, and acknowledged himſelf a vaſſal to the holy ſee.

Whilſt Innocent had gained ſo great a ſovereignty for the court of Rome, the king of France, and the holy warriors which he had ſpi-

rited up to this undertaking againſt JOHN, inſtead of the wealth, and towns, and honor, which they had expected, were to be paid with indulgences, and rewards from heaven. PANDULPH was in ſuch haſte to carry the news of his negotiation, that he went out of the kingdom without taking off the interdict, or giving the king abſolution; tho theſe were the only terms, that the pope his maſter had to obſerve on his ſide, for this abject compliance of the king of England. To quiet the exiled biſhops and clergy, he carried with him eight thouſand pounds, as part of what they were to receive for the damages they had ſuſtained; with an aſſurance of the reſt, and an honourable reception in their own country with all their friends. But it required more ſkill and addreſs to quiet the mind of the king of France; who had looked upon England as a certain conqueſt, and who could not bear the thoughts of being paid for all his trouble, with no other reward but that of heaven. When the legate therefore forbad him to go forward with his intended expedition againſt JOHN, he was out of patience to ſee himſelf tricked in the face of all the world, and this great armament to end in nothing, but the reproach of his being a ſtalking-horſe, or a tool, to INNOCENT. At firſt he poſitively refuſed to obey the orders; but the earl of Flanders oppoſed the expedition, and the French king was unwilling to expoſe his perſon to an excommunication, and his kingdom to an interdict: he ſat down therefore with the mortification of waſting threeſcore thouſand pounds, as he himſelf rated his expences, to make an acceſſion of two kingdoms to the eccleſiaſtical monarchy, which was at that time already the moſt formidable power in Europe. But the French king was not the only perſon that was mortified and diſappointed by this fatal league: the exiled clergy and religious, tho comprehended in it, were ſoon after ſo ill treated by the court of Rome, that they grew very uneaſy under a conjunction of thoſe two powers which they ſaw might eaſily make a prey of them. The truth of the matter is, the time was now come, when it pleaſed GOD to puniſh the weak and wild bigotry of the Engliſh nation; which under the cover of zeal, had let in a mercileſs enemy upon their country. For tho it was the fate of this unfortunate king, that in his reign the world was to ſee the wicked impoſture of the court of Rome in its full dimenſions, yet in juſtice to him it muſt be owned, that he fell a ſacrifice to the indiſcretion of his anceſtors, and the ſuperſtition of his ſubjects, rather than to his own perſonal failings; and accordingly the puniſhment was a national and a public miſchief.

In a little time after this fatal accommodation, the triumph of which was founded very high at the court of Rome, the exiled biſhops and clergy returned to England, and attended the king at Wincheſter. The archbiſhop finding him very humble, and entreating their compaſſion for himſelf and the kingdom, was ſomewhat more obliging than

the pope intended, and having firſt taken an oath from him to govern according to law and juſtice, abſolved his majeſty from the excommunication he was under; leaving the interdict however in the ſtate it was in before. Whilſt this meeting continued at Wincheſter, the king ordered a general enquiry to be made, into the loſſes ſuſtained by the clergy and religious, during the late controverſy; and recommended it to the barons and biſhops to conſider how to repair them. They had therefore two meetings after this in the ſame ſummer; at which the general diſlike and uneaſineſs, that the king's late conduct had given the nation, were diſcovered, and ſome meaſures entered into for recovering the ancient conſtitution. The archbiſhop had found the charter of Henry the firſt; and it was concluded, by joint conſent of the ſpiritual and temporal lords, that they would regulate their demands upon the crown by that charter, in order to retrieve their liberties. How privately ſoever theſe affairs were concerted in this aſſembly, which John had directed for another purpoſe, he was in a little time made ſenſible of the general diſſatisfaction and uneaſineſs of his people. He had vanquiſhed the French fleet that was intended againſt England; and being pleaſed with the thoughts of recovering what Philip had taken from him in Normandy, he ſummoned the barons to attend him at Portſmouth in order to accompany him in this expedition. The barons refuſed to attend him, under a pretence that the interdict was not releaſed: and when the king drew ſome troops together towards the center of the kingdom, in order to chaſtize their diſobedience, the archbiſhop, who knew the true ſecret of this affair, waited on him at Northampton; and repreſented to him, that as the barons were not legally condemned, he could not make war upon them without violating the oath he had taken at his abſolution. The king being offended at this remonſtrance, anſwered haſtily, that the primate had no buſineſs to give his advice; and refuſing to hear any thing further marched on to Nottingham. The cardinal archbiſhop, not diſcouraged at this repulſe, followed his majeſty the next day; and declared that he would excommunicate all thoſe who ſhould take up arms before the interdict was removed.

This was ſo open and direct a contempt of the king's authority, as plainly let him ſee, that he was ſtill a great way from the peace and ſettlement he had promiſed himſelf from his late agreement. Tho John was thus ill-uſed by his nobility, yet it is natural for men to be jealous of their liberties, in the hands of a prince who had made himſelf a vaſſal, and to fear that he who had given up his own rights would not be juſt to theirs: allowing therefore the conduct of the barons to be blameable, yet the provocation they had to it is without excuſe. There is a very ridiculous and reproachful ſtory, told gravely and with much exactneſs by M. Paris, and adopted by moſt hiſtorians,

rians, that the king upon this uneaſy view of his affairs, ſent ambaſſadors to the emperor of MOROCCO to entreat his aſſiſtance; and to offer in return to change his own religion, and become a Mahometan. But beſides ſome circumſtances in the Spaniſh hiſtory of this time, relating to Africa, which lie croſs to this report, it is inconceivable that king JOHN, ſhould ever think of an alliance that could be of no uſe to him in ſuppreſſing the diſobedience of his ſubjects, or offer to part with his religion, even allowing him to have no principles, which at this time was the beſt, and only viſible, ſupport of his intereſt. I make no ſcruple therefore to place this ſtory among the viſions of the age; or among the ſcandals which the enemies of this prince heaped upon him.

The great revolutions of ſtates and kingdoms, which proceed from fierce and impetuous paſſions, very often partake of the nature of thoſe paſſions: they are not only carried further than they were ever deſigned by the firſt projectors, but ſometimes, by an unhappy perverſeneſs in the nature of men or things, or to ſpeak more truly by the over-ruling hand of providence, take a turn the other way, and bear down the intereſt they were intended to ſupport. This however was in ſome meaſure the caſe of the late revolution under JOHN: in the ſame manner as it brought the king and his adherents, into the intereſt of the court which they had oppoſed, ſo on the other hand it cooled the zeal, and changed the meaſures of thoſe, whoſe bigotry had carried them too far in the papal intereſt: and yet after all, the king, the barons, and the clergy, were uneaſy; and as well thoſe who laboured to leſſen the royal dignity, as thoſe who ſtrove to maintain it, beheld with equal dread, the conſequences of the agreement with the court of Rome. The pope, who was not yet informed, that the affairs of England had taken a turn too much, continued under the tranſports which his late ſucceſs had given him. But foreſeeing that the king's reſignation might be reſolved into conſtraint, or at moſt into a perſonal act, which he knew could not change the courſe of law, therefore INNOCENT applied his thoughts to get the people of England to approve it.

To this end he ſent the biſhop of TUSCULUM as his legate, upon whoſe arrival a great council was called at London: here a new charter of reſignation being drawn, was ſealed by the king in St. PAUL's church, in the preſence of the nobility, biſhops, and clergy, and atteſted by the archbiſhop, and ſeveral others. The charter thus executed was offered upon the altar; and this execrable ſacrifice to the ambition of the church of Rome, was called an offering to GOD, and aſcribed to the inſpiration of the holy ſpirit. The legate having received the charter from the altar, and JOHN having a ſecond time

ſworn

ſworn fealty and done homage to the church of Rome, and to pope Innocent and his lawful ſucceſſors, received his kingdoms back again from the legate. It was no hard matter for the nobility to perceive, that the ſecret of their confederacy was diſcovered, and that a ſecond reſignation of his crown, more free and leſs exceptionable than the other, was the price which John had paid for the pope's protection againſt them. But as nothing was more oppoſite to their deſign of recovering their ancient privileges, than the vaſſalage to which John had reduced the kingdom, ſo the archbiſhop, notwithſtanding he was a witneſs to the inſtrument, proteſted in the name of the reſt againſt the charter, and laid his proteſt upon the altar. It was then that Innocent found himſelf miſtaken in the whole conduct of this affair. This attempt on the crown of England, had laid the deſign of the court of Rome ſo open to the world, and thoſe who before were blind to it, ſaw now ſo plainly what it aimed at, that the whole Engliſh nation on a ſudden turned about; and the ſides and characters of men were ſhifted. The ill example of the king, who, from a free and independent monarch, had reduced himſelf to a vaſſal, taught his ſubjects to forget their duty; and a general diſaffection, and diſcontent enſued. It is indeed ſo natural to form our judgments, and to direct our conduct by what we ſee and feel, that it is next to impoſſible for princes to preſerve the affections of their people, when once they abandon the truſt and duties which they owe them. The laws of England had provided for their kings as free and ſovereign monarchs, and had preſcribed the obedience of their people which was due to them in that capacity; but the circumſtance of a homager, or vaſſal prince, being what the law of England was unacquainted with, no proviſion could be made for the authority of ſuch a governor; ſo that the king had done all that was in his power, to remove the very foundations, upon which the allegeance of his ſubjects was originally built.

But tho the ſeeds of war were thus ſown, yet before it broke out, there were ſeveral other cauſes which met together; and which uniting their diſcontents, brought the clergy to join with the nobility, againſt the king, and Innocent. The court of Rome, which I ſaid had wanted to have a ſecond reſignation, in the preſence, and if poſſible, with the conſent of the great council, was extremely mortified with the proteſt, which the cardinal archbiſhop, in the name of the reſt, had entered againſt it. Therefore to ſhew their reſentment againſt Langton, and keep the king ſteady to his reſignation, the new legate had directions, to fill all the vacant biſhopricks and abbies, with men approved of by the king; "and if the chapters "ſhould make any oppoſition to thoſe whom his majeſty ſhould re- "commend, the legate ſhould compel them to obedience by the cenſures

" of the church." Thus, after France and England had been ſet into flames, and all Europe deafened with the noiſe of the court of Rome, about the free election of biſhops, pope INNOCENT gave inſtructions to his legate, that he ſhould take particular care of king JOHN's intereſt in filling up the vacancies in England, without regard to the choice or inclinations of the chapter. Backed by this power, the king carried all before him, and filled the churches and monaſteries with men devoted to his meaſures, and with the relations and creatures of the legate; who on his part behaved with an inſolence and a haughtineſs to the clergy that was inſupportable. The clergy, who had contributed to enſlave their country, that they might ſerve the intereſt of the court of Rome, could not perſuade themſelves at firſt, that this uſage proceeded from the inſtructions of that court; they believed it wholly owing to the corruption of the legate; and they complained of his proceedings, and appealed to INNOCENT for redreſs. The archbiſhop ſent his brother SIMON to proſecute the appeal; but alas! it was all in vain: ſhifting ſides had on a ſudden made ſuch a change of men, that the king and the archbiſhop had ſhifted characters.

The reader therefore muſt not be ſurprized, to find the ſame PANDULPHUS, who had treated king JOHN with inſolence and contempt, and as an enemy to GOD and his church, repreſenting him now at Rome, in anſwer to theſe appeals, as a prince of extraordinary piety and humility: neither muſt he be ſurprized to find the archbiſhop blackened, whoſe wiſdom and goodneſs the infallible pope had made ſo much boaſt of, for ſome years paſt, all over Europe. The biſhops and clergy ſped no better. For tho they and their rights, and principles, were in the very ſame ſtate they had been in, when the eccleſiaſtic liberty was ſo dear to the court of Rome, yet now their merit and their cauſe were no more heard of. On the contrary, this PANDULPHUS, who had ſo often harangued them on the glory of their ſufferings and the great reward they were to hope for, ſet them out now at Rome, as covetous, exorbitant, and oppreſſors of the king, and of the rights, and liberties of the crown. But leſt the former favours of INNOCENT ſhould turn back upon him, and the bulls and letters he had ſent in favour of the clergy ſhould reproach his preſent conduct, he ordered the legate to call in every paper and decree, relating to king JOHN, and that they ſhould be forthwith burnt, or torn to pieces. In this manner did the providence of GOD re-

turn the bigotry of the clergy upon their own heads. They were charmed with the ſound of eccleſiaſtical liberty; they had been fond of a foreign power; they had compared their late condition under their kings to Egyptian bondage, and their change under the papacy to the deliverance of the Iſraelites from ſlavery: but what was the iſſue? They who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt, by a zeal for the court of Rome, had the firſt and greateſt ſhare of its tyranny: and the clergy of England, inſtead of the liberty which they fondly dreamt of, were put into a ſtate of ſervitude, which never ended, till they finally threw off the yoke, and were reſtored again by the reformation to their ancient ſtate.---I reaſſume the thread of my narration.

Whilſt a ferment was thus raiſed, and a general diſcontent overſpred the kingdom, the king confiding in the friendſhip of his ſovereign lord, minded nothing ſo little as to apply a remedy: and what with indulging in licentious pleaſures, giving encouragement to arbitrary miniſters, and laying heavy impoſitions to ſupport a war with France, he rather enflamed the diſcontents than did any thing towards a cure. However, that he might not ſeem altogether careleſs and unconcerned, he obtained an order from the pope to releaſe the interdict; which the legate performed with great pomp and ſolemnity at St. Paul's, after it had continued above ſix years. When the legate firſt came over, John had offered a reſtitution of a hundred thouſand marks to the eccleſiaſticks, for the damages they had ſuſtained, which the biſhops would not accept of; and this gave a handle to the legate not to releaſe the interdict. But things were now ſo much changed to their diſadvantage, that Innocent ſent an order for the king to reſtore no more than forty thouſand marks; which at the taking off the interdict was ſhared between the exiled biſhops, and the monks of Canterbury. There was a general expectation indeed among the religious, and the lower ranks of the clergy, according to the repeated aſſurances which had been given them, that their loſſes likewiſe ſhould be conſidered: but when they applied to the legate for ſatisfaction, they had only this mortifying anſwer; "that he had no inſtructions concern-"ing them, and it was not fit for him to act beyond his com-"miſſion." The diſappointment of theſe people, made a great addition to the prevailing diſcontents; and might not improbably give the firſt thoughts to a charter, in order to compenſate them for theſe loſſes, by which the king gave up his claim to the

the nomination of biſhops and abbots, and granted a freedom of elections. For the king, and the court of Rome, were ſo far from yielding this point the year before, that the intereſt of his majeſty, and of the legate's favourites and relations, were the only rules, as we have ſeen, by which that affair was conducted. We are therefore to account for this change of meaſures, from the hopes they might entertain, that it would appeaſe the eccleſiaſticks who had been diſappointed of their reſtitution: and indeed the preamble to the grant, expreſly mentions its being made, in conſideration of the loſſes which they had ſuſtained; and for the ſame reaſon the pope confirmed it.

But whatever were the motives to the king's giving away this ancient right of the crown of England, the confirmation of INNOCENT, it is plain, was only an artifice, to take all the rights of patronage and election into the keeping of the holy ſee; as it appears on many occaſions in the three ſucceding reigns. However they had not ſo long a time to wait for an inſtance of what they were to expect. For the ſee of York being vacant by the death of GEOFRY, his holineſs wrote to the dean and chapter, to chooſe ſuch a perſon as his legate ſhould adviſe; and "that no one ſhould preſume by fraud or violence to fruſtrate "his commands." The dean and chapter being thus called upon, and having his majeſty's licence to chooſe their biſhop, they choſe SIMON LANGTON, who had been much eſteemed, and much employed by the court of Rome, during the interdict; but the papacy having changed its meaſures, INNOCENT declared the election void, and obliged them to receive the biſhop of WORCESTER for their archbiſhop, becauſe they had diſobeyed his mandate. There is in truth ſo little difference, between being bound up by the commands of a king, or by the appointment of the pope, that whatever INNOCENT might mean by the freedom of election, this liberty for the church was certainly no more than changing maſters. But it was ſo much eaſier to cruſh the rights of a chapter than thoſe of the crown, that there is no doubt but the pope was quite ſincere, in endeavouring to take the patronage out of the hands of the king. The charter however did not anſwer the end which the king intended; the diſcontents of the nation grew louder and more general; the people continued in a prodigious ferment; and the eccleſiaſticks joined the party which oppoſed the king, and his friend INNOCENT. A general diſcontent having thus prepared the way, the chief nobility met together,

ther, under the colour of a pilgrimage, at St. Edmund's Bury; where they entered into a league, to demand the laws and liberties, which had been granted by king Edward to the church and kingdom of England, and in caſe of refuſal to compel the king by force of arms. Accordingly on the Chriſtmas following, they came to London; and made the demand as it had been agreed. The king, perceiving that they were reſolved to go to war with him in caſe he did not comply, for which he was not prepared, thought the beſt thing he could do would be to gain a little time: and therefore deſired, as it was a matter of the utmoſt moment, that they would allow him till Eaſter to give his anſwer: the archbiſhop, the biſhop of Ely, and the earl Marshal, being ſecurities for the king, that he would then ſatisfy the nobility, this time was granted. If this delay was only to gain time on the king's ſide, as it certainly was, it ſerved alſo by the appearance of duty and moderation, on the ſide of the confederates, to give a better colour and reputation to their pretences.

As ſoon as Eaſter was come, the great men met at Stamford, to the number of above a thouſand; all well mounted, well armed, and in a condition to make themſelves dreaded. The king, who was at Oxford expecting them, having received intelligence of their number and appointments, ſent the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the earl of Pembroke, to meet them at Brackley, in order to receive their demands in writing. When the commiſſioners returned with the inſtrument and preſented it to the king, he aſked with indignation, why they did not demand his kingdom; and ſwore that he would never grant his ſubjects ſuch liberty as would make himſelf a ſlave. The king's anſwer having convinced the nobility, that they ſhould never obtain what they demanded but by force, both ſides prepared for war: and the better to amuſe the world and cover their pretenſions, both ſides, in imitation of the court of Rome, took ſanctuary in a zeal for religion, and holy church. Whilſt the king was thus diſtreſſed to defend his crown and country, yet as tho he had nothing to do at home and was quite at leiſure, he took upon him the croſs, and put himſelf under vows of going to the holy land: and as he pretended that his crown and perſon were thereby under the immediate protection of the papacy, ſo he reproached the other ſide as apoſtates to religion; and according to the new doctrine of the ſee of Rome, affirming they had forfeited their lands, he invited

foreigners into his ſervice with the promiſes of their eſtates. The barons, that they might not be behind him, ſet up their pretenſions likewiſe to religion; chooſing the lord FITS WALTER their general, and ſtiling him "the marſhal of the army of GOD, "and of holy church:" and thus did this unhappy nation behold a war, begun upon ſuch grounds, and conducted with ſuch circumſtances, as the world had never ſeen before. The king on one ſide, took part with his own vaſſalage, and drew his ſword to continue himſelf a ſlave; and the ſame bravery and reſolution which he made uſe of to maintain his rights, he now ſhewed in order to give them away. On the other hand, ſome of thoſe men who had deſerved eternal infamy for the part which they had acted to enſlave their country, hazarded now their lives and fortunes, to redeem, as they pretended, the honour of the Engliſh nation.

Tho the king had made choice of ſome ſuch miniſters and judges as gave occaſion of complaint, and his own part in government was not very excuſeable, yet taking arms againſt their prince, was a thing at this time ſo entirely unknown to the people of England, that it is very improbable, the nobility, biſhops, clergy, and common people, ſhould ſo univerſally join in a revolt, if there had not been ſomething more at the bottom of their diſaffection, than a few arbitrary proceedings of an unſteady prince. Theſe demands therefore were a cover to ſomething elſe which they did not care to avow. Their own undutifulneſs, or at leaſt their coldneſs in the king's ſervice, had contributed too much towards plunging him into that deſpair, which made him enſlave himſelf, and his country: and without a plain reproach to themſelves, they could not acknowlege that to be the true cauſe of the war, which in a great meaſure they had been the occaſion of. It was therefore more prudential, as well as more likely to divide the king and the papacy, to ſet up a pretence which ſeemed to preſerve their deference to the court of Rome, and had at the ſame time the appearance of law and religion on their ſide. But I return to obſerve the conduct of the war, and the effects which it produced.

The barons having got poſſeſſion of the city of London and beſieged the king in the tower, they ſent circular letters to all the nobility of his majeſty's party, and to all who continued neuter, aſſuring them that their eſtates and houſes would be

plundered and demoliſhed, if they did not join them immediately in defence of the common cauſe. Theſe threats had ſo good an effect, that the neutral lords joined the confederates; and even ſome of the great men, whom the king depended on, deſerted him for fear of the impending evil. As ſoon as this defection had taken place, JOHN ſaw he was under a neceſſity of complying with their demands; and after a ſhort negotiation by the earl of PEMBROKE, it was agreed, that the king and the barons ſhould meet on a day appointed, at a place called Running Meadow, between Staines and Windſor, to ſettle every thing in diſpute between them. The barons came in great numbers to the place; whilſt the king appeared attended with but about ſixteen or ſeventeen peers, and eight or nine biſhops. Here an agreement was made, and executed in two inſtruments, known at this day by the name of "Magna Charta, and Charta de Fo-"reſta," as the great ſtandards of right and law; and that ſtill continue to be the foundation of that happy government, which is the diſtinguiſhing glory of the Engliſh nation. Theſe two charters were ſigned by the king, and all the nobility of the realm, ſealed with the great ſeal, and confirmed by the king's ſolemn oath.

But whether it was that the fickle and arbitrary temper of JOHN himſelf, could not bear the confinement of ſtated rules of government; whether it was that the foreigners he had about him, took pains to aggravate the pride and inſolence of the barons, in ſetting bounds to the regal power; or whether it was that the agreement between the king and his people, broke the meaſures of that court which had taken ſo much pains to enſlave him; yet ſo it was, that before the month was out, JOHN repented of the favours which he had granted at this meeting, and revoked his charters. Having thus changed his meaſures, the king immediately diſpatched an agent to the pope, to be abſolved from the oath he had taken to the lords, and to get the charters declared void. Other agents he ſent into France, Flanders, and Germany, to raiſe forces to aſſiſt him; with a power to make grants before hand of the lands of the Engliſh lords, and to paſs the deeds in form. After he had taken theſe ſteps, with all the ſecrecy that he could, he retired, for the better ſecurity of his perſon, to the iſle of Wight; where he waited for the return of his agents, and the arrival of the troops which he expected. As to the pope, who was ever watchful of his intereſt,

intereſt, and who could not but penetrate into the ſecret ſprings which ſet this affair in motion, he was very angry with the barons, for endeavouring to dethrone a prince who had taken upon him the croſs, and who was under the protection of the apoſtolic ſee. As he judged truly that the intereſt of the court of Rome was bound up in that of the king, he ſwore that this injury, coſt what it would, ſhould not go unpuniſhed: he iſſued out a bull, declaring the charters void, commanding the barons to lay down their arms, and pronouncing them excommunicate in caſe of refuſal. The barons making light of his injunctions, he ſent another bull; excommunicating them by name, and commanding the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY to order the publication of the ſentence every Sunday. In ſhort, in all the tranſactions relating to this ſubject, INNOCENT acted up to his new character of ſovereign lord of England, with a haughtineſs equalled by nothing but the ambition with which he had aſpired after it.

When the king's ambaſſadors applied to cardinal LANGTON to publiſh the bull of excommunication, as his holineſs had commanded, the primate deſired to be excuſed, under a pretence of going to Rome, and of laying the matter rightly before the pope in a perſonal conference. By this time the king had a great number of adventurers engaged in his ſervice from abroad; and by the terror of his arms obtained without any difficulty what the archbiſhop had refuſed; the ſentence of excommunication being generally pronounced againſt the lords and their adherents, except in London, where they reſided. The barons, little expecting that JOHN could be able to raiſe ſuch a numerous force againſt them, were entertaining themſelves with tilts and tournaments; and ſeemed to deſpiſe, rather than provide againſt, the king's preparations. Having therefore no ſufficient army to oppoſe him, JOHN every where ravaged their towns and villages, beſieged and took the caſtles of Rocheſter and Dover, and before the end of the year had a fair proſpect of reducing the barons to obedience by force of arms. His affairs at Rome were no leſs proſperous. The archbiſhop had poſted thither with all the haſte he could, to make an impreſſion in favour of the confederates: but notwithſtanding his relation to that court as a cardinal, whoſe creature he had been, and his perſonal friendſhip with pope INNOCENT, who had made him primate of England, yet the complaints of the king, which followed him thither, were ſo well received, that the ſentence of ſuſpenſion,

which the legate had pronounced againſt Langton here, was confirmed by his holineſs at Rome. In ſhort the backwardneſs and delay of that prelate to take part againſt the barons, whom he abetted, in publiſhing their ſentence of excommunication, together with his proteſt againſt the reſignation of the crown, had ſo changed the inclinations of the court of Rome with reſpect to Langton, that all the intereſt which he could make, availed no further at that time, than to prevent his deprivation.

The nature of my undertaking obliges me to leave the deploreable condition which England was then in, with two foreign armies in her bowels, that had nothing in view but plunder, ravaging the country in a mercileſs and inhuman manner. The reader muſt conſult the ſtate hiſtorian for the particulars of this unnatural war; and allow me to conduct him to a great council held this year by Innocent, under the name of the fourth Lateran council: which not only gives ſuch a view of the power and grandeur of the papacy, as is no where elſe to be found, but which alſo gives a great deal of light to the affairs of the Engliſh church. Inſtead of receiving a ſummons from the emperor, as all his predeceſſors had done to the eight firſt general councils, Innocent, who had carried the papal authority beyond them all, ſent his monitions to the eaſtern and weſtern emperors, to the kings of England, France, Spain, Arragon, Hungary, and Sicily, to ſend ambaſſadors to his council; and a ſummons to the eaſtern patriarchs, and metropolitans of the weſt. As he thus aſſumed to himſelf this great branch of the imperial and royal authority, by which all general councils had been called for above a thouſand years after Christ, it is not to be wondered at, that he ſhould look upon the biſhops and clergy who attended at this council, as his ſubjects and counſellors, and not as the repreſentatives of the chriſtian church.

In all the ancient councils, it was cuſtomary to conſider and debate every topic; and each biſhop having wrote his ſuffrage, to determine it by a majority, and then to decree it in the name of the council; Innocent however allowed none of this; but as Du Pin hath told us, brought the canons ready drawn, preſented them to the council to be red, and then publiſhed them by his own authority; pretending nothing further than that it was by the conſent and approbation of the council. As the pope thus trampled on the authority of the clergy and religious in this aſſembly, ſo their perſons fared but little better. For having drawn them

them to Rome under colour of this council, before he ſuffered them to depart, he forced them to take up money from the merchants of Rome, whom he had appointed to furniſh them to ſupply his wants. The abbot of St. Albans had a hundred, and the new archbiſhop of YORK ten thouſand marks extorted from them: and tho we have not the particular ſum which every prelate paid, yet the hiſtorian aſſures us, that by this method only pope INNOCENT raiſed a prodigious ſum of money. The reformation of the church, and carrying on the war in Paleſtine, were the pretended reaſons for calling this aſſembly: but when his holineſs thought fit to ſpeak out in his ſermon at the opening of the council, we hear of "the eccleſiaſtical liberty, for which he was ready to die, "and of his great deſire to continue in the fleſh, till the work "ſhould be conſummated which was begun." If giving the finiſhing ſtroke to the eccleſiaſtic monarchy was not this work, and the true ſecret which lay at the bottom of this council, it will be in vain to look to the canons themſelves, or to the controverſies and hereſies of the age, in order to find another. But whatever occaſioned the convening this aſſembly, if the reader is only told, that the raiſing money for the time to come, on the eſtates of eccleſiaſticks by the ſecular power, without the conſent of the pope, was prohibited; that a twentieth part of the whole eſtate of the church was ordered to be levied; that every city was commanded to furniſh a number of men for the holy war; and that it was declared the right of the papacy to give away the dominions of kings and princes; he will have a view of the moſt important canons of this famous Lateran council. But whoſoever obſerves the air of majeſty which appears in INNOCENT's monitions to the ſeveral emperors and princes, how arbitrarily he extorted vaſt ſums of money from all the eccleſiaſticks as this council, and how tamely they ſuffered themſelves to be thus abuſed, has an example of ſuch blindneſs and infatuation on the one ſide, and of ſuch ambition and exorbitant power on the other, as the world could have no idea of before the reign of INNOCENT. I return now to England.

The confederate barons, inſtead of regaining their privileges, ſeeing their eſtates and houſes plundered and given away to foreigners, were thrown into deſpair; and incurred the guilt and diſhonour which they had before charged on the king, and the court of Rome. Having drawn the ſword againſt their ſovereign, they threw away the ſcabbard: and finding no other way to be re-

venged, they ſent an offer of the crown and kingdom of England, to the king of France for prince Lewis his ſon, and five and twenty hoſtages for the performance of their word. The French king did not want a great deal of ſollicitation to accept of ſuch an offer; and immediately ſent forces to aſſiſt the barons, and a promiſe that his ſon ſhould follow with a much greater number. The pope omitted no endeavours, and laid out all his zeal, to fruſtrate this expedition againſt "the illuſtrious king of England, who was "the vaſſal of the Roman church." His commiſſioners in England iſſued out his thunders, and repeated every Sunday his excommunication againſt the barons; whilſt his legate in France forbad Philip to carry his arms againſt the patrimony of St. Peter. Philip taking example from the court which he had to do with, and to play their own game againſt themſelves, pretended a profound veneration for the holy ſee, ſent ambaſſadors to Rome to ſet this matter right, and, to prevent the thunders which might come from thence, ſeemed not to approve of this intended expedition of his ſon: but at the ſame time he furniſhed him with a fleet and army, and gave him his bleſſing when he ſet out for England.

The pope's prohibition not being able to put a ſtop to the meaſures agreed upon in the court of France, Lewis landed at Sandwich, and ſoon after came to London; where the nobility received him with great joy, and took the oath of allegeance and fealty to him, after he had ſworn to reſtore their inheritance, and the ancient privileges of the nation. The legate of Innocent was ſoon upon the heels of Lewis, who gave new life to the king's affairs. He laid the city of London which ſided with the barons under an interdict, and he excommunicated the French prince and his new ſubjects, with the ſolemnity of tolling the bells, and lighting torches; and thereby made ſuch an impreſſion on the common people as was of ſome uſe to the king. Whilſt each ſide applied itſelf to reduce the cities and caſtles to their obedience, their animoſities and revenge were ſo much alike, that deſolation and blood attended them whitherſoever they went, and all the miſeries of an inteſtine war overſpred the nation. Tho it is not my buſineſs to enter upon this melancholy ſcene, yet the reader will give me leave to carry him back to that unhappy affair of the church which gave occaſion to it; and to obſerve how dangerous it is to break in upon the legal and ancient conſtitutions of a kingdom, and to make either ſubjects too great to obey, or princes too little to govern. Had

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the barons and clergy been juſt to the rights of the crown of England, and given the king ſuch aſſiſtances as they ought to have done, when the patronage of biſhopricks was invaded, they had in all probability prevented thoſe calamities, which the greateſt partiality will not ſuffer one to ſpeak of in ſofter terms, than as the blemiſh of the Engliſh nation, as well as of this unhappy prince's reign.

But whilſt the nation was thus groaning under the miſeries of a bloody and unnatural war, GOD opened a way to its deliverance by the death of INNOCENT and JOHN, who both died in the compaſs of the year twelve hundred and ſixteen: men ſo very different in their characters and conduct, that it is difficult to determine, whether the firſt did more towards raiſing the eccleſiaſtic, or the laſt towards over-throwing the Engliſh, monarchy. The king being preſſed by the barons, and intending to retire out of Norfolk to the city of Lincoln, very narrowly eſcaped drowning with his whole army; and his military cheſt and baggage were ſwallowed up by the waters. His anguiſh of mind for this loſs, which was irretrievable, threw him into a violent fever; of which, a few days after, he died at Newark. In this manner did this unfortunate prince end his life and reign; and reproach and diſhonour dwell for ever upon his memory. Were I to copy after the monks in giving the character of king JOHN, I muſt repreſent him as the vileſt wretch almoſt that ever lived, both as a man, and as a prince. He had certainly great faults in both reſpects, for which it is impoſſible to excuſe him. If we ſay of JOHN, that he was turbulent, cruel, and inconſtant, the rebellion he was engaged againſt his father and brother, the death of his nephew ARTHUR whoſe crown he wore, and the divorce of his queen AVISA, will juſtify this charge. His extreme indolence when PHILIP was taking his dominions from him in France; the puſillanimity which he ſhewed in reſigning his crown with ſuch ignominious circumſtances; his breach of faith with his barons in revoking the charters he had paſſed; and bringing an army of foreign mercenaries into the kingdom, to revenge himſelf of his ſubjects; it muſt be owned give a diſadvantageous idea of this prince. But then on the other hand it muſt be ſaid, that JOHN found his kingdom deprived of the civil duties of the eccleſiaſticks, their perſons made ſubject to a foreign power, their wealth excuſed from the neceſſities of the ſtate, and the privilege of nominating and inveſting biſhops ſnatched out of his hands: and

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when we conſider the wealth, the number, and the dependencies of that body of men, it is doubtful whether the king, or the biſhop of Rome had the greateſt authority then in England. In this poſture ſtood the affairs of the monarchy and of king John, when he was called to aſſert the prerogatives of his crown, againſt the bold and wicked encroachment of a young and active pope: and the ſtand he made againſt the attempts of that ambitious prelate, was bold and manly, and ſuch as deſerved a better iſſue. Perhaps it is not ſaying too much in his favour, that his miſcarriage was chiefly owing to the bigotry of his ſubjects, and the unhappy circumſtances in which he received his crown. At the ſame time therefore that it is impoſſible to brighten his character, or excuſe his conduct, that unworthy ſubmiſſion eſpecially to the papal tyranny, which will remain an indelible and eternal blot upon his reign, yet he alone ought not to bear the blame: his people ought to ſhare the infamy; who far from enabling him to defend his rights, ſome of his nobility left him to himſelf, others ſecretly favoured his enemies, and all of them by their coldneſs and indifference in his cauſe, were the inſtruments of this diſhonour, and of thoſe miſeries which were let in, during his reign, upon the Engliſh nation. The faults of this prince, great as they really were, would yet have been leſs viſible, or not ſo much aggravated by hiſtorians, had he been contemporary with a king of France of leſs abilities and ambition, with a pope of leſs inſolence and more modeſty and conſcience, and with a nobility of a leſs turbulent and impetuous ſpirit. Without entring into the particular faults and vices of this prince, which are certainly aggravated by his hiſtorians, it may be ſufficient to ſay of John, that he does not appear to have had one valuable qualification, to attone for the many calamities which his failings and misfortunes occaſioned to the people of England; and yet conſidered ſeparately from theſe, his government was none of the worſt.

As ſoon as John had reſigned his breath, the earl of Pembroke convened the lords who had followed the fortunes of that prince, and preſenting young Henry to them, then about ten years old, and the eldeſt ſon of John, cried out, "behold your "king." He told them that tho their late ſovereign had given a plauſible pretence to the confederates to complain, yet it was neither juſt nor reaſonable to take the crown from the royal line of England, and much leſs to give it to a foreigner. The faults

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of the king, they all knew, were perſonal, in which his ſon could have no ſhare; and that the remedy propoſed by the barons, which would reduce the kingdom under a ſhameful ſervitude, was worſe than the diſeaſe. In the preſent poſture which the public affairs were unhappily in, there was nothing could deliver them from the impending yoke, but their firm and reſolute union under a prince, who was beyond all queſtion, the lawful heir of the crown of England. This ſpeech of the earl of PEMBROKE's meeting with the general approbation which the equity and good ſenſe in it deſerved, the whole aſſembly cried out as with one voice, "let HENRY be the king." The ceremony of his coronation was performed at Glouceſter, by the biſhops of BATH and WINCHESTER, the archbiſhop being at Rome to ſollicit the taking off his ſuſpenſion; and the king's crown being loſt in the waters with his baggage and treaſure, they made uſe of a plain circle or chaplet of gold, having neither the means nor leiſure to make a better. The uſual oath was adminiſtred to him before the crown was ſet on his head; and the pope's legate, who attended the ceremony, requiring the young prince to do homage to the pope and church of Rome, it was not thought prudential by the peers whom HENRY had about him, to refuſe it at that time, leſt he might loſe the pope's aſſiſtance, and encreaſe the obſtacles which he was probably to encounter at the entrance on his reign. Theſe ceremonies being over, the earl of PEMBROKE, of whoſe abilities and zeal for the public good, as well as loyalty to the king, they had ſeen many proofs, was choſe guardian to HENRY, and protector of the realm. Inveſted with this authority, the regent ſent letters to all the nobility and corporations in the kingdom, to inform them of HENRY's acceſſion to the crown, and promiſing a reſtitution of eſtate and privileges to all who ſhould return to their duty. Theſe aſſurances, and the known integrity of the great and able miniſter who proclaimed them, were enough to ſhake the reſolution of the confederates from following the banners of a foreign and excommunicated prince. After ſome ſieges undertaken, and raiſed, on both ſides, and a defeat of the French ſuccours at ſea, a negotiation was begun between LEWIS and the earl of PEMBROKE, which enabled the latter to give peace to the kingdom, and to put the young king in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown; which was the ſole end of his wiſhes.

Of all the French prince's party, the eccleſiaſticks were the only people that had no reaſon to rejoice at the peace; becauſe being left at the will of the pope whom they had offended, they were ſure to feel the effects of his reſentment without any mercy. Accordingly, as ſoon as the legate was at liberty to proceed againſt them, he ſent commiſſioners into all the counties, to enquire after thoſe who had contemned the interdict on the city of London: and all that were found guilty of abetting the barons and making light of the church's cenſures, were in proportion to their rebellion againſt the holy ſee, either ſuſpended, deprived, or conſtrained to compound with large ſums of money. In the beginning of a reign, when the fidelity of the ſubjects was yet wavering, and the king a minor, it would have been very imprudent in the regent to exaſperate the court of Rome, by maintaining the intereſts of the clergy, who had been ſo preſumptuous as to offend againſt it in the moſt tender point: and therefore he was obliged to leave the concerns of the eccleſiaſticks to the legate's mercy. The coronation of the king having been performed at Gloceſter with ſo little ceremony, and in the preſence of ſo few of the nobility, it was thought proper to renew the ceremony in a more pompous manner; and the cardinal archbiſhop being returned to England, the cuſtomary oath was adminiſtred and the crown ſet on the king's head by that prelate. The diſſentions which had embroiled the nation ſo many years being now at an end, and every one reſtored to their eſtate and liberties, the archbiſhop convened a ſynod at Oxford; which was opened by denouncing the ſentence of excommunication, againſt thoſe who invade the prerogative, and diſturb the public peace; againſt thoſe who are guilty of perjury or ſubornation; againſt thoſe who contemn the juriſdiction of the church; and againſt thoſe who maliciouſly injure it in her rights and liberties. There are nine and forty canons decreed in this ſynod, which for the moſt part were ſettled in former councils, and are too long and tedious to repeat. The oath againſt ſimony, and the canon obliging all the parochial clergy to preach often, are all the new ones of any conſequence.

The earl of Pembroke being dead, and the court and the new miniſtry having taken up new maxims, the parliament petitioned the king to cauſe the great charter of liberties to be obſerved throwout the kingdom. One of the privy counſellors ob-

ſerved in anſwer to this petition, that as the charter had been extorted by violence, it was not reaſonable to confirm it: but the archbiſhop was ſo offended with this reply, that he told the miniſter with a great deal of warmth, "if he really loved the "king, whoſe intereſts he ſeemed to be zealous for, he would "not adviſe him to involve the nation again in troubles, from "which it had been ſo lately happily freed." HENRY, who was then but ſixteen years of age, and had not yet forgot the good inſtructions of his guardian, approved of what the cardinal had ſaid; acknowledged that he had ſworn to confirm their liberties; and ordered Magna Charta and the Foreſt Charter to be drawn up, ſealed with the broad ſeal, and copies of them to be ſent into every county. The year following this, there was a ſynod convened at Weſtminſter, to receive a propoſal from the court of Rome; that as the holy ſee, thro its poverty, had lain under the ſcandal of demanding large acknowledgments for her favours, two prebends ſhould be granted out of every cathedral, and the allowance of two monks out of every convent, that they might be enabled to do juſtice without any exhorbitant demands. The biſhops and abbots being ſurprized at this propoſal, and conſidering that the king and other patrons of monaſteries were concerned in it, did not think it was expedient to give any anſwer. When the legate complained of this uncivil uſage of the holy ſee, he was told that the king was ill; that ſeveral of the great prelates were abſent; and that they could not take into conſideration a propoſal of that nature. The reader need not be reminded, that HONORIUS, and not INNOCENT, was now on the throne of Rome: and therefore when the legate ſent home a very mournful account of his negotiation, the pope contented himſelf with recalling him, and confided in the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY; to whom he ſent an authority to convene the prelates, and to tranſact this affair which his legate OTHO had miſcarried in. About the beginning of the next year, a parliament being held to declare the king of age, the propoſal from Rome was taken into conſideration: and the archbiſhop was directed to ſend word to his holineſs, that as this was an affair in which all Chriſtendom was concerned, it would not be proper for the Engliſh, who lived in a corner of the world at ſo great a diſtance from Rome, to begin the precedent; but they would conform to the reſolution which ſhould be taken about it in other chriſtian countries: and thus the project of the pope was countermined, and came to nothing.

As

As Henry advanced in years, he was obſerved to have ſuch ill qualities and principles as afforded a frightful proſpect for the time to come. He was no ſooner therefore declared of age, than he diſmiſſed the biſhop of Winchester who had ſucceeded the earl of Pembroke as his guardian; and to let his ſubjects ſee what ſort of government he intended for them, he begun his adminiſtration with an act of injuſtice, for which there was not any colour; which was obliging all the eccleſiaſticks, who expected any benefit from their grants, to renew their charters on the payment of a certain fine. His ſubjects would have been unconcerned, and perhaps glad at the diſgrace of the biſhop of Winchester, who had neither the abilities nor the integrity of the king's former guardian, if they had not been ſoon convinced, that it was better for them that the king ſhould divide his favours. For as ſoon as Hubert the chief juſtice ſaw himſelf without a rival in the miniſtry, he ſet himſelf above the laws; and under a pretence of making the king abſolute, he alienated the affections of the people entirely from him. On a ſudden, when it was not in the leaſt expected, Henry annulled the two charters of the king his father, tho he had ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve them; pretending that as they were paſſed in his minority, he had neither judgment to examine, nor authority enough to confirm them: and for this pernicious counſel, which deſerved the ſevereſt puniſhment, the chief juſtice was rewarded with the title of earl of Kent.

The proceedings of the king and his prime miniſter were leſs reſtrained, by the removal of archbiſhop Langton out of their way, who died very conveniently at this time for them, and conſidering the many evils they were bringing upon their country, not unſeaſonably for himſelf. Whatever was the merit of this prelate at the court of Rome, before his elevation to the ſee of Canterbury, the conteſt for which occaſioned ſuch miſeries to the king and kingdom, yet it is certain that from the time of his coming into England with that character, he did all that could be done by a bold and ſteady patriot, the age and circumſtances of the time conſidered, to redreſs the injuries which his promotion had been the cauſe of, and to check the uſurpations of the pontificate. Had Langton been in the chair of metropolitan when Innocent came to the papal throne, the encroachments from Rome would not have made their way in the eaſy manner they did; or rather we may believe, would have

made little or no way at all; for the heart of this prelate was entirely Engliſh. With this zealous diſpoſition for his native country, he had great abilities, and a courage of mind equal to the higheſt undertakings. He was no ſooner put into poſſeſſion of his dignity, than he abſolved the king from his excommunication, without the orders, and as it appears, without the pope's conſent: and as tho this was not enough to ſhew the court of Rome, that he would not be the tool of their aggrandiſement to the prejudice of his country, he proteſted in form againſt king JOHN's reſignation of his crown and kingdom; and even refuſed to pronounce the ſentence of INNOCENT againſt the barons. To the zeal and patriotiſm of this prelate, was owing the recovery and the re-eſtabliſhment of Magna Charta; which has from that time been the foundation of our happy government. He had found in the archives of his ſee, notwithſtanding the great pains which had been taken to bury it in oblivion, the charter of HENRY the firſt; which he communicated to the nobility, and adviſed them to inſiſt upon from the preſent king. He was, properly ſpeaking, the ſoul of that confederacy which was entered into for the defence of the liberties of the nation; he gave birth to it by his zeal, and he animated it all along by his council and reſolution; notwithſtanding all the attempts of the king, and the court of Rome againſt him. When a way was opened for their ſucceſs by the death of JOHN, archbiſhop LANGTON ſaw the opportunity, and prevailed on the nobility not to miſs it. The reader remembers his ſteadineſs and courage at the council board on this occaſion; and the ſame ſpirit appeared in every attack that was made upon the conſtitution, by the king, and his miniſters, to the end of his life. To the noble qualities he was endowed with as a man and an Engliſhman, he had added all the virtues which are requiſite to adorn his character as a Chriſtian prelate; and for the age he lived in, may be ſaid to have been a polite and learned author. In ſhort, if he was not one of the beſt archbiſhops which had ever filled the chair of Canterbury, it was more the misfortune, than the fault of cardinal LANGTON; who, if he had lived under princes of greater virtue, under popes of leſs ambition, and in an age of more knowledge, would have appeared a much brighter ornament to the church and ſtate of England.

This good prelate was no ſooner dead, than the monks of the cathedral applied to the king for leave to elect a new archbiſhop,

biſhop, and according to the decree of Innocent, without conſulting the ſuffragan biſhops, or his new allies inclination, they choſe Walter de Hemiſham one of their own body, and preſented him to the king for the archbiſhoprick. The king, diſliking the choice of a man of little learning and experience in buſineſs for ſuch a poſt, refuſed his aſſent; and the biſhops of the province, continuing their claim of an intereſt in the election, refuſed to own him as their metropolitan, becauſe of the ignominious end of his father who was hanged for thieving, and his own behaviour which was very reproachable. The cauſe, as uſual, was carried by all the parties to Rome; where after many deliberations, finding the king's ambaſſadors made the largeſt offers, the pope voided the election made of Walter, as a man unqualified; and for a penalty upon the convent reſerved the diſpoſal of the archbiſhoprick to himſelf. This was the firſt act, I believe, with regard to England, of Gregory the ninth; who had juſt then ſucceded Honorius the third in the holy chair. This was carrying the matter further than even Innocent himſelf; who ſo far obſerved the forms of a capitular election he had made ſo much noiſe about, that he cauſed Langton to be elected by the monks. The ambaſſadors perceiving the dangerous conſequence of this ſtep, ſent to the king for his inſtructions; who made the pope a promiſe of the tenth of all the moveables in England, in order to carry on a war he was engaged in againſt the emperor, if Richard, chancellor of the church of Lincoln, might be promoted to the primacy. This was the ſame encroachment on the prerogative, and the privileges of the church; but the king got a man into the ſee of Canterbury whom he approved of; and the biſhops having got the better of the monks in the conteſt, this encroachment like the reſt was ſubmitted to: and ſo the new archbiſhop was conſecrated at Canterbury, in the preſence of the king, and a great number of the temporal lords. The pope was in ſuch haſte to reap the fruit of this indulgence, that he ſcarce gave time for the performance of this ceremony, before he ſent his nuncio to claim a grant of the tenths. The king having aſſembled a parliament upon this occaſion, the nuncio produced his credentials, and urged the performance of the promiſe that had been made his maſter. The parliament was not in the ſecret; and the eyes of every one were therefore fixed upon the king, expecting that he would diſown the treaty, or refuſe it: but when they perceived by his ſilence, that he had either ſent orders for it, or had

not

not courage enough to reſiſt the pope's ſollicitation, the temporal lords at firſt gave a flat denial; and the eccleſiaſticks deſired a little time to think of it. But the firſt being drawn in by the example of two or three of their body, who ſtood in awe of the king and pope when they were joined, and the laſt being more afraid of the excommunication they were threatened with, they were all in the end conſtrained to yield. The nuncio having thus carried his point, he proceeded to execute his orders for levying the tax with great rigour; and for the more ſpeedy diſpatch, obliged the biſhops and abbots to advance the money for the inferior clergy, and reimburſe themſelves as they could. But as many of them were not provided with ſums ſufficient, they were under a neceſſity of ſelling or pawning the church plate, or of taking up the money at exorbitant intereſt, of Italian merchants, whom the nuncio had brought with him for this very purpoſe.

This oppreſſive tax, which exhauſted the kingdom of its treaſure, was ſcarcely finiſhed, before RICHARD, of whoſe primacy this was the price at Rome, was laid in his grave. By the conſtitutions of a ſynod which he held at Weſtminſter, and which was his only act I believe as metropolitan, he appears to have been a prelate of an excellent temper and diſpoſition; and the hiſtorians who ſpeak of him, deſcribe him as a man of a very graceful mien, of great addreſs and elocution, of uncommon learning, and what is above all, of univerſal goodneſs of heart. As ſoon as the monks of Canterbury had notice of his death, they applied for a licence to elect a ſucceſſor, and having choſen NEVILL biſhop of Chiceſter and lord chancellor, whom the king had in high eſteem, his majeſty gave his aſſent to the election with great readineſs, notwithſtanding its irregularity without the provincial biſhops; and inveſted that prelate with the temporalities of the archbiſhoprick. But he was too much it ſeems in the intereſt of the king to be approved at Rome: he was ſo very remarkable for his fortitude and integrity, that his holineſs apprehended, if he was once at the head of the church, he would prove another LANGTON, and make an attempt to diſengage the kingdom from their homage to the holy ſee. For this reaſon, and no other, the monks were ordered to proceed to a new election, in which they ſhould have more regard to the intereſt of the court of Rome. It was particularly neceſſary at this time, that the court of Rome ſhould have a primate at their devotion: becauſe as GREGORY was then attempting to get into his hands

the collation to all vacant benefices, for Italians, and other foreigners, and conſequently to aboliſh all the rights of patronage, he foreſaw that this attempt would incenſe the Engliſh. Indeed the Engliſh were by this time ſo incenſed with the court of Rome, which trampled daily upon the rights of the church and kingdom, and with the connivance at leaſt of Henry, that about fourſcore men of quality entered into a confederacy, to turn the Italian eccleſiaſticks out of all the preferments they held in England, by force of arms: and they carried their point. But it was effected with ſo much diſcretion and ſuch a little noiſe, that not a ſoul ſtirred to oppoſe, or puniſh, the authors of this violence. As ſilently however as it paſſed in England, it made noiſe enough at Rome; and the pope wrote a letter of ſuch a ſtrain to the king, as would incline one to think that the church had received a mortal wound. Without giving himſelf any concern about the laws and cuſtoms of England, which require a previous trial and ſufficient proof, Gregory commanded the king, upon pain of excommunication and an interdict, to puniſh the malefactors without the leaſt delay. But when the king had made an enquiry into the matter, he found ſo many people concerned in it of the higheſt rank, and connived at, if not countenanced, by the biſhops, that he contented himſelf with ſending the chief inſtrument they made uſe of to his holineſs, and impriſoning ſome of the ſheriffs for neglecting to ſuppreſs the riot.

In the mean time, the monks had made another election, and preſented their ſubprior to the king for his approbation. The king approved of the elected primate; and it does not appear that the biſhops of the province made any objection, or put in their claim againſt him. He therefore took a journey to Rome to get himſelf confirmed; and there being nothing found to ſay againſt him, as to his life or learning, the pope refuſed him on the ſcore of his age; telling him that as he was ſo far advanced in years, it was more adviſeable for him to decline ſo great a ſtation, which required vigour and application. This ſecond election being thus voided by the pope, the monks proceeded to another choice; and with the king's approbation, Bland, profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Oxford, was elected to the archbiſhoprick: but they were ſtill unſucceſsful. The pope under a pretence of Bland's being a pluraliſt, and that he had bribed the monks to give him their vote, ſet this election aſide likewiſe: and ſince they had preſented three that were unfit for this dignity, his holineſs would

ſave them any further trouble, and appointed EDMUND treaſurer of Saliſbury to be their archbiſhop; whom the king, and chapter acquieſced in.

As ſecure as HUBERT thought himſelf in the great aſcendant which he had over the king, and no favourite ever could have a greater, yet he had carried his pride and inſolence to ſuch a height, that the whole court, except his own dependents, united at laſt againſt him, and prevailed on the king to recall the biſhop of WINCHESTER. This alteration was ſoon attended with the diſgrace of the prime miniſter, and his utter ruin: and the biſhop inſtead of taking a quite different courſe from his predeceſſor, as it was natural to expect, thought of nothing but how to govern with an abſolute power, and to ſcreen himſelf from any impreſſions which his enemies might make againſt him. It is not the buſineſs of a church hiſtorian to give any detail of theſe meaſures which embroiled the ſtate. I muſt content myſelf with obſerving, that the alteration of miniſters was an alteration only of men; the biſhop's inſolence, if any thing, exceeding that of the chief juſtice, in removing all the peers of the realm from the places and poſts which they had a right to, and filling them with foreigners whom he had ſent for over to make head againſt the barons. The barons at length were ſo much exaſperated, that at a meeting of the parliament, they entreated the king to replace his confidence in his own native ſubjects; aſſuring him that if he did not remove the biſhop of WINCHESTER and the foreigners from his preſence and councils, they were reſolved to put another prince upon the throne, who ſhould have more regard to them and the laws. The biſhop, who never failed on ſuch occaſions to anſwer for his maſter, gave them a taſte of thoſe maxims which he inſtilled into the mind of the young king; and which were ſo deſtructive of liberty, that the prelates to a man ſtood up and threatened him with the ſentence of excommunication. But he deſpiſed their threatening, and appealed to the court of Rome; which obliged the biſhops to content themſelves with excommunicating all thoſe who alienated the king's affection from his own natural ſubjects.

In the mean time, the new archbiſhop of CANTERBURY, foreſeeing that the meaſures of this imperious prelate would involve the king and the nation in miſery, was labouring ſecretly with all his power to undermine him. His grace had got into ſome ſecrets of his miſmanagement of the king's authority without his know-

lege: and he never ceaſed repreſenting to his majeſty, how much his intereſt was concerned in removing a miniſter who had made himſelf ſo odious, and exaſperated his ſubjects ſo much againſt him. His inſtances were ſo urgent, and his remonſtrances ſo well ſupported by facts, that at laſt Henry's eyes were opened; and the prime miniſter and his favourite foreigners were turned out with infamy, to the general joy of the whole kingdom. Having a mind to take this occaſion of making ſome alterations at court in order to gratify the barons, and to remove the biſhop of Chichester from being chancellor in order to pleaſe himſelf, he demanded the great ſeal from that prelate. Nevill had too much fortitude and integrity, for the king to make any impreſſion upon him, contrary to the duty which he owed the publick; and the king wanted a chancellor that would obey his humour. He refuſed however to deliver up the ſeal when it was demanded; ſaying that he had been entruſted with that office by parliament, at the inſtance of the barons and great men of the kingdom, without whoſe conſent he could not reſign it: and the king acquieſced under the mortification of his refuſal.

The maxims of the old miniſters ſuiting entirely with Henry's temper and inclinations, they were ſoon reſtored to their former credit, and recalled about his perſon; except the biſhop of Winchester who was gone to Rome. Whilſt his ſubjects were complaining of this unſteady conduct in the king, a freſh occaſion of diſcontent aroſe, by the arrival of cardinal Otho the pope's legate. The clergy, dreading theſe extraordinary meſſengers with good reaſon, the archbiſhop of Canterbury remonſtrated boldly to the king, againſt admitting the legate without an apparent neceſſity, and before notice had been given to the clergy and parliament of his coming. But theſe expoſtulations were all in vain. The king himſelf, it appeared, had privately ſent for the legate, in order to ſcreen him from the deſigns and diſcontent of his ſubjects; and ſo had made the breach ſtill wider. The cardinal however being a man of temper and addreſs, and contrary to the uſual cuſtom of his court, refuſing many preſents that were offered him, removed in ſome meaſure the general averſion that had been conceived againſt him. He wrote a letter to all the biſhops, abbots, and priors, to inform them that he intended to hold a council at St. Paul's for reformation of manners and diſcipline; requiring them all to meet him on a day appointed, in perſon, or by proxies. The council was held accordingly, and a pompous preparation

paration made to ſet off the legate's character: but as he was apprehenſive there would be an oppoſition to the canons which he intended againſt pluralities, he obtained from the king a guard of two hundred men; which were planted privately about the cathedral: nor was his precaution altogether unneceſſary. When the canon of the late council of Lateran againſt pluralities was red, CANTILUPE biſhop of Worceſter, pulling off his mitre ſtood up and ſaid, "that there were a great many men of quality and "faſhion pluraliſts, who as yet had no diſpenſation for their prefer-"ments: that ſome of theſe were advanced in years, had made "all along a very conſiderable figure, kept open houſe as it were "for ſtrangers, and been charitable to the utmoſt extent of "their revenues: that on the other hand ſome of their plura-"liſts were young gentlemen of ſpirit and firmneſs, likely to "run any hazard rather than be reduced thus to a ſingle be-"nefice, of which temper he muſt own he formerly was himſelf, "and therefore moved that his holineſs ſhould be deſired to find "ſome temper in this article, and not to carry diſcipline to the "utmoſt rigour." The legate replied, that he would write to the pope upon the ſubject, provided that all the biſhops would ſign the letter.

Tho the canons, it is plain, were drawn up at Rome, and brought from thence to the council, yet they were only propoſed by way of bill; the legate declaring in his preliminary diſcourſe, that their authority was to be compleated by the votes and conſent of the council. The firſt canon relates to the conſecration of churches; that it ſhould be performed within two years after they were finiſhed, and that no abbot or rector ſhould pull down any old ones under any pretence, without the biſhop's leave. The ordination of prieſts is regulated by another canon; requiring thoſe who offer themſelves for orders to paſs a proper examination, and that none who lie under any blemiſh or defect, with reſpect to their birth, their learning, or their morals, ſhould be permitted to enter upon the ſacerdotal function. In another canon, the biſhops are reminded of the duty of their character, and exhorted to live a conſiderable part of the year at their cathedrals; to officiate on the great feſtivals, and on Sundays in lent and advent; to viſit their dioceſes, conſecrate churches, exert their authority in church diſcipline, and to preach often to their people. Another canon requires every one who brings a cauſe into the ſpiritual court, to take an oath, that they do not

commence the ſuit out of a troubleſome litigious humour. Whoſoever undertakes the employment of an advocate, is obliged, by another canon, to ſwear before the biſhop, to manage fairly, to be true to juſtice and their client; and not to ſpin out a good cauſe to an improper length, nor to flouriſh unjuſtly upon a bad one. The judges are enjoined alſo to keep an original record of the proceſs of the court, and to give the parties concerned a copy upon demand. All the reſt of any moment are extracted out of former councils; but theſe are canons which were worthy of better men and of better times, than M. Paris, an eccleſiaſtick then alive, has repreſented them, juſt before the convening of this council. He concludes the occurrences of this year with a lively deſcription of the encroachments and corruption of the court of Rome; and complains bitterly that the privileges of the Engliſh church were in a manner loſt. He ſays, that men of no merit or learning came over menacing with the pope's bulls, and in a manner ſeized by force the revenues intended by our pious anceſtors, for other men and other purpoſes: and inſtead of eccleſiaſticks of birth and character, who were a credit to their country, and ſpent their preferments in hoſpitality, they were peſtered now with looſe obſcure people, little better than ſervants to the court of Rome, who gleaned up the wealth of England, for the pride and luxury of their maſters.

About this time, died Peter de Rupibus biſhop of Wincheſter, a foreigner of a noble family, who had a great ſhare in the civil adminiſtration of affairs in England, both in this reign, and the laſt. He was a man of great ſpirit and generoſity; but much fitter for the office of a miniſter of ſtate, than of a miniſter of the goſpel, and for a military poſt than either. To his pernicious counſels of annulling the two charters, and ſending for foreigners into the kingdom to ſupport arbitrary meaſures, almoſt all the troubles of this reign were owing: and as they were a perpetual ſource of diſcontent to the Engliſh barons, ſo at length they were attended with very fatal conſequences. If he had never been entruſted with the government of the kingdom, he had ſpirit and abilities to have made a very noble figure in that wealthy ſee, of which he was poſſeſſed above thirty years; and from his many public benefactions, it is probable, that he would have carried with him a great and illuſtrious character. But his elevation to the poſt of guardian to the king and regent of the kingdom, run away with his underſtanding, to a length of inſolence and haughtineſs

which

which was insupportable. He had by this means almost as many enemies, as there were peers of England; and their opposition engaged him in such violent arbitrary measures to secure himself against them, and to curb their power, as were subversive of the liberties and constitution.

The death of this bishop opened a way to the promotion of an uncle of the queen's, the bishop of VALENCE, which the king had ardently desired. HENRY therefore recommended him in the strongest terms to the convent, as the only person whom he should approve of for that bishoprick. But the monks objecting that he was a foreigner, a man of a savage sanguinary temper, and without learning or conduct fit for such a station, desired to be excused from making him their bishop; and elected RALEY, a man of great merit and abilities, who was not unknown to the king. The king however was highly disgusted at this refusal, would not consent to RALEY's promotion "who had "killed more men, he said, with his tongue than the other had "with his sword," and seizing the revenues of the bishoprick, cut down the timber. Upon this displeasure which the king had shewn, the monks proceeded to a new election, and returned NEVILL bishop of Chichester, and lord chancellor, for the royal assent. But NEVILL had too lately incensed the king, by refusing to deliver up the great seal, when he required it, to be approved of; and HENRY reproached the convent for electing "such a hot-headed tempestuous prelate." Finding no impression was to be made upon the monks, the king dispatched an ambassador away to Rome, who got this election annulled by the apostolical authority---notwithstanding the freedom of capitular elections which INNOCENT had assumed with so much violence--and an order from his holiness to the convent, not to elect any bishop whom the king did not approve of. However, the queen's uncle dying soon after in Italy, the pope confirmed the election of RALEY, who being still opposed by the king, retired into France, putting the city of Wincheſter under an interdict, till HENRY recalled and was reconciled to him.

The exactions of the king and the court of Rome, upon the subjects and the clergy of England, tho they make up the most considerable occurrences of this reign, to the time I am now speaking of, yet are not of importance enough, in my opinion, to deserve a particular relation in this history. They were be-

come ſo frequent and carried to ſuch a heighth, that one cannot help being ſurprized, the Engliſh ſhould bear them with ſuch patience, under a king eſpecially, ſo weak as Henry the third, and deſtitute of all aſſiſtance except from the court of Rome. But the calamities of the late reign, which had involved the kingdom in ſo much confuſion, had taught them probably to look upon this aſſiſtance as formidable. At length however theſe oppreſſions became inſupportable, and in the year twelve hundred and thirty-nine, in a general aſſembly of the ſpiritual and temporal lords, a remonſtrance was made againſt the adminiſtration in church and ſtate. They complained that the king had been miſled by evil counſels, had made a breach upon their charters, detained the revenues of vacant biſhopricks and abbies for his own uſe, over-ruled the freedom of elections, and harraſſed his ſubjects with arbitrary impoſitions. Theſe complaints being digeſted under thirty articles, and unanimouſly conſented to by the whole Engliſh peerage, were ſent to the king; the biſhops excommunicating all thoſe of his council who had adviſed theſe illegal meaſures. It was not owing to any courage or reſolution in Henry, that he was deaf to theſe complaints; but he made himſelf ſure of the pope's protection, to whom he paid the utmoſt deference and regard.

The nobility therefore finding themſelves without any redreſs, the archbiſhop of Canterbury wrote a letter to Rome, acquainting his holineſs, that the canons were over-ruled, and the privileges of the chapters borne away, by the influence of the court. The pope on receiving this complaint, and a large preſent which accompanied it from the peers, granted the archbiſhop an authority, when a ſee or an abbey had been ſix months vacant, to fill it. But an application from the king cauſed this grant to be revoked, before it had operated at all. The truth is, the king, and the pope, ſtood in too much need of one another, for any advantages to be procured at this time for England. The pope was not ignorant, that it was the king's authority alone which could keep alive his pretenſions to the ſovereignty; or enable him to rifle the Engliſh clergy with impunity. On the other hand, the king had no other reſource than the papal power againſt the reſentment of his nobility, nor could he fill the vacant preferments in the church, with men devoted to his meaſures, without the pope's authority: and thus their intereſt made it impoſſible to diſunite them.

After the legate had drained the churches and monaſteries of immenſe ſums, under colour of procurations, abſolutions from going to the holy war, and a thouſand other pretences, he required about this time of all the Engliſh eccleſiaſticks, a fifth of their revenues to carry on the war againſt the emperor. The biſhops exerted themſelves at firſt, and refuſed not only to comply with this demand, but to contribute any thing at all towards the wants of the holy ſee. Finding however that the king, inſtead of oppoſing, promoted this exaction to the utmoſt of his power, their courage ſunk; and they came to a compoſition which at length the legate accepted. The archbiſhop of CANTERBURY, perceiving that no good was to be done under ſuch a king and ſuch a pope, that the church was more and more oppreſſed by them in her privileges and revenues, and being deſirous of ending his days in quiet, retired to a monaſtery in France; where he died within the compaſs of this year. He was a prelate of learning, abilities, and a true chriſtian ſpirit. The encroachments of the papacy, and the weak and arbitrary meaſures of the government, it is thought, ſate too heavy upon his mind, and ſhortened his days. He oppoſed both, whilſt there were any hopes of ſerving the church and ſtate, and oppoſed them ſometimes with ſucceſs. But being naturally of a meek and peaceable diſpoſition, and more inclined to retirement and the devotion of the cloſet than to a publick ſtation and affairs of ſtate, he gave way at laſt to the iniquity of the times, and mourned over them in private, under auſterities that were too great for his conſtitution. He ſate eight years in the ſee of Canterbury, and was canonized by the council of Lyons a few years after his death.

This good archbiſhop had no ſooner retired, than the court of Rome ſent a nuncio with a liſt of three hundred Italians to be preferred to the vacant benefices, and an order to the biſhops not to admit any to preferment till all the foreigners were provided for. Nor was this impoſition his only errand. He was to ſqueeze all the religious houſes of the little money that OTHO the legate had left behind; under a pretence that their holy father had an extraordinary occaſion for a ſupply, to defend the church againſt her enemies. In the monaſteries which ſtood out againſt his menaces, he made uſe of ſtratagem and deceit, pretending other abbots and other houſes had granted it, and enjoining

joining every convent to ſecrecy under pain of excommunication. The ſtale topick of a war with the emperor, was again made uſe of at this time by the legate, for a freſh ſubſidy from the clergy. The clergy ſeemed reſolved to make a vigorous ſtand againſt this impoſition, and to ſend an appeal to a general council which was ſoon expected. But the legate getting Henry on his ſide, what with promiſes of preferments and penſions to ſome, and threatning and artifice with others, they ſo divided the clergy, that at length every one conſented to do that in particular, which in a general body every one had refuſed. In the beginning of the next year, England was rid at once of this rapacious legate, and his inſatiable maſter pope Gregory; the former being recalled, and the latter dying juſt after. The reader ought, I think, to have the pleaſure of knowing, that tho Otho got away with all the immenſe treaſure that he had levied upon the kingdom, yet that he fell into the hands of the emperor's officers on his return to Italy, who ſtripped him of every ſhilling, that he had thus iniquitouſly extorted from the Engliſh clergy.

King Henry was ſo deſirous of enriching the queen's relations, that he let no opportunity ſlip, in which he could ſhew them any marks of his favour and affection. The ſee of Canterbury being therefore vacant by the death of Edmund, as I have obſerved, the king uſed ſo many artifices, and dealt his preſents about the convent with ſuch profuſeneſs, that he got Bonniface the queen's brother elected for that ſee. Henry however was not ignorant, that as he was a young man and a foreigner, ignorant of the laws and cuſtoms and language of the kingdom, and conſequently not qualified properly for that dignity, ſo there might be ſome difficulty to get his election confirmed at Rome. He therefore cauſed an inſtrument to be drawn up, addreſſed to the pope, in commendation of Bonniface, and prevailed by ſome means or other with many biſhops and abbots to ſubſcribe it. But tho he was thus choſen and recommended, it was not till two years afterwards, that he was confirmed by pope Innocent the fourth; who ſucceded Gregory in the popedom. This new pope was ſcarcely ſeated in his chair, before he ſent Martin a nuncio into England to exact money from the eccleſiaſticks, in order to diſcharge the debts which his predeceſſor had contracted in his war with the emperor. Tho this emiſſary had not the title, yet his powers exceeded the character of a legate: and he made uſe of them with ſo much inſolence, that the Engliſh were reſolved

reſolved to free themſelves from the tyranny of the court of Rome.

The barons, who ſaw that all the money of the kingdom was remitted thither, and that the clergy always gave way in the end when the queſtion was whether the pope ſhould be obeyed, were now determined to exert themſelves to put a ſtop to theſe exactions. Accordingly without waiting any longer for the king's protection, who appeared very backward to ſecond them, they iſſued orders to the wardens of the ſeveral ports, to ſtop all thoſe who ſhould bring any bulls or mandates from the court of Rome. Purſuant to theſe directions, a meſſenger was ſeized with ſeveral bulls about him, empowering the nuncio to raiſe money upon the clergy under many ſlight pretences. The nuncio complained of this indignity to the king; and the barons juſtified their conduct. They ſet before him the great injuſtice he did his ſubjects in countenancing theſe extortions; and producing a liſt of the ſeveral benefices enjoyed in England by the Italians, they ſhewed him that their income exceeded the revenues of the crown. HENRY, who had never examined into the matter, was much ſurprized at this fact; but not daring to expoſe himſelf to the pope's reſentment, he contented himſelf with giving leave to the barons to appeal to the general council, then aſſembling at Lyons, againſt the intolerable oppreſſions which his ſubjects laboured under from the court of Rome. But before this could be undertaken, the barons diſpatched a knight to the nuncio, to command him in their name immediately to depart the kingdom. The knight diſcharging his commiſſion ſomewhat roughly, and the nuncio requiring who had given this authority to him, he made anſwer, "the whole nation; and in caſe he continued three days in Eng-"land he ſhould infallibly be cut to pieces." The nuncio ſurprized and terrified with this language, made haſt with his complaint of it to the king: but the king letting him know that he could not protect him, he aſked for a ſafe conduct, and went off directly, to the general joy of the whole kingdom.

At the meeting of the council of Lyons, in twelve hundred forty-five, archbiſhop BONNIFACE, the queen's brother, was confirmed and conſecrated by the pope; that he might take his proper place in the ſynod, at the head of the Engliſh clergy. The council was opened at the time appointed, and conſiſted of an hundred and forty biſhops; before whom the Engliſh barons ap-

peared, with a liſt of the grievances under the tyranny of the court of Rome. INNOCENT was ſo ſurprized at this bold attack, that he made no other reply, than that they would take the matter into conſideration. The two articles which the earl of NORFOLK, one of the barons, inſiſted upon chiefly, were the tribute of a thouſand marks which king JOHN had obliged himſelf to pay annually to the holy ſee, and the clauſe "Non obſtante" inſerted in all the bulls which had for ſome time been ſent from Rome. As to the firſt, he maintained, that the king had not a power to make his kingdom tributary; and that his engagement having never been confirmed by parliament was to be deemed null and void: and as to the ſecond, he ſaid, it was deſtructive of all the rights of patronage, and the liberties of the church of England. When the ambaſſadors had waited at Lyons a great while for an anſwer, and found the pope intended only to amuſe them by his delay, they ſent in a proteſtation againſt the payment of the tribute; and ſwearing they would never buckle to the Roman avarice, nor ſuffer the revenues of their churches to be carried away by foreigners, they withdrew from Lyons, and returned home.

That the pope might caſt a miſt before the eyes of the council, as tho he intended to redreſs the grievances which had been complained of, he ordered two bulls to be drawn; by one of which he gave leave to the Engliſh patrons to preſent to their own benefices whom they pleaſed; and by the other, that when an Italian vacated his preferment by death or ceſſion, they might nominate an Engliſhman to ſuccede him. Theſe bulls were ſounded very high by INNOCENT, as tho he had granted ſome ſignal favours to the nation. Whether the injuſtice of one pope who violently wreſted this right from our anceſtors, or the aſſurance of another pope who reſtored it to them as an obligation, will move the reader's indignation moſt, I muſt leave to him to determine. As ſoon as the council was broke up, the pope wrote a thundering letter to the Engliſh prelates, to ſet their hands to the charter by which king JOHN had made himſelf a vaſſal and tributary to the holy ſee. As ſtrong reaſons as the biſhops had for being excuſed from taking ſuch a ſtep, yet they ſtood in ſuch awe of the excommunication they were threatened with, that they durſt not diſobey. The king, when he firſt heard of this command from INNOCENT, gave himſelf an air of great reſentment; and ſwore he would never be made an ho-

mager to the court of Rome: but after playing the bully for a few days, and reproaching the biſhops for their compliance, he returned himſelf to his uſual complaiſance for the ſovereign orders of that court.

The ambaſſadors and the prelates being returned home from the council, without any hopes of redreſs, a parliament was held in the following ſpring; in which it was reſolved, that the grievances of the nation under the ſee of Rome, ſhould be drawn up in writing, and laid before the pope in a ſolemn embaſſy; and that ſatiſfaction ſhould be demanded by the king and parliament in ſeparate letters. The grievances were digeſted under the following articles. I. That the pope not content with the annual payment of Peter-pence, exacted from the clergy great contributions without the king's conſent, againſt the cuſtoms, rights, and liberties of the church and realm of England. II. That the patrons of livings had not leave to preſent proper perſons, the pope conferring them generally on Italians who underſtood not the Engliſh language, and who carried out of the kingdom their reſpective incomes. III. That the pope oppreſſed the churches by exacting penſions from them. IV. That when an Italian eccleſiaſtick died, his benefice was immediately beſtowed on one of the ſame nation, as if the Italians had a right to poſſeſs ſuch a certain number of benefices in the kingdom: and tho theſe Italians were inveſted without trouble or charge, yet the Engliſh were obliged to go to Rome to proſecute their right, contrary to the indulgences of former popes. V. That in churches filled by the Italians, there were neither alms, nor hoſpitality, nor any preaching; and the care of ſouls was quite neglected. VI. That the clauſe "non obſtante," which was generally inſerted in all bulls, was abſolutely deſtructive of all laws, cuſtoms, and privileges of the church and kingdom.

The letters of the king and temporal lords, which accompanied theſe articles, had a different effect at Rome from what was expected here. The pope, unwilling to leſſen his revenues, or to loſe any part of the advantages he had gained, was reſolved to make no abatement in his demands; and received the ambaſſadors with an air of great ſtatelineſs and grandeur. When he had red HENRY's letter, he ſaid "that the king began to grow reſty, but he "is at liberty to take his own meaſures, and I ſhall take mine." His holineſs's meaſures were to load the clergy with new taxes, and

and to claim the adminiſtration to eccleſiaſticks who died inteſtate. One of the biſhops was commiſſioned to levy a tax of one third of their moveables on the clergy who reſided, and one half on thoſe who were non reſident, with a power to excommunicate or ſuſpend thoſe who refuſed their proportion; all grants and privileges and canons of general councils to the contrary notwithſtanding. Theſe arbitrary proceedings, at a time when the people of England expected a redreſs of their former grievances, ſurprized and provoked them to a great degree: even the king himſelf, as complaiſant as he had always been to the court of Rome, was much diſpleaſed with this treatment from it. He therefore wrote to the biſhops and abbots, not to permit the pope's agents to levy any money upon them, under the penalty of forfeiting their barony: and a proclamation was made in all towns and courts and public meetings throwout the kingdom, not to contribute a penny to the pope's aſſiſtance. But when he had carried his oppoſition to this length, the fear of an interdict and excommunication ſunk his courage; and the noble deſign of making a ſtand againſt the encroachments of Rome, in ſupport of the liberties of the church and ſtate, was entirely loſt. The claim however of Innocent to the aſſets of the clergy who died inteſtate, being every where declaimed againſt, as a ſcandalous invaſion of right and property, the cardinals at laſt got it revoked.

The ſee of Durham becoming vacant at this time, the king recommended his brother Athelmar, a ſon of his mother by the earl of March; to whoſe want of age and capacity the monks of Durham objected; at the ſame time reminding Henry of his ſolemn engagements to maintain the liberties of the church, and not to controul the chapters in their elections. The king being offended with this anſwer, aſſured them that ſince they thought his brother too young, he would keep the biſhoprick in his own hands, till Athelmar was of an age ſufficient for it. The next year however, the biſhoprick of Wincheſter being vacant by the death of Raley, the king was not content with ſending letters of recommendation for his brother, but went himſelf to Wincheſter to enforce them by his preſence. After preaching a ſhort ſermon in the chapter houſe to the monks, from the words "righteouſneſs "and peace have kiſſed each other," which he applied ſome how or other to the buſineſs that was before them, he recommended his brother from the nobleneſs of his birth; reminding them how they had diſobliged his majeſty by their laſt election, and concluding

cluding with this menace, that unleſs they complied with his inclination now, he would make them ſmart for their obſtinacy. At firſt the convent made the ſame objections with the chapter of Durham, but by promiſes and threats the king carried his point; and ATHELMAR was elected, on condition the pope would diſpenſe with him. The pope who had other favours to aſk of the king in return, confirmed the election of his brother, who either was not conſecrated at all, as moſt hiſtorians ſay, or at leaſt not till ten years after. M. PARIS might well complain that the church was invaded and her revenues ſeized by courtiers, when they were thus enjoyed without the character and burden of the office.

How preſſing ſoever the king's neceſſities were, he took the croſs from the hands of a legate which INNOCENT had ſent to preach up as uſual the merits of the holy war. But tho he demanded a ſubſidy from the clergy to enable him to perform his vow, and had procured an order from the pope for all eccleſiaſticks to pay him a tenth of their revenues for three years, yet the clergy having been aſſembled upon this occaſion, upbraided him in very ſevere and uncourtly terms for his extortion, tyranny, and breach of oaths; and under a pretence that the archbiſhops were then both out of the kingdom, they excuſed themſelves from granting his demand. GROSTEST, biſhop of Lincoln, was at the bottom of this oppoſition made then to the king. He was a prelate of great learning and undaunted reſolution; and being tired out with HENRY's male adminiſtrations, and the impoſitions of the court of Rome, he had once intended to quit his biſhoprick and retire: but fearing the ſee might ſuffer in the vacancy and the next election, he altered his deſign; and determined to uſe his utmoſt efforts, to oblige the king and the pope to change their meaſures. When any bulls were brought him with papal proviſions, he uſually tore, or threw them away; declaring that to entruſt a care of ſouls with ſuch clerks, who had no better title, was to do the devil's work. Accordingly the year following, he refuſed to inſtitute an Italian, who could not ſpeak Engliſh, to one of the beſt livings in his dioceſe, given him by the pope; for which the biſhop was ſuſpended at the court of Rome. But this was not his only fault. GROSTEST being exaſperated at the preſent pope, who had impoveriſhed the Engliſh church more than all his predeceſſors, had made an eſtimate of the value of the livings held by foreigners; by which it was found, that the Italians who had been

promoted by the ſee of Rome enjoyed revenues in the church of ſeventy thouſand marks a year.

At a parliament called at London in the following ſpring, king Henry demanded a large ſubſidy, that he might perform his vow of going to the holy land. The barons, tho convinced that he had no deſign of going thither, yet not caring to refuſe an aid on a pretence that was ſo plauſible, and which they might make ſome advantage of, reſolved to give him a ſubſidy; on condition that he would obſerve the charters of king John, and leave to churches and abbies the freedom of election: the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhops of Carlisle, Salisbury, and Winchester, were deputed by the peers to wait on the king with this reſolution. Henry had thoſe about him, who, being aware of the meſſage, had provided him with an anſwer. He told the deputies that the charters of his father ſhould be punctually obſerved; and that tho he had on ſome occaſions carried the royal prerogative a little too far, yet he would not be guilty of the ſame fault again; and deſired they would aſſiſt him in a reformation. Calling then upon each of the deputies by name, to witneſs for him that he had invaded the freedom of elections in their own promotions by his influence, he told them, that it behoved them as much as it did himſelf, to ſhew their concern for his miſmanagement: and if they would throw up their preferments which he had thus illegally obtained for each of them, he would leave the chapters to elect men of worth and probity in their room. The biſhops being ſomewhat embarraſſed at this ſatyrical jeſt, made no other anſwer to his majeſty, than that the buſineſs at preſent was not to undo what was paſt, but to ſecure them from ſuch evils for the time to come.

The king, having contented himſelf with thus mortifying the deputies, promiſed to join with the parliament in a reformation: and upon theſe aſſurances the clergy granted him the tenth of their revenues for three years, and the barons three marks of every knight's fee held immediately under the crown. Whilſt the parliament continued, the king performed his engagements in a moſt ſolemn manner in Weſtminſter hall with regard to the charters; keeping his hand upon his heart whilſt they were red aloud, and at the concluſion confirming them with this expreſſion, "ſo may "God help me as I inviolably obſerve all theſe things." Perhaps it was his deſign at this time to keep his promiſe religiouſly; but

but the parliament was no ſooner diſſolved, than he was weak and wicked enough to break thro his engagement, and to get his friend the pope to make it void. If the reader is ſurprized to find, that a prince ſhould have no more honour or conſcience than immediately to break thro an oath, given publicly with circumſtances of the higheſt ſolemnity, will he not have much more reaſon to ſtand amazed, to ſee ſuch a profligate conduct authorized and countenanced by the common practiſe of thoſe, who impudently aſſume the title of the vicars of JESUS CHRIST?

About this time the pope directed a bull to the biſhop of LINCOLN, to inſtitute a Roman boy to the firſt vacant benefice in his dioceſe. GROSTEST was too good a man, and a prelate of too much courage of mind, either to ſubmit to this pretended plenitude of power in the holy ſee, or not to inveigh againſt it with his uſual freedom. He therefore wrote a letter to Rome, in which he plainly tells his holineſs, that the bull is not conſiſtent with the apoſtolic character; that the ſcandalous claim of "non "obſtante," gives occaſion to inconſtancy, breach of faith, and bold meaſures; ſhakes the foundation of truſt and ſecurity, and makes language and letters almoſt inſignificant: and in ſhort has brought a deluge of miſchief upon Chriſtendom. Beſides, the holy apoſtolic ſee, which has an authority for edification and not for deſtruction, can never countenance or command ſuch a pernicious prevarication, as to bring unqualified perſons into the church, and deprive the ſouls of men of the paſtoral office, where the profits are received for doing the duty. Much more of the ſame tendency, and in the ſame plain way of reproof, does this honeſt prelate ſay to the apoſtolic ſee: at which INNOCENT was ſo enraged, that he ſwore by St. PETER and St. PAUL, "if it was not "for the gentleneſs of his own diſpoſition, he would ſo confound "this old doting man, who had outlived his brains and his man-"ners, he would make him ſuch an example, ſuch a prodigy of "a wretch, that the world ſhould ſtand amazed at his puniſh-"ment. For is not the king of England our vaſſal, ſays he, "nay our ſlave, to impriſon and deſtroy whom we pleaſe?" One of the cardinals adviſing him to moderate his reſentment againſt the biſhop, acknowledged what he ſaid was true; and aſſured him that he was a prelate, who, for abilities and learning and ſanctity of manners, had no ſuperior in Chriſtendom, and among themſelves no equals. But all could not avail to prevent his excommunication. He continued however in the exerciſe of his office,

deſpiſed the cenſures of the pope, and appealed to the juſtice of the court above. Shortly after, biſhop Grostest drawing near his end, and finding his diſeaſe encreaſe upon him, called in ſeveral of his clergy, that he might bear his teſtimony againſt the corruptions of the court of Rome. After enlarging on ſeveral inſtances of their avarice, and their extending indulgences in proportion to the bribe, he charges them with ſimony, luxury, libertiniſm, and making princes a party in their depredations on the church: and with this teſtimony he expired. To the greateſt learning in his age, and to all the virtues of the chriſtian life, we muſt add in the character of this biſhop, that he was a moſt conſcientious primitive governour. He was ſo well obeyed in his dioceſe, that tho he was diſabled in his character at Rome before his death, by the cenſures of the church, yet he gave an order to his clergy to excommunicate thoſe who broke the great charters of king John; which was executed accordingly. In ſhort he was attended by the clergy and religious, died in the exerciſe of his office, and was honoured and obeyed to the laſt moment.

The great enemy of biſhop Grostest, Innocent the fourth, who piouſly moved in the conclave that his corps ſhould be taken up out of conſecrated ground, and a brand of infamy be ſet on his memory, did not long ſurvive him; and according to the monkiſh tales of that age, owed his death to a blow on the ſide, which the biſhop's apparition gave him for this indignity, with his croſier. Alexander the fourth was elected a few months after to ſuccede him: and as he trod in the ſteps of his predeceſſor, he ſent a nuncio into England, to ſqueeze all the money which the kingdom had not been drained of. The firſt bull which this truſty meſſenger produced, was an order for all the clergy to pay a tenth, "notwithſtanding any former privileges, indulgences, or "grants, and notwithſtanding all objections which could be de-"viſed." Many other bulls of the ſame ſort were ſent over in this year: and ſo little ſenſe of ſhame was left in the court of Rome, that there were no means of getting money, tho never ſo unjuſt, but what were approved of by this pope. He abſolved the king from his vow of going to the holy land, commuted the ſervice, and transferred the expedition to the aſſiſting his ſon Edmund in the kingdom of Sicily; which the pope in the plenitude of his power had conferred upon him, but could not put him in poſſeſſion of. The ſums which had been taken up in the king's

name for this imaginary dominion, amounted in the pope's account to one hundred thirty-five thouſand five hundred and forty marks, principal money, beſides intereſt. Knowing the king's revenues could not ſatisfy this debt, he ordered that all the extraordinary levies of money ſhould be applied to this uſe: and in order to oblige the clergy to pay the greateſt ſhare of the debt, who had moſt money, and would ſubmit more tamely to the pope than the people would to the king, he cauſed a great many obligatory notes to be drawn up, whereby each biſhop and abbot acknowledged to have received of one or another merchant in Italy, five, ſix, or ſeven hundred marks a-piece, for the occaſion of his church and convent, and bound himſelf to repay it at ſuch a time. The nuncio aſſembled all the prelates of the kingdom, and acquainted them it was the pleaſure of their ſovereign lord the pope, that each of them ſhould ſign one of theſe notes for money, on pain of excommunication.

The biſhops ſurprized at this tyranny and oppreſſion, ſome of them ſaid aloud, that they would loſe their lives rather than ſubmit to it, and that the clergy of England would not be ſlaves to the pope. The nuncio complained to the king of this anſwer, and the king to the biſhop of LONDON; adding that he ſhould ſoon feel the effects of the pope's and his majeſty's indignation. The prelate not being terrified with this threat, ſaid he was ſenſible that the king and the pope were more powerful than himſelf; but in caſe they took away his mitre from him, he would ſet a helmet in its place. But all this reſolution did not deter the nuncio from proſecuting his errand. He even roſe higher in his demand; and required all the clergy to ſign the notes. The time allowed for them to conſider of it being expired, the prelates, with the repreſentatives of the inferior clergy, were aſſembled at London; and the nuncio renewed his ſollicitations: alledging that as all the churches belonged to their ſovereign lord the pope, he could diſpoſe of their incomes as he pleaſed. The biſhops, full of indignation at this claim, unanimouſly replied, that they could not, and would not ſubmit to this exaction; and that they were ready to ſuffer death, in a cauſe much more juſt, than that for which BECKET had ſuffered martyrdom. The nuncio perceiving that violent meaſures would not ſucceed, grew more calm; and ſaid he would go to Rome and confer with his holineſs about this matter. The biſhops and clergy diſpatched the dean of St. Paul's to juſtify their refuſal, and all the terms

they could obtain, were that each prelate ſhould pay his ſhare in proportion to his revenue; but that the money thus paid, ſhould be deducted out of the tenths which ſhould be hereafter granted to the king. This indulgence however was rendered afterwards of no effect, by a "non obſtante" clauſe in another bull; and the tenths which had been granted for three years, continued on to five. I am perſuaded I ſhould tire out the reader's patience, if I gave a minute recital of the ſeveral bulls of this pope, to draw money from the Engliſh clergy; not the leaſt part of which was employed in the conqueſt of Sicily for which all of it had been granted. The clergy groaned to ſee themſelves ſo grievouſly oppreſſed, and the people murmured as much as they. It was not poſſible but ſo many oppreſſions following ſo faſt upon one another, would at length exhauſt the patience, and excite the reſentment of the Engliſh. But the nature of my work does not allow me to relate the methods which the barons took to redreſs their grievances. This account muſt be looked for in other hiſtories: I proceed with the hiſtory of the church.

Notwithſtanding the confuſions which overſpred the kingdom in the conteſt of the barons with the king, archbiſhop Bonniface found a time to hold a national council at Merton, and about three years after another at Lambeth; for the reformation of diſcipline, and to ſecure the church againſt the encroachments of the laity. Theſe proviſions, as the record calls them, are ſo tedious and verboſe, and in general only a tranſcript of the eccleſiaſtical liberties which Becket had contended for, that I ſhall not tire the reader with them. They carried the privileges of the church ſo high, and bore ſo hard upon the laws and uſages of the realm, that the king informed Urban the fourth, who had ſucceded Alexander, that the archbiſhop and his ſuffragans had paſſed ſome ſynodical decrees to the prejudice of his crown and kingdom, and deſired his holineſs would revoke them. The pope took two years time to conſider of this requeſt; and then he tells the king in a letter, that tho his miniſters of juſtice had trampled upon the eccleſiaſtic liberties, which obliged the ſynod to paſs theſe decrees, yet as his majeſty's ambaſſador had declared againſt them as prejudicial to the prerogative and the rights of the crown of England, he had waved to grant them his confirmation.

As ſoon as an end was put to the troubles which had afflicted the kingdom for ſeven years, a national ſynod was held at London,

don, under OTTOBON the pope's legate; in which ſome conſtitutions paſſed that are ſtill in force, and make a part of the canon law of the Engliſh church. As ſeveral of theſe conſtitutions had a tendency to leſſen the power and juriſdiction of the biſhops, a ſtrong oppoſition was made againſt them, which obliged the legate to prorogue the ſynod 'till the next day. He knew ſo well how to make a good uſe of this interval, that gaining by threats or promiſes the moſt violent in the oppoſition, the next day he carried his point. I ſhall give the reader the ſubſtance of the moſt material conſtitutions which are not tranſcribed from other councils, and which this ſynod paſſed under OTTOBON, at the end of the reign of HENRY the third. The firſt allows laymen to adminiſter baptiſm in caſes of neceſſity. Another forbids prieſts taking money for the ſacraments, and enjoins confeſſors to make uſe of the following form in abſolution; "I "abſolve thee from all thy ſins, or by the authority which I "exerciſe, I do abſolve thee, &c." The tenth directs the ordinary not to inſtitute any clerk, without legal proof of the death, or ceſſion, or deprivation, of the laſt incumbent. The twelfth provides againſt ſubdividing pariſhes into more vicarages or parſonages than there are already. The fourteenth enjoins executors to make an inventory of the goods of the perſon whoſe will they execute, delivering it into their ordinary; and that they do not preſume to proceed to any act till they have given ſuch ſatisfaction. The ſixteenth forbids the biſhops to ſequeſter the profits of vacant livings, unleſs in ſome ſpecial caſes allowed of by law and ancient cuſtom. The twentieth is very ſevere againſt commuting with money for diſcipline and pennance, which inſtead of relieving the delinquent makes the judge a criminal: the biſhops and archdeacons are therefore abſolutely forbid to receive any money upon ſuch ſcandalous conſiderations, and to exert the diſcipline of the church. The three and twentieth forbids an alienation of the tithes from the parochial clergy, which gave occaſion to great abuſe and miſapplication of the church revenues: requiring the religious houſes, exempt and not exempt, who were then poſſeſſed of appropriated livings, to preſent vicars immediately to ſuch churches, with a ſufficient portion for their maintenance. Pluralities are complained againſt with great vehemence in the thirtieth; and which were ſometimes poſſeſſed by people of figure and intereſt with violence and intruſion, without a diſpenſation from the pope, or inſtitution from the biſhop. All perſons therefore inſtituted to livings for the future, provided they

they had any benefices with cure of ſouls before, were obliged to reſign them, and to ſwear that they would reſide upon their new preferment. The one and thirtieth forbids the giving benefices in Commendam, and declares all benefices held in that manner vacant; the people by this means being neglected, the ends of the ſacerdotal function loſt, and the ſacred revenues miſpent upon pride and luxury. To prevent this abuſe, the canon voids all Commendams then enjoyed excepting one; and directs that no perſon for the future, ſhall have that one, who has more than one living with cure of ſouls. The thirty-ſecond canon decrees, that before any biſhop was conſecrated, a ſtrict enquiry ſhould be made whether he had more benefices than one with cure of ſouls, whether he had a diſpenſation for ſuch privilege, and whether the diſpenſation was authentic, and extended to all the promotions which he was at that time poſſeſſed of: if in any one of theſe articles he was found irregular, his character was not to be compleated, nor was the archbiſhop allowed to conſecrate him. The laſt canon which I ſhall take notice of, complains of the abuſe of patronage, that preſentations were given upon contracts to pay the patron a certain annual ſum out of the profits of the living, and declares all ſuch contracts and promiſes utterly void. In order to make theſe conſtitutions the more effectual, it is commanded that all archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, priors, and chapters of cathedral churches, ſhall furniſh themſelves with a copy of the canons of this ſynod: and that every prelate ſhall be obliged to have them publicly and diſtinctly read in their dioceſan ſynods.

What I have ſaid of the conſtitutions that paſſed under cardinal Otho, I am obliged to ſay of theſe under cardinal Ottobon, that for the moſt part they were worthy of better men and better times: and accordingly, notwithſtanding the change at the reformation, there are many of them ſtill in force, and make part of our canon law. The reader will give me leave to make a reflection or two upon them before I continue the ſtory. The good of the church at that time, when a vaſt number of Italians poſſeſſed the eccleſiaſtical preferments of England, without appointing any ſubſtitutes, made the thirtieth canon concerning pluralities and reſidence abſolutely neceſſary. But if from hence we ſhould conclude, that the good of the church will at all times require the ſame regulations, we ſhall conclude too much. It is almoſt impoſſible to frame a general conſtitution for the go-

government of church or ſtate, which will be equally beneficial in all ages, or perhaps which will not be in ſome pernicious or abſurd. For inſtance; would the ſame canon which then forbid pluralities to the clergy who enjoyed them in a prodigious number and to an immenſe revenue tho they were obliged to live unmarried be a wiſe conſtitution now? Would this be for the good of the church in the preſent age, when our pluralities are reſtrained to two benefices with cure of ſouls, thoſe benefices diminiſhed greatly, and our clergy generally encumbred with the expence of families? As to the buſineſs of reſidence, it may be obſerved, that the good of the church, is, or ſhould be, the great object in all national councils: and it was not thought the moſt certain way of promoting this good, in the firſt inſtitution of parochial cures, and I am ſure it cannot now be proved to be ſo, that they ſhould in all caſes be ſupplied by the incumbent himſelf in perſon. A prieſt was not ordained to ſerve only one particular pariſh, but the church of CHRIST; nor was any thing more intended by the foundation and endowment of parochial churches, or even by this canon, than that ſome clergyman ſhould be reſident at every church to diſcharge the cure of ſouls. It may be much more for the intereſt of the church and of religion, that men of learning and abilities ſhould officiate in large and reſpectable congregations, or attend the ſervice of cities at cathedrals, than that they ſhould be obliged to attend perſonally in their own pariſhes, on the inſtruction, it may be, of a few mechanicks or ruſticks, who may learn as much as they are capable of from the meaneſt curate. I have thought it neceſſary to ſay thus much, not in excuſe of eccleſiaſticks who are above doing the duties of their ſacred function, and engroſs revenues in the church to indulge in eaſe and luxury; but to remove the prejudices of thoſe, who taking advantage of this canon, contend againſt all pluralities and non-reſidence as ſcandalous and inconvenient: not conſidering that nothing more is required of a clergyman, than that he ſhould be able to give a general good account of his charge, that he ſhould be diligent in the offices of his calling ſomewhere---no matter in what particular place---and exemplary in his converſation.

As many of our biſhopricks, as well as our benefices, have been reduced, ſince the other canon againſt Commendams was decreed, ſo it may be uſeful to add a reflexion upon that ſubject before I finiſh this digreſſion. At the time when the northern

nations broke in upon the weſtern empire, it often happened that churches were unprovided with biſhops; and that thoſe who had a right to elect a paſtor were hindered by the calamities of an invaſion. That the people might not ſuffer for want of the government of a dioceſan, the prelates of the province frequently recommended the ſee, to ſome eccleſiaſtick of character and conduct, 'till the obſtruction could be removed in a canonical way. The ſame expedient was made uſe of by the biſhops and clergy when a vacancy happened on ſuch occaſions in parochial cures: and this was the original of Commendams, which gave great ſatisfaction and proved very ſerviceable to religion. But as the beſt eſtabliſhments are liable to be abuſed, ſo ſome of the commendatories conſulted their own intereſt rather than that of the church, procured ſeveral preferments to be ſettled upon them in this manner, all the profits of which they enjoyed for term of life. The breach of this truſt gave occaſion to the canon againſt Commendams in this ſynod; and from hence a prejudice has been taken againſt the uſe of them in the preſent age, in the church of England by our biſhops. But when it is conſidered of how ſmall a value ſeveral of our ſees are now become, and yet how neceſſary it is, that the poſſeſſors of ſuch dignities ſhould have a revenue ſuitable to their character, in order to command authority and reſpect, it cannot be thought a ſcandalous practice, how much ſoever it may deviate from the firſt intention, to redreſs the poverty of a biſhoprick, by giving a rich benefice, or a conſiderable dignity, in Commendam. I return now to the hiſtory.

The year after this council, archbiſhop Bonniface died abroad in his own country; of whom, as there is no one good thing to be ſaid, that I remember, it is needleſs to ſay any thing. The monks of Canterbury upon his death choſe their prior, who renounced the election: and upon his renunciation, Gregory the tenth who ſucceded Clement, nominated Kelwarby, who was conſecrated at Canterbury in the following year. About this time king Henry, who had enjoyed a perfect tranquillity for five years, was ſeized with a diſtemper at St. Edmund's-Bury, which carried him off, after his return to London, in a few days. The character of this prince has ſo viſibly appeared in all the circumſtances of a reign of ſix and fifty years, that it will be needleſs to ſtay to make him better known. It may be ſufficient to ſay of this prince, that with a weak head and a wicked heart he left the adminiſtration of his kingdom, he left his own fate

and glory, to his favourite foreigners; and they ſold the king to diſhonour, and his people to ſlavery and oppreſſion. But from all his ſpoiling and tyranny he gained nothing in the end, but the juſt recompence of ſuch enormous meaſures; ſhame, and diſtruſt, and hatred, and contempt. It muſt be owned he grew wiſer towards his latter end; and after he had governed fifty years begun then to learn from many efforts, many trials and revolutions, much diſtreſs and diſgrace, that his greateſt power and ſafety conſiſted in ruling righteouſly, in obeying the laws, and uſing his people well. The reader will give me leave to cloſe the account of our church affairs in the reign of HENRY the third, which will conclude this book, by lamenting the deploreable lot of our oppreſſed anceſtors; who were ſo drained and pillaged by this prince, that, as it was ſaid of HENRY the third of France, "it was only by his daily and heavy oppreſſions that "they knew him to be alive." At the ſame time let us rejoice in the ſo much happier condition of ourſelves, and of our country; under a prince who has never attempted to invade the laws and liberties of his people throwout a reign of thirty years, and under laws and liberties, which make the people of England the happieſt nation under the ſun.

THE

THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK VIII.

UPON the death of HENRY, his eldeſt ſon EDWARD aſcended the throne of his anceſtors without any diſturbance, and with all the higheſt demonſtrations of affection and reſpect in the breaſt of all his ſubjects. He was no ſooner inveſted with the regal power, than he took ſome ſteps which plainly intimated, that he intended to govern in a very different manner from the two kings his predeceſſors whom he deſcended from. A famous and ſolemn parliament was held in the third year of his reign, for ſecuring the peace and liberties of the people, as well as the immunities of the church and the privileges of the clergy; which paſſed ſeveral excellent laws for that purpoſe, called the ſtatutes of Weſtminſter. About the ſame time, a general council was called at Lyons by GREGORY the tenth, which had repreſentatives attending it from all parts of Europe. The great buſineſs of this council, and almoſt the only thing of moment tranſacted in it, was an aid for the holy land from every church. It was impoſſible not to ſee that the pope had a view to his own intereſt; and that it was the means which his predeceſſors had uſed to heap up riches. Not a biſhop however cared to open his mouth about it. KILWARBY, as we have ſeen, had owed his promotion to the ſee of Canterbury to the influence of the court of Rome; and therefore he, as well as the reſt, kept ſilence. PECKHAM dean of Lincoln, ſtood up alone againſt the demand, and ſaid, that the Engliſh clergy were already ſo impoveriſhed by the late civil wars, and the frequent exactions of the court of Rome,

that they were ſcarcely in a condition to ſubſiſt. This honeſt freedom however coſt him his preferment, which the pope deprived him of that inſtant; and a tenth was granted from the church for ſix years to come.

Immediately after the breaking up of this council, and perhaps as a reward or contract for his ſilence, the archbiſhop was promoted to the purple by GREGORY, as cardinal of Oporto; and tho he was an Engliſhman by birth, he choſe to reſign his primacy, and went to live at Rome. The monks of Canterbury upon his reſignation, choſe BURNELL biſhop of Bath, with the king's entire approbation: but his holineſs, thro the plenitude of his power, thought fit to ſet aſide, and gave the archbiſhoprick to PECKHAM, a Franciſcan of great learning, whom he conſecrated at Rome; and who was ſoon after received, and owned in England. Not long after his arrival, he held a provincial ſynod at Reading; in which the canons of the general council of Lyons, with regard to pluralities, were renewed; and all perſons poſſeſſed of eccleſiaſtical preferment obliged to take prieſt's orders within a year of their inſtitution. But tho the king, for ſome particular reaſons which are not mentioned, acquieſced in the nomination of this primate at Rome, and acknowledged his juriſdiction, yet he would not permit him to decree any thing in this ſynod againſt the royal prerogative; and for that reaſon obliged him to revoke ſome of the canons, then made, before the parliament in a month after. This prelate had lived a great while at Rome, and was returned now to England with an excellent diſpoſition to extend the eccleſiaſtic liberty, if the king had not ſtopped him ſhort at his ſetting out.

An affair of another nature, but of no leſs importance to the public, furniſhed EDWARD with an opportunity of ſhewing his zeal and reſolution. The prodigious increaſe of the riches of the church and monaſteries had for a long time been the ſubject of complaint, as a matter of the utmoſt prejudice to the ſtate. The barons indeed had taken care to inſert a clauſe in the great charter, which expreſly forbid any one to alienate his lands to the church: but this prohibition had no effect. The church ſtill continued to acquire eſtates, which were never afterwards alienated; and yet all thoſe eſtates were in a dead hand, as to any return or profit to the ſtate. They afforded neither wards, reliefs, nor marriages, like all other lands, and in proportion therefore as their revenues

encreaſed, the public exchequer was impoveriſhed: nor would England in ſome ages, if this cuſtom had continued, have been any thing more than a nation of monaſteries and churches. In this parliament, the king therefore propoſed to make a law, which ſhould effectually prevent the continuance of this evil, by prohibiting any one to diſpoſe of their eſtates to ſocieties which never die, without the king's conſent: and accordingly was paſſed the famous ſtatute of Mortmain.

Soon after, archbiſhop Peckham convened another provincial ſynod at Lambeth, to confirm the conſtitutions of Otho and Ottobon, and to add ſome of his own. The firſt I ſhall not repeat: the other were principally the three following. That the prieſts when they adminiſter the holy ſacrament, ſhould acquaint the more ignorant ſort of the laity, that the body and blood of Christ are contained under the ſingle ſpecies of bread; and that what they receive in the chalice, which ſhould be unconſecrated, is mere wine only, to help them to ſwallow the bread the better; the blood of our Lord in the conſecrated wine, being allowed to the prieſts only who celebrate divine ſervice in the leſſer churches. That children which had been baptized by the laity ſhould not be rebaptized, unleſs there is reaſon to doubt the baptiſm, in which caſe the prieſt might proceed to baptiſm with this clauſe, "if thou art not already baptized, I baptize thee "in the name of the father &c." That the fundamental and neceſſary points of religion, ſhould be explained to the people every quarter, in plain intelligible language, without any of the niceties and diſtinctions of the ſchools. It is plain from the firſt of theſe canons, that communion in one kind only began at this time to make its way againſt ſcripture, cuſtom, and tradition, and that it had not then prevailed in cathedral and conventual churches; nor probably in the univerſities. The more ignorant ſort of the laity were to be practiſed upon firſt, before they would venture upon the innovation; and the more knowing people left to the communion in both kinds. Even among the illiterate, we ſee, the appearance of the ancient uſage was continued, and they gave the people the wine tho they witheld the conſecration. In the year following this ſynod, the archbiſhop entered on a provincial viſitation, in which he acted with great vigour and impartiality; making uſe of his authority againſt ſome of the moſt conſiderable men in the church.

In

In the year twelve hundred and ninety, EDWARD convened a parliament, wherein were made the third ſtatutes of Weſtminſter, relating chiefly to the baniſhment of the Jews, and to the diſtinction of the ſpiritual and temporal juriſdiction, that a barrier might be fixed between church and ſtate. Soon after this died PECKHAM archbiſhop of Canterbury. He had ſeveral diſputes with the king about the rights and privileges of his ſee; which he always defended with a freedom and reſolution, that ſo much offended EDWARD, as ſometimes to make him inclined to ſend this prelate into exile. He poſſeſſed the primacy however to his death, tho not very often in good terms with the king. He was a man of conſiderable learning for the age he lived in, particularly in the civil and canon law; and wrote many tracts in divinity, and on ſome books of ſcripture. He governed his province and dioceſe with great care and firmneſs, and may be ſaid to have been a very able and a very uſeful primate. After the ſee of Canterbury had been almoſt two years vacant, ROBERT WINCHELSEA, chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, and archdeacon of Eſſex, was elected by the convent with the approbation of the king: and the pope was ſo much pleaſed with him when he went to Rome, as to intend to make him a cardinal and to keep him there, if the archbiſhop himſelf had not oppoſed it.

At the calling a parliament at this time, the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes were now firſt ſummoned in the king's writs; which were before only directed to the lords and great men who held immediately under the crown: and in the ſame year the premunitory clauſes were firſt inſerted into the biſhop's writs, for the proctor of the inferior clergy to attend at the ſame time and place with the laity in parliament. Till then, it does not appear, that any of the clergy were called to parliament; beſides the biſhops, and abbots, and ſuch others as by virtue of their temporal tenures were obliged to come to it. A few years before this, by order of archbiſhop PECKHAM and his brethren, the deans and priors of cathedral churches, and the archdeacons in perſon, the capitular and collegiate bodies by one, and the dioceſan clergy by two proctors, were firſt brought to convocation. At this time therefore the king iſſued out his writ to all the biſhops of England to call together the clergy of their ſeveral dioceſes at Weſtminſter, to give him their help and counſel. In this national aſſembly, which is the firſt to which the lower clergy were ever called by the king's writ, EDWARD demanded half the profits of their

their revenue for one year. The demand being rigorous and unprecedented, the clergy were not inclined to comply with it; upon a report of which backwardneſs, the king ſent to acquaint them, that whoever oppoſed his motion ſhould come forth and diſcover his perſon, that he might take his trial as a diſturber of the public peace. The clergy ſaw by this language, which they had not been uſed to, that it was to no purpoſe to oppoſe any longer; and the king's demand was granted. I ſhall take occaſion to obſerve in this place tho it is ſomething too early in point of time, that the lower clergy thought it a grievance it ſeems to be ſummoned to parliament, becauſe of the coſt and trouble of ſuch attendance, and by degrees brought all their grants to be made in convocation. The king, whoſe deſign in ſummoning them to parliament was only to get aids of them, complied with their humour; and never minded whether they obeyed his writs by coming to parliament, ſince they met and ſupplied his neceſſities in convocation. But to proceed.

King Edward having a war upon his hands with France, was obliged to aſk a ſubſidy of his people; for which a parliament was called at St. Edmund's-bury the next year; where the laity granted what he aſked. But the clergy, who had ſmarted under the rigorous demand of half their revenue the year before, and who from the king's having began to call them to his parliament, foreſaw that he would continue to ſummon them thither to ſupply his wants, had made an application thro their archbiſhop to the pope, for a bull to prohibit the clergy from granting any aids to their ſecular princes, without his leave. Boniface the fourth then in the papal chair, readily granted their requeſt; and Winchelsea the archbiſhop had held a conſultation with his ſuffragans, to agree upon ſome reſolutions againſt the meeting of the next parliament, and to be firm and unanimous in them. When the king therefore made this demand at Bury, which his lay ſubjects complied with, the clergy refuſed to contribute any thing; pretending their fear of the pope's bull. The king was extremely offended at this refuſal: but before he proceeded to violent methods, he gave them time till the next parliament to conſider of it, ordering all their ſtores to be ſealed up. The archbiſhop, upon this, ordered the pope's bull to be publiſhed in all the cathedral churches of his province; and the biſhops iſſued out their injunctions to the collectors of the aids they had before granted, to forbear any further progreſs in levying thoſe

ſubſidies,

ſubſidies, and revoked all their commiſſions to that purpoſe, as void, and of no effect.

About three months after, the king called another parliament at London, where he again demanded a ſupply of the clergy, and was again refuſed: the archbiſhop and clergy conſulting apart at St. Paul's, and ſending their refuſal in a letter to the king. On his ſide he ſummoned a parliament without the clergy at Saliſbury, and there got an act paſſed by his barons to confiſcate all the goods of the eccleſiaſticks to his uſe, and commanded their whole body to be thrown out of the protection of the laws; expreſly forbidding the judges to do them juſtice in any ſuit whatever. On their ſide they paſſed an order, for ſolemnly publiſhing a ſentence of excommunication, againſt all ſuch as ſhould lay hands on the goods of the clergy, or ſeize them without the conſent of themſelves, or their proper officers. This every biſhop was to publiſh himſelf in his cathedral church, and other perſons in all other churches throwout the kingdom. This is a meaſure, it muſt be owned, which ſeems intended to bid defiance to the king's authority, to dare him to a trial, and to put it to an iſſue, whether the ſpiritual, or temporal power, ſhould get the better. After this declaration of war on both ſides, the archbiſhop went to Saliſbury to wait on the king, who gave him a private audience, with free leave to ſay to his majeſty what he would. The archbiſhop ſpake a great deal about the liberties of the church and the pope's authority; which the king heard patiently without any interruption: after the primate had ended what he had to ſay, EDWARD told him, that if the pope himſelf, like his grace, had temporal poſſeſſions here, his majeſty might lawfully take of them for the defence of his realm and the church of England: the clergy as well as his other ſubjects, he ſaid, enjoyed the protection of the government, and it was therefore but reaſonable they ſhould contribute to its expence; adding that it was a cauſe in which he could dare to die, and ſo great was the neceſſity that lay upon him, he was in his conſcience perſuaded he did nothing unlawful in it. The archbiſhop in return aſſured him, that in his opinion the neceſſity was not ſo great as to excuſe them from the danger of the pope's conſtitution, if they broke thro it, by giving any thing to him. His grace however propoſed to take this affair into conſideration at a ſynod, to which the king might ſend ſome of his council, and in the mean time that the rigour againſt the clergy might be

ſuſpended; to all which his majeſty gave conſent. At this convocation, the propoſal of an accommodation on the part of the king, was, that the clergy ſhould not grant him an aid, but pay a fine to him for their contumacy, and to redeem their liberty: on their ſide it was agreed, that a fifth of their revenues ſhould be depoſited in ſome ſanctuary or place of privilege, not to be meddled with by the king's officers, but for the defence of the realm in caſe of need. This was acquieſced in by all but the archbiſhop, who ſtill ſtood to his point: and therefore the king ordered all his eſtate to be ſeized, which had ſuch an effect upon him, that he gave his majeſty a fourth part of his goods, and was received into his favour. The king having afterwards in a great council, and then in parliament, confirmed the charter of the eccleſiaſticks, and made ſuch additions to them as were deſired, the pretence of conſcience vaniſhed; and then they ſolemnly juſtified their giving his majeſty a ſubſidy without the pope's conſent, for denying which they had thrown themſelves, and the whole church, into ſo much trouble and confuſion before.

The pope, like his predeceſſors, heaping one encroachment upon another till they had accompliſhed their project of a ſpiritual monarchy, claimed the ſovereignty of Scotland, and wrote a letter to the king to deſiſt from any further attempts againſt that kingdom. Not content with this new claim, which the whole nobility of England contradicted in parliament, by an authentic inſtrument which they ſent to Rome, Boniface, about the ſame time, in a bull to a new biſhop of Worcester, pretended to put him in poſſeſſion of the temporalities of his ſee, as well as the ſpiritual juriſdiction: and had Edward been like his father, or his grandfather, in his devotions to the ſee of Rome, his holineſs might perhaps have ſucceeded in his deſign. But he ſoon found that he had to do with a prince of another ſpirit, and who would yield to no freſh encroachments upon the rights of the crown of England. The biſhop of Worcester therefore, when he came to the king to do his homage, was obliged to renounce that clauſe in the bull which made mention of the temporalities, and to make an acknowledgment before his majeſty and his council, that he held them only of the king; and for receiving a bull ſo prejudicial to the prerogative was fined a thouſand marks. But if Edward was unlike his two immediate predeceſſors, in withſtanding the uſurpation of the court of Rome, he reſembled them in their uneaſineſs under the two charters; and

and about this time applied to CLEMENT the fifth, who ſucceeded BONIFACE in the popedom, to diſpenſe with the oath he had taken to confirm them. When the reader is told, that a ſervice of gold plate accompanied this requeſt, he will naturally conclude, that the pope ſaw very ſufficient reaſons to give the king an abſolution: and becauſe the prelates had obliged themſelves by act of parliament, to publiſh an excommunication againſt thoſe who broke the charters, the pope pronounced all ſuch excommunications void and of no effect.

The king's conſcience being thus at eaſe about his obſerving the great charters, he made an enquiry into the diſaffection and ſeditious attempts of ſome of the barons. Whilſt he was abſent on the account of the war with France, it ſeems ſome of the nobility had entered into a conſpiracy to depoſe the king, to impriſon him for life, and to ſet up EDWARD his ſon the prince of Wales. The earl MARSHAL, who was firſt accuſed, confeſſed his guilt; and throwing himſelf upon the goodneſs of the king, was pardoned. Some of the other conſpirators were drawn to a confeſſion, and deeply fined. But the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY, whom the king had long looked upon with an evil eye, for obſtructing his ſubſidies from the clergy, was more ſeverely dealt with. The king having ſent for this prelate, expoſtulated with him very roundly, as being at the head of the malecontents, and charged him with high treaſon. Either the conſcience or the courage of the archbiſhop failed him; and offering nothing in his defence, he threw himſelf at his majeſty's feet, wept and begged pardon, and caſt his life and fortune upon the king's mercy. EDWARD told him, that he had found his grace diſaffected to his intereſt thro the whole courſe of his primacy; that he had often deſired him to treat his clergy gently, and not diſturb them unneceſſarily in his provincial viſitations; but without any regard to his authority or requeſt, that his grace had often deprived them of their preferments, without allowing them the liberty of an appeal; that he ſhould not however proſecute him himſelf, leſt he ſhould complain that he was overborne by the partiality of his courts, but ſhould leave him to the correction of his own order, and refer the cauſe particularly to the pope. The primate was ſo overcome with this reprimand, that he is ſaid to have begged his majeſty's bleſſing; who told him, that he forgot his character, and that it was more proper for his majeſty to receive his grace's bleſſing than to give it to an archbiſhop.

biſhop. In ſhort the king, being ſtill more confirmed in his ſuſpicions by the behaviour of the primate, complained of him to the pope: and his grace delaying to go to Rome to make his defence, his revenues were ſeized, and he himſelf was outlawed. To redouble his misfortunes, when he went to the pope for his protection, his holineſs was ſo much prejudiced againſt him, that he was ſuſpended from the adminiſtration of ſpirituals and temporals, till he could clear himſelf of the accuſation which the king laid againſt him. Unluckily for the archbiſhop the pope was to have the ſequeſtration of the ſee in the hands of his nuncio; and tho the king had poſſeſſed himſelf of the revenues, yet on a remonſtrance from his holineſs, theſe were likewiſe paid into the hands of his agents, during Winchelsea's ſuſpenſion.

The next year, which was the laſt of the reign of Edward, a parliament was held at Carliſle, where the clergy were ſummoned by the premunitory clauſe in the biſhops writs, in order to prevent effectually the papal exactions, and other abuſes in the church of England; ſuch as diſpoſing of the beſt preferments to Italians, and other foreigners; the pope's taking the rent of religious houſes for the college of cardinals; the claim of the firſt fruits of vacant livings; the demand of Peter-pence to treble the uſual ſum; and the converting of legacies given to pious uſes from their firſt intention. After a thorow examination of theſe ſeveral articles, it was declared with the conſent of the king, lords, and commons, that theſe grievances and oppreſſions ſhould no longer be permitted in England. But notwithſtanding this excellent proviſion by an act of parliament, the king having occaſion for the pope's friendſhip, granted a protection to his nuncio to collect the firſt fruits of vacant benefices, either with, or without cure, for the term of three years, which his holineſs had required; on condition that he did not touch the rents of the vacant monaſteries, and tranſported none of the money in ſpecie out of the kingdom, but remitted it in bills of exchange. Thus thro the private views of their princes, when they had an intereſt to ſerve with the popes, the Engliſh were ſtill continued under the tyranny and oppreſſions of the court of Rome. It was however the firſt and the laſt conceſſion, which king Edward made to their uſurpation. For in a few months after, he was ſeized with a diſtemper, which put an end to his projects, and his days together. As ſoon as he was taken ill, he ſaid he knew that he ſhould die; and ſending for his ſon Edward who was then about two and twenty years old,

recommended to him very earneſtly theſe three things; to proſecute the war with Scotland till he had entirely ſubdued that nation; to ſend his heart to the holy land with two and thirty thouſand pounds ſterling which he had provided for it; and never to recall GAVESTON, whom his majeſty had baniſhed with the advice of his parliament, as a corrupter of the prince's morals. After giving his ſon this ſolemn charge, he cauſed himſelf to be carried on towards Scotland, that he might die in a country which he had conquered thrice. But his diſtemper encreaſing he could get no further than Burgh, a little town in Cumberland, where he reſigned his laſt breath in July thirteen hundred and ſeven, after a proſperous reign of four and thirty years.

Thus died EDWARD, the firſt of that name ſince the Norman conqueſt; a man of very noble and princely qualities, particularly of great valour, impartiality, prudence, and moderation. Taught by the misfortunes of his two immediate predeceſſors, he avoided all occaſions of quarrelling with the nobility, and choſe rather to give way a little, than to hazard his quiet by gratifying his reſentment; or to ſpeak of him perhaps with more propriety, he ſmothered his reſentment till he could gratify it without any danger. Tho military glory and conqueſt ſeem to have had the aſcendant in him, yet his reign was very remarkable for many excellent ſtatutes, which poliſhed, and improved the conſtitution. He had great ſucceſs in all his military undertakings, it muſt be owned; but yet his genius for enterprizes of that kind, made that ſucceſs appear rather to be the effect of his great abilities, than the gift of fortune. He excelled his father and grandfather ſo much in all reſpects, and ſo totally recovered that ſplendour to the kingdom which their weakneſs and miſrule had loſt, that the hiſtorians ſeem to think they can never be laviſh and extravagant in his praiſe. A very great king he was moſt certainly; and the conqueſt of Wales, and reducing Scotland under his ſovereignty, add a great luſtre to the reign of EDWARD. The only blemiſh of it, as I remember, was procuring the pope's abſolution from his oath to obſerve the charters; and as this was without provocation, it is without any excuſe. He had a very tall and graceful perſon; but his legs being a little too long in proportion to the reſt of his body, he had the name of Longſhanks. If ever he was guilty of a falſe ſtep, which was very ſeldom, he had judgment enough to diſcern it, and reſolution enough to correct it, except in the inſtance I juſt mentioned. He had real principles of juſtice, ho-

nour, and integrity, which reſtrained him from giving countenance to vice in any one. With all theſe excellent qualities, it is no wonder that Edward ſhould be as much beloved and reſpected by his ſubjects, as he was diſliked and dreaded by his enemies. If he did not entirely throw off the papal uſurpations, he gave a very conſiderable check to them; and ſhewed it was not for want of ſpirit, and a true diſcernment of his rights, but for want of power and opportunity, that he did not free his country from that yoke. He did as much towards it, as could well be expected for the times he lived in. If he could not prevent the oppreſſion of his magiſtrates, he took care to puniſh it: and always heard with patience the complaints and remonſtrances of his ſubjects. In ſhort it may be ſaid of Edward, that he was not only the king but the father of his people; and as he lived in honour and ſecurity, ſo his fame will be illuſtrious to the end of time.

Never did any prince aſcend the throne of England, in more favourable circumſtances, or amidſt greater hopes from his people, than Edward the ſecond, the late king's eldeſt ſon. But before he had performed the laſt offices to the great monarch from whom he deſcended, he forgot the oath that he had taken concerning Gaveston, which was alſo part of his father's dying charge, and recalled his favourite. His impatience to load a man with favours in the firſt days of his reign, whom the king and parliament had juſt driven from him, as the debaucher of his youth, blaſted all theſe agreeable hopes; and plainly ſhewed the people of England how unworthy he was of his birth, and of the crown he wore. The return of this favourite, upon whom all the royal power was transferred by Edward, was ſoon followed by the impriſonment of Langton biſhop of Cheſter, high treaſurer; who had been the chief promoter of Gaveston's baniſhment, and had often checked the ſallies of the king in his youth. In a few days after, he recalled the archbiſhop out of his exile, intending that he ſhould perform the ceremony of his coronation; and in order perhaps to run counter to all the meaſures of the king his father. But his grace being too infirm to reach England by the time appointed, he ſent over a commiſſion to three other prelates; out of whom his majeſty choſe Woodlock, biſhop of Wincheſter, to do the office. Among many violent and arbitrary ſteps which were taken by this king, and which it does not belong to this hiſtory to recount, he was determined to carry his prerogative thro the re-

ſtraints which had been laid by the canons of ſeveral councils, againſt non-reſidence, and pluralities. He therefore required the archbiſhop at his return to England, to exempt his chaplains from theſe canons; and that ſuch clergymen as officiated at court, or were entruſted with ſecular employments, might have inſtitution given without being tied down to reſidence, to a ſingle living, or to entring on prieſt's orders within a year. The archbiſhop perceiving that EDWARD was inclined to acquire an arbitrary power both in church and ſtate, thought it incumbent on him to ſtop his majeſty in his career, as far as it was in his grace's way to do it: and therefore repreſenting to him, that at this rate his chaplains would not only break thro the canons of the church, which he could not eaſily diſpenſe with, but would alſo receive the profits of their benefices without ſo much as being qualified to perform the office of an eccleſiaſtick, abſolutely refuſed to comply. From this time he ſtood upon ill terms with the court, and entered into a confederacy with the nobility to defend the rights of the church and ſtate.

About this time, a provincial council was held at London by the archbiſhop, in conſequence of an order from the pope, to make an enquiry into the behaviour of the knights templars in this kingdom; who had been charged with the moſt abominable and enormous vices in other countries. They were ſentenced by this ſynod to perpetual penance; and about a year or two after their whole order was condemned and ſuppreſſed by the pope at the council of Vienne. Soon after the breaking up of this council, we meet with the firſt beginning of a provincial ſummons to parliament. To this parliament the clergy were called by the premunitory clauſe, and that clauſe was executed in the uſual manner by the biſhops. But the archbiſhop had plainly ſomething then in hand, that produced the meaſures which were afterwards taken. For on the margin of the great regiſter of the chapter of Worceſter, there is this note fixed upon their procuratorial letters which they gave upon that writ; "that theſe "proxies were not delivered, becauſe the clergy is not bound to "obey the king's call, without the command of the archbi-"ſhop:" and by a proxy of the biſhop of LINCOLN, dated the day before this parliament was to meet, it appears that the ſuffragan biſhops had certain articles then on foot delivered by the archbiſhop for reformation, and "for the eaſe of the flock com-"mitted to them." Whether the clergy hereupon did not appear

pear at all, or not in any great numbers at this parliament, we are not told: but upon the prorogation of it, the king required the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the vicar general of the archbiſhop of York, who was abroad as the king's ambaſſador, to give notice, or indeed "to præmoniſh the lower clergy of their "whole provinces," as the biſhops of each dioceſe had been hitherto wont to do, of another parliament to be held about forty days after the date of the writ. The primate either really took ſomewhat amiſs in this new writ, or at leaſt pretended ſo to do. Perhaps he had no mind to execute ſuch a writ, as he knew would deſtroy the pretence which was ſet on foot, for the total withdrawing of the clergy from theſe councils; namely, that they were not bound to attend upon the king's ſummons, unleſs they were required to do ſo by the archbiſhop's mandate.

Whatever was the meaning of his diſlike, the king, by a ſecond writ, gave the archbiſhop a longer time to aſſemble the clergy; and promiſed, if there were any expreſſions in this new form prejudicial to his rights, that they ſhould be amended in the parliament that was to ſit. Upon this ſecond writ, the archbiſhop obeyed, and ſent out a provincial mandate to ſummon the clergy to the place of parliament. This provincial execution of the parliamentary præmunientes, was from this time very often, it may be ſaid very commonly, performed both ways; by the biſhops in their dioceſes, and by the archbiſhops throwout their provinces. The ſecond writ of the king, however qualified by the complement in it, was not well received by the primate; but the king inſiſted upon the execution of it, and ſo put an end to all the ſhifts of that ungentle prelate. In the ſame year, the archbiſhop called a provincial council of his ſuffragan biſhops; and in the cloſe of the mandate, he ordered them to ſignify to the deans and chapters, that if they came to the council and petitioned to be admitted into it, as the law required, their requeſt ſhould be complied with. Such was the power of the metropolitan, and the canonical practice at that time! This was probably the laſt of archbiſhop Winchelsea's public acts; for the next account that we have of him is of his death. After his ſchool education at Canterbury, in which it ſeems he gave great expectations of making a conſpicuous figure, he went to Paris, to improve himſelf in humanity, logick, and theology; and where his learning, good morals, and politeneſs, recommended him to the office of rector of that univerſity. When he had ac-

quitted himſelf to great ſatisfaction for ſome years in that ſtation, he came to Oxford, where he gained great reputation by his preaching, and public diſputations: and having the character of a man of conduct and experience, who underſtood buſineſs as well as books, he was unanimouſly choſen chancellor of the univerſity; to which he was very ſerviceable by his intereſt and abilities. The biſhop of London being informed of his great qualifications, gave him the archdeaconry of Eſſex, and a prebend at St. Paul's. He was very remarkable for his prudence, equity, and good temper, in the exerciſe of his juriſdiction; and in his reſidence on the prebend, which was ſeldom interrupted, he was diligent in preaching and expounding the holy ſcripture. Had the promotion of this eccleſiaſtick roſe no higher, what an excellent character had he died poſſeſſed of! But his elevation to the primacy, inſtead of adding a luſtre, threw a ſhade over his reputation. The reader has ſeen in the preceding pages, ſeveral inſtances of his turbulency in the reign of the glorious EDWARD, and one proof of his perfidiouſneſs in being at the head of a conſpiracy againſt that prince; for which he was baniſhed, and ſuſpended, with ignominy and diſgrace. This is the dark ſide of the archbiſhop's character: but as he had many noble qualities to ſet againſt it, the reader will excuſe my bringing before him ſome other particulars of his grace's conduct, which he has not ſeen. It muſt be allowed that his ſpirit ſunk under the accuſation of conſpiring againſt the king; "and a wounded ſpi-"rit who can bear?" But in no other inſtance was the courage of his mind ever deficient. He preſerved at court, and with king EDWARD, a freedom which ſurprized every body, which the great men revered, and which bad men trembled at. The greatneſs of his mind, was no leſs uncommon, than the courage of it: for beſides his ſupporting young ſcholars at the univerſity, whoſe genius ſet them above mechanic employments, and whoſe parents were indigent, he relieved above three thouſand poor twice a week at his houſe, and ſent thoſe of them aſſiſtance who could not come for it. But this was not all. Where the people of a condition above the common poor, were fallen to decay by any accident or misfortunes, and yet whoſe modeſty prevented them from ſolliciting charity, theſe the archbiſhop relieved in an extraordinary manner, according to their wants. He was very moderate in his deſires, temperate in his enjoyments, and a great example of regularity in every part of life: grave without moroſeneſs, chearful without levity, and living much in the world

without loving it in the leaſt. Free from any ambition himſelf, he had the greateſt regard to merit and learning in other men: not bartering away the preferments which he had to diſpoſe of in the church, in exchange for civil places for ſome relations, nor providing for others with benefices as an eſtate, whether or no they had any merit or juſt pretenſions: not expending his riches in pomp and luxury, to rival or exceed the ſtate and tables of the great; nor yet hoarding up, in a groveling and a ſordid manner, the emoluments of the church, to eſtabliſh a name, and raiſe his family. In ſhort it may be ſaid of Winchelsea, that if he was not the beſt and the greateſt prelate that had filled the chair of Canterbury for many ages, yet he acted the part of one that was: he had ſo many virtues and good qualities as a man and as a biſhop, that one cannot help lamenting there ſhould be the leaſt ſtain whatſoever upon his memory.

After the primacy had been vacant about nine months, the convent unanimouſly concurred in the choice of Cobham dean of Saliſbury; a man of uncommon learning for his age; and ſo remarkably regular and devout, that he was called by way of preeminence "the good eccleſiaſtick." But the pope at the king's requeſt annulled this election; and Reynolds biſhop of Worceſter was tranſlated to the ſee of Canterbury, notwithſtanding the noiſe that we have ſeen had been made at Rome about the freedom of election. This prelate, had by ſome means or other, not the moſt incorrupt, obtained the favour of Clement the fifth, then in the papal chair, to a moſt extraordinary degree. He gave his grace a bull, ſoon after his conſecration, to make a provincial viſitation for three years enſuing, and to ſuſpend the juriſdiction of his ſuffragans for that time: he had authority to viſit places exempted as well as others, and to reſtore two hundred eccleſiaſticks deprived for irregularity: he had a power by another bull, to diſpenſe with a hundred who were under age to hold a benefice; to abſolve a hundred laymen who had laid violent hands upon the clergy, and who without this privilege in the archbiſhop could be abſolved only by the pope himſelf: he had a power to grant a faculty, by another bull, to forty clergymen, which might enable them to hold more than one benefice with cure of ſouls, notwithſtanding the canon of ſeveral councils: in ſhort he had an authority to give an indulgence for any crimes committed within a hundred days laſt paſt, to any perſons who ſhould ſhew themſelves penitent and confeſs to him in this viſitation. It muſt be owned theſe

were

were extraordinary privileges indeed; and whoever conſiders how hardly the court of Rome gave up any of its ſovereign power to an Engliſh prelate, will be apt to ſuſpect I believe with the hiſtorian who relates it, that the archbiſhop's gold had purchaſed this diſtinguiſhed honour. In the following year, the primate ſummoned a provincial council to meet at London; and the king earneſtly preſſed him by his letters from York, in his way to Scotland, to move the clergy to give his majeſty an effectual aid. Theſe he followed with letters to all the biſhops of the province, and to the chief of the abbots, and priors, three days after. In conſequence of this, they granted him a tenth, to be paid one half in this year, and the other half at the ſame time in the year following. Having had this ſucceſs in one province, EDWARD immediately iſſued out his writ, for a convocation to be held within fifteen days after the date of it in the other: and after ſome delay they granted the tenth as he had deſired. The king having received this bounty from the clergy, paſſed the famous ſtatute, called "articuli cleri," and confirmed it in the way of a charter. The deſign of this act, was to relieve the juriſdiction of the church, to put a ſtop to prohibitions, and to prevent the encroachment of the temporal courts.

The kingdom was involved in ſo much war and confuſion thro the weakneſs and miſrule of the reigning prince, that there is very litle matter for eccleſiaſtical hiſtory during this period, more than frequent provincial councils held by orders from the king to obtain ſupplies of the clergy; and little more was done in them. Were all theſe to be recited particularly and at length, they would only ſerve to let us know the frequent neceſſities which this king had of money; that the uſage of theſe times was for the clergy of each province to tax their own ſpiritualities, not in parliament, but in convocation by themſelves, in a full meeting of the province: and that both the provinces came nationally together in parliament, where their lay eſtates were taxed in common with all the laity. In a parliament which met at Weſtminſter about this time, the barons being enraged at the adminiſtration of the two SPENCERS, the king's favourites, paſſed a vote for their baniſhment and for the forfeiture of their eſtates. Therefore in one of theſe provincial councils, the biſhops and prelates declared that order to be null and void in law, becauſe it was done without their conſent, who as peers of parliament ought to have concurred in it; and in the next ſeſſion this declaration was recited and allowed.

The pope had not yet laid aſide his encroachment on the freedom of elections to vacant biſhopricks. At the inſtance of the kings of France and England, he ſet aſide the nomination of the monks of Durham, in favour of Lewis Beaumont of the houſe of France, and a near relation of the queen's; to whom he pretended to convey the temporal as well as ſpiritual juriſdiction. But the biſhop was obliged to renounce this clauſe at his doing homage to the king. The next year the ſee of Wincheſter becoming vacant, the pope regarding neither the election of the convent, nor the king's recommendation, preferred his legate R. Asser then in England, to that biſhoprick. The primate notwithſtanding the great favours he had received from Rome, which is another reaſon for ſuſpecting that they were bought, was ſo far juſt to the rights of the crown and church of England, as to refuſe to conſecrate the legate. The biſhop of London however had no ſuch ſcruples; but having more regard to the holy ſee, than to his king and country, performed this ceremony; and the legate was condeſcending enough to renounce the clauſe of the temporalities. The ſame exerciſe of ſovereign power appeared at the ſame time in the election to the ſee of Hereford; and in ſpite of all the king's endeavours and entreaties to the contrary, his holineſs promoted Adam Orleton to that dignity. The biſhop, finding the court ſo ſtrenuous againſt his promotion, was eaſily enough prevailed on to join with the barons againſt the king. The king having got the better of the conteſt, and retaining his reſentment againſt the biſhop, who had been put upon him by force, was determined upon his ruin.

In the next parliament therefore which he called, articles of high treaſon were exhibited againſt Orleton; in which he was accuſed of holding correſpondence with the king's enemies, appearing with the barons in the field againſt him, and giving countenance and aſſiſtance to the rebellion. When the articles were red, the biſhop addreſſing himſelf to the king, inſiſted upon the privilege of his character; that he neither could, nor ought to anſwer an impeachment of this nature, without the leave of his metropolitan, who next to the pope was his immediate judge: nor was the acquieſcence or conſent of the reſt of his brethren the biſhops likewiſe needleſs. The reverend bench, when he had finiſhed, roſe up all of them to a man, in order to entreat the king's forgiveneſs and favour to this prelate: and finding they could make no impreſſion on his majeſty, they inſiſted alſo upon his

his character, and claimed the privilege of the church. At the breaking up of the houſe, the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY took him into his cuſtody, which the king connived at; with a deſign however to call him to an account upon theſe articles, in another place. Accordingly in a few days after, the biſhop was brought to a trial in the King's Bench; which being a direct violation of the liberties of the clergy, ORLETON refuſed to plead; and the two archbiſhops coming into the court with their croſſes erected, carried him off in triumph. As deſirous as the king and his favourites might be to get rid of this prelate, and tho the jury found him guilty of every article of the charge, yet the two primates having made ſo vigorous an oppoſition to the legality of his trial, the judges declined paſſing ſentence, and the affair was referred to parliament. The king however ſeized his temporalities, till the archbiſhop made this prelate's peace a little after. Well perhaps would it have been for the king, if his grace could have made his heart a little better; and if this fiery biſhop would have "ſtudied to be quiet and to do his own buſineſs." But he was no ſooner freed from this troubleſome affair, than he entered into a conſpiracy with the biſhop of LINCOLN, who had likewiſe been of the barons faction, to create ſuch troubles to the king and his adminiſtration, as in the end muſt overwhelm them. The reader will not expect here a detail of this plot, and of the ſeveral ſteps taken on both ſides to carry it on, and to countermine it. I muſt content myſelf with obſerving, that the queen, with the aid and advice of theſe two prelates, and the diſaffected barons cauſed the king her huſband to be depoſed for male-adminiſtration, and ſet her eldeſt ſon EDWARD upon the throne of England. This reſolution, ſtrange and unuſual as it was, was publiſhed in Weſtminſter hall with the approbation of the common people, and with the conſent of the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY, and the other prelates. The archbiſhop, to give a ſanction and flouriſh to the rebellion, made a ſpeech to the people that were in the hall; enlarging upon theſe words as a text, "the voice of the people the "voice of GOD;" in which he exhorted the audience to pray to GOD for his bleſſing upon the young prince.

This reſolution being proclaimed without a ſingle word ſaid in favour of the poor unhappy king, the biſhops of HEREFORD and LINCOLN were ſent to perſuade him to quit the government, and twelve commiſſioners followed to receive his reſignation. Nothing could ſhew more plainly the reſentment of the parliament,

nor the fierce and ill mannered ſpirit of theſe prelates, than the former directing, and the latter accepting, this deputation; and they acquitted themſelves in it accordingly. Let a weak prince have behaved himſelf ever ſo ill, there is ſomething ſo moving in ſuch a diſtreſs, as to be obliged to quit his royalty and to live at the mercy of his enemies, that the heart muſt be hard indeed, which is not touched with compaſſion and tenderneſs at ſuch a ſcene. The good prelates however, inſtead of giving him conſolation, inſulted over his misfortunes; and endeavoured to make him believe, that he was depoſed with a view to eaſe him of the weight of government, that he might live more happily than he had done before. Having thus made this unhappy monarch the ſport of their malice, who had already been the ſport of fortune, they added, that unleſs he gave up the crown to his ſon upon this vote of parliament, the nation would renounce their allegeance, and ſet aſide his family: and having ſaid this, they left him. When the commiſſioners arrived to receive his reſignation, the king came out of his room in a mourning habit, and with looks which demonſtrated his inward trouble. As he was already acquainted with their buſineſs, ſo the ſight of that formidable power which had deſpoiled him of his crown, made ſuch an impreſſion upon his mind, that he fell into a ſwoon; from which he was with difficulty recovered. But as ſoon as he came to himſelf, he told them, that he was ſorry for his miſconduct, and ſubmitted to all that was required of him with ſo much the greater reſignation, as his ſins were the only cauſe of his misfortunes. He thanked his ſubjects for the regard they had ſhewn his ſon, expreſſed great concern for the averſion which they had entertained againſt himſelf, and delivering up the crown and ſceptre and other enſigns of royalty into the hands of the commiſſioners, reſigned the government.

Thus ended the reign of Edward the ſecond, in the forty third year of his age; and that I may make an end of his ſtory all at once, in a few months afterwards he ended his life, amidſt ſuch violent pains, and in ſuch a horrible manner, as ſhocks one's humanity to relate. The queen, and the biſhop of Hereford, and the other principal conſpirators, being alarmed at the compaſſion which began to be publicly ſhewn at the rigorous uſage of this prince, and not thinking themſelves ſafe whilſt he was alive, ſent letters to thoſe who had the care of him, with very broad intimations to put him to death. The biſhop ſent a latin letter

with this expreſſion in it, "EDVARDUM occidere nolite timere bo-"num eſt," which according to the different pointing, might either be conſtrued as a warrant to aſſaſſinate EDWARD, or as a diſſuaſive from ſuch a crime. The keepers, interpreting this ambiguous ſentence in the moſt natural ſenſe, and in the ſenſe which was certainly intended by the biſhop, that they might prevent any noiſe held a pillow upon his face as he lay in bed, and run a hot ſpit up his body that there might be no ſigns of a violent death. The murderers, inſtead of receiving the reward which they expected, were obliged to fly their country to eſcape puniſhment, and one of them was beheaded; the queen was impriſoned eight and twenty years in the caſtle of Riſing in Norfolk; the earl of MARCH, whom ſhe had taken infamouſly to her bed before ſhe had got her huſband depoſed, was hanged at Tyburn ignominiouſly; but ſo dark and unſearcheable are the ways of providence, notwithſtanding the great ſhare which the biſhop of HEREFORD had in the execrable murder of this unhappy prince, GOD thought fit to permit him to go down to the grave, in the common courſe of nature. As to EDWARD the ſecond, he was moſt certainly a ſufferer for not having ſenſe and ſpirit enough to puniſh his favourites who had miſled him. He was a much more weak than a wicked prince; and ſo thoroughly reſembled HENRY the third, in his fooliſh humour of giving himſelf up entirely to his miniſters, without concerning himſelf about the conſequence, that the ſame character will agree to both.

The ſceptre being wreſted thus out of the hands of the king, his ſon prince EDWARD was a few days afterwards proclaimed, and crowned at Weſtminſter, by the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY. Towards the latter end of this year, the ſee of Exeter being vacant, REYNOLDS, by the order of the queen mother, conſecrated I. BERKLY, in deſpite of a proviſion from Rome, by which his holineſs had reſerved that biſhoprick to himſelf. The pope was ſo enraged at the archbiſhop for his compliance with the court, that he immediately wrote him a letter; in which he treated his grace with ſuch contempt, and reproached and threatened him with ſo much ſatire and inſolence, that REYNOLDS ſunk under his holineſs's diſpleaſure, and died in a few months. He was a prelate more diſtinguiſhed by his politeneſs and experience in buſineſs, than by his learning and abilities; and if he had lived in times of perfect tranquility, he would probably have died with a good character. But in the conteſt between the king and the queen's faction, he forgot his

his gratitude, and the duty which he owed his prince, and went in to all the popular and violent meaſures againſt him. He did not ſeem to want principles of honour and honeſty, but he had not courage of mind enough to act up to them, when acting up to them became dangerous and unfaſhionable. Thus virtue, without fortitude, in a public character, becomes in a manner inſignificant; and it is ſcarcely poſſible for a coward to be an honeſt man. Soon after the death of Reynolds, the convent elected Mepham with the king's conſent: and by the intereſt of a good preſent which they ſent to Rome, he was confirmed and conſecrated by the pope. The new archbiſhop was ſcarcely returned to England before he held a provincial council, in which a rubrick of the principal holy-days was ſettled, and the manner how they ſhould be obſerved. In the ſame year he began a metropolitical viſitation, and made a progreſs thro the ſouthern dioceſes without any oppoſition; but when he drew near the weſt, the biſhop of Exeter appeared on the frontiers of his dioceſe with a body of men in arms, and refuſed to admit him. Had the archbiſhop been left to his liberty, it is probable the controverſy would have ended in a manner ſomewhat foreign to his character. But the king, being made acquainted with the diſpute, recalled his grace from his viſitation, and ſaved him from the diſhonour of being vanquiſhed. The diſappointment however which he met with in this project, which he was obliged to drop, it is ſaid, threw him into a fever in a ſhort time after, of which he died.

When the king was informed of the death of Mepham, he recommended Stratford, biſhop of Wincheſter and lord chancellor, for his ſucceſſor. The pope intending to fill the ſee of Wincheſter without the king, conſented to his majeſty's nomination of the primate; and the convent of Canterbury finding Stratford was approved of, made a virtue of neceſſity, and elected him archbiſhop. Upon this promotion Orleton was tranſlated to the biſhoprick of Wincheſter by the pope; not only without the approbation of the king, but expreſly againſt his conſent, at the inſtance of the king of France. Edward went ſo far in his oppoſition to this removal, that he exhibited articles of high crimes and miſdemeanours againſt the biſhop at the court of Rome. But Orleton had addreſs enough to baffle the proſecution, and to recover the favour of king Edward. In ſhort the encroachments of the holy ſee, in filling up all the vacancies in the Engliſh church by their proviſions, were grown to that exceſs, that

the right of elections, and the king's consent, were almost entirely overborne. About this time therefore, the king takes notice in his letters patents and in a remonstrance to the pope, that his predecessors having endowed the cathedrals had formerly nominated to them, upon a vacancy, by virtue of their prerogative: that afterwards at the request of the clergy, and out of regard to the then pope, the king of England granted the chapters the liberty of chusing their bishop; upon condition that at the death or translation of any bishop, the chapter should be obliged to certify the king, and desire his licence to proceed to a new election, and that the bishop elect had the royal assent. But these expostulations were of no effect; the prerogative was still insulted, and EDWARD was too much engaged with his military atchievements to attend to church affairs at present. A great part of this king's reign therefore, which redounded so much to the glory of England, by his unparallelled successes by sea and land, afford little matter for ecclesiastical history. For the better security of the revenues of the church, a survey was taken of all the glebelands in England, and returned into the exchequer, where it still remains: and a statute was made in a parliament held at Westminster, to secure the temporalities of bishops and abbots, and put them into safer hands than the king's officers, who usually committed great waste and ravage.

Notwithstanding the great favour which STRATFORD was in with the king, before and after his elevation to the primacy, yet by a sudden revolution, not unusual in the courts of princes, we find him in the utmost disgrace. An expedition against France having been advised and provided for by parliament, the king at his going away left the sole administration of the kingdom with the archbishop. But the war proving very expensive, and in danger of being unsuccessful for want of a supply, the king sent to STRATFORD for a quick and large remittance. The archbishop finding the exchequer exhausted, contrary to his expectation, informed the king that his necessities proceeded not so much from the charge of the expedition, as from the prodigality and bad management of his courtiers. The king being unable to carry on his operations, and his courtiers being reproached, the progress of the war was suspended, and EDWARD returned to England for a fresh supply of men and money. These were granted him very liberally; and after he had fought and conquered the French fleet which he met with in his passage, he sate down before Tournay

with a great army. But the ſiege of that place proving long and expenſive, he was again in great ſtreights for want of money: and the archbiſhop not being able to make the remittances which his majeſty ſtood in need of, the expedition proved abortive, and the king was obliged to make a truce which broke all his meaſures.

A young, an active, and a warlike prince like Edward, could not eaſily put up with a diſappointment of this nature, eſpecially when ſucceſs was almoſt in ſight. It is impoſſible but that ſomebody muſt be made a ſacrifice to his reſentment: and to ſhift it from themſelves, his courtiers thought it beſt to lay all the blame upon the archbiſhop; againſt whom appearances were not wanting. The king therefore at his return to London, made a formal complaint againſt the primate, as the ſole cauſe of his diſappointment; accuſed him of having engaged his majeſty in the enterprize by his advice, of going over into the intereſt of his enemy, and after ſpending ſo much blood and treaſure, of perſuading the king to drop his pretenſions and diſband his army. In ſhort the king accuſed him, of failing in his engagements to furniſh ſupplies for the expedition, and of bringing a blemiſh upon the public credit; and a greater debt upon his majeſty and the kingdom. The archbiſhop perceiving that the tide run high againſt him, and that his enemies were reſolved to puſh him home, endeavoured to guard as well as he could againſt their influence with the king, by repreſenting to him the bad conſequences of giving ear to the informations of ſelf intereſted and malicious people, who might prove the ruin of the beſt, and moſt faithful miniſters, and involve the publick in confuſion. But leſt this private expoſtulation ſhould have no weight in the cloſet, from which his enemies kept him at a diſtance by threatning to diſpatch him, he publiſhed ſeveral articles of excommunication with the uſual ſolemnities, againſt all thoſe who diſturbed the kingdom, who offered violence to the clergy in their perſons or eſtates, who broke in upon the privileges of the church and the liberties of the great charter, or who were guilty of falſe informations, eſpecially againſt their biſhop or metropolitan, in order to accuſe them of high treaſon, or any capital crime, without ground or evidence.

This excommunication being denounced in the cathedral of Canterbury, and ſent to all the ſuffragan biſhops in the province, to be publiſhed ſeverally by them in their reſpective churches, the king

king ſent a letter to the biſhop of LONDON, and the convent of Canterbury, charging the archbiſhop with miſconduct in the manner I have related. The archbiſhop drew up his defence againſt the king's accuſation, article by article: after a great deal of ridiculous flouriſh about the ſuperior dignity of the ſacerdotal character, which is to direct, and not to be directed by kings, according to the weakneſs of thoſe times, and which in honour of this primate I ſhould have been glad to have concealed, he ſtates the facts on which his accuſation is grounded very clearly, and ſhews his innocence of the crimes charged upon him: his defence being publiſhed throwout the province, and giving great offence to the king or his miniſters, a ſhort and ſharp reply was made in a letter from EDWARD to the Engliſh biſhops; in which, ſheltering themſelves under the pretext, that the king's honour would not permit him to argue the caſe or purſue the diſpute any longer with a perverſe and contentious ſubject, the miniſters contented themſelves with giving harſh and uncourtly language to the archbiſhop; and without attempting to falſify his facts, inſiſted on the charge againſt him to be true. This was ſoon followed by a proceeding againſt him at law, in the nature of an information; to which his grace, claiming the privilege of his peerage, refuſed to plead. At a parliament called a little after, to which a ſafe conduct had been ſent the primate by the king, he was ſtopped by the lord ſteward and lord chamberlain in his majeſty's name, and charged not to go into the houſe, till he had made his appearance in the court of exchequer, and anſwered the articles laid againſt him.

In obedience to this order, the archbiſhop appeared in that court, received a copy of his charge, and promiſing to give in an anſwer in due time, was permitted to go into the houſe of lords. When he had taken his ſeat, he told the peers, that the rights and liberties of the church, the intereſt and honour of the king and kingdom, had brought him thither: and ſince ſeveral crimes had been laid to his charge, he was very deſirous to clear himſelf from thoſe imputations in full parliament. But the houſe was ſoon adjourned; the miniſters did not expect a challenge of this ſort; they relied on their power and menaces; and no progreſs was made in his accuſation or defence. The next time the houſe of lords was ſitting, the archbiſhop attempted to go in, and was ſtopped by one of the court, who made uſe of the king's name to forbid him. The archbiſhop with good reaſon reſenting

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ing this repulſe, addreſſed himſelf to the people in the lobby, and ſaid that as the king had ſummoned him by his writ to parliament, he inſiſted upon his right as one of the greateſt peers of the realm; and demanded the liberty of coming into the houſe: but when he found the doors were guarded, and his entrance was impracticable, being likewiſe threatened and ill treated by ſome of the guards, his grace began to grow warm, and taking his croſs in his hand, proteſting he would not ſtir till he had admittance according to his privilege, he poured out his curſes on thoſe who miſrepreſented him to the king, and occaſioned him this ill uſage. At this time, there was a great debate in the houſe about the king's intention to have him tried in the Exchequer; at the concluſion of which it was determined, "that "the peers ſhould be tried only by the peers in parliament." The archbiſhop was upon this admitted into the houſe, where in the preſence of the king, he offered to put himſelf on his defence, and deſired he might be arraigned before his peers in parliament. The king conſented to this motion; but his grace's enemies were ſtill unprepared to attack him further than with their libels. In ſhort the king's complaints againſt this prelate in the letters which I have mentioned, the articles drawn up againſt him, and the other parade about bringing him to a trial, ſeem only deſigned to amuſe the people.

The king, it is probable, had been impoſed upon and miſled, and perhaps had been much too liberal to his favourites according to the cuſtom of his family. Great taxes, however, had been granted for the war with France, the expectations of the people had been diſappointed, and the expedition did not in any degree anſwer the vaſt expence. To keep the people therefore in good humour, or at leaſt to prevent their backwardneſs in giving a freſh ſupply to ſupport the war, the miſcarriage muſt be laid at ſome door or other; on none ſo naturally as at the archbiſhop's, who had the ſole direction of affairs at home, and who might probably ſink under the weight of the king's accuſation. By this expedient, the reader ſees, his majeſty's improvident and too liberal bounty would be covered, the courtiers who had ſhared it would alſo lie under ſhelter, and the people would be better diſpoſed to grant another ſubſidy. I know very well it has been ſuſpected by ſome, that the archbiſhop was gained by the pope, to clog the war by detaining the ſupplies: and RAPIN, upon what authority I dont know, I believe upon none at all but that

of his own prejudice againſt the clergy, has charged him with a deſign "of raiſing a commotion among the people by his de-"fence, and thro fear of being abandoned, of chuſing, tho "ſome of the lateſt, to caſt himſelf upon the king's mercy." But there are two plain material facts which ſtare an hiſtorian ſo much in the face, that a man muſt have a tolerable ſhare of confidence who can perſiſt in the accuſation of this upright prelate. In the firſt place, it is more than probable, that the king was ſatisfied of his integrity; becauſe at the breaking up of this very parliament, when he made another expedition into France, his majeſty received the archbiſhop into his wonted favour, and made him, if not the ſole, one of the principal miniſters of ſtate, during his abſence. In the next place, at the parliament held two years after, the king himſelf commanded "that the articles "of impeachment drawn up againſt JOHN archbiſhop of Can-"terbury, ſhould be brought into the houſe to be annulled, and "declared inſignificant:" the motive aſſigned for which order is, "becauſe the matter contained in them, is neither reaſonable, "nor true." If this is not a full and authentic evidence of the archbiſhop's innocence, then words are without meaning; and there is no defence to be made againſt malice and defamation.

It has already been taken notice of, to what an exceſs the ſee of Rome had carried its encroachments on the church of England, in diſpoſing of vacancies by way of proviſion, which the king had remonſtrated againſt in vain. Inſtead of reforming this abuſe, which was ſo much the more intolerable, as all the benefices were beſtowed on foreigners, the pope now in the chair, had wrote to the king to withdraw theſe complaints againſt proviſions, which in his opinion were an undeniable prerogative of the holy ſee. This letter having diſcovered that it was to no purpoſe to apply to Rome for a redreſs, and the king being now at leiſure to attend to the regulations which were become neceſſary, a parliament was called, which among other excellent laws enacted the ſtatute of Proviſors; that in caſe any perſon was convicted of bringing for the future the like proviſions into the kingdom, he was to remain in priſon till he had paid a fine and ranſom to the king at his pleaſure, and made ſatisfaction to the party injured. The next year a parliament was held at Weſtminſter, and in conſideration of a conſiderable aid from the clergy to ſupport the war, the liberties of the church were further explained

and confirmed by parliament, againſt the encroachments of the ſecular courts.

Whilſt the king was reaping immortal glory with his arms in France, in which Edward the black prince his ſon had a great ſhare, archbiſhop Stratford died; after filling the chair of Canterbury above thirteen years, and adminiſtring the affairs of the kingdom in his majeſty's abſence a great part of that time, with much advantage to the nation, and, the calumny which I have juſt refuted notwithſtanding, with great honour to himſelf. In the general defection from the late king Edward, this prelate, then in the ſee of Wincheſter, retained his allegeance very firmly; and in the beginning of this reign, whilſt the king was in his minority, was for that reaſon looked upon with an evil eye at court. But as ſoon as the king took the reins of government into his hands and began to diſcern men and things, he could not overlook the fidelity and good conduct of this biſhop. He took him immediately into his confidence, gave him the great ſeal, recommended him to the primacy when it was vacant, and gave him the direction of all his affairs. Nor was his majeſty's confidence miſplaced. The archbiſhop was a man of learning, in the civil law eſpecially, and no leſs a faithful, than an able ſervant of the crown. His diſintereſtedneſs in his ſtate employments, may put the boaſted patriotiſm of our days to ſhame. He croſſed the channel two and thirty times in the public ſervice, beſides ſeveral journeys towards Scotland whilſt he was biſhop, for which he never received above three hundred pounds out of the Exchequer. He built a fine collegiate church at Stratford where he was born; and during all the time of his primacy, diſtributed money to forty people with his own hands every day; beſides the remains of his table to other indigent perſons, and very large aſſiſtances to poor lying-in women. To his exemplary charity, may be added his gentleneſs and good nature to his clergy; whom he rather choſe to govern, by a little relaxation and indulgence, than by too ſtrict an adherence to the letter of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. I have not purpoſely waved mentioning his ſpirit under the king's accuſation, as what may fully his character; but I reſerve it to compleat and finiſh his panegyrick. A miniſter who had thus ably and thus faithfully ſerved his king and country, in the higheſt poſts of the church and ſtate, owed it to his own character to aſſert his innocence in the manner he did,

did, with fortitude and freedom. The prince, who could ſo far forget himſelf as to enter into the cabals of his courtiers againſt ſuch a miniſter, deſerved to be treated with as little ceremony, not as RAPIN charges him with, but as archbiſhop STRATFORD uſed in his defence. An honeſt man overborne by ſuperior power, let it be in what ſtation it will, has no other reſource but in his own magnanimity; and the archbiſhop was happy in ſuch a ſpirit. Had he ſunk under the weight of the king's diſpleaſure, ſtirred up by the treachery of inſidious courtiers, his innocence muſt have been ſacrificed to their craft and malice; and archbiſhop STRATFORD would have deſcended, characterized to poſterity, as a corrupt and unfaithful miniſter of ſtate, where he is now recorded for an able politician, a diſintereſted patriot, and an excellent metropolitan.

The two immediate ſucceſſors of the archbiſhop, dying before their characters were compleated, S. ISLIP was elected by the monks of Canterbury; at that time ſecretary of ſtate, and keeper of the privy ſeal to king EDWARD. But the pope taking no notice of the late act againſt proviſions, overlooked this election of the monks; and ſent a bull to declare ISLIP archbiſhop of Canterbury, by virtue of which he was conſecrated at St. Paul's. The next year, the metropolitan and his ſuffragans petitioned for a redreſs of grievances, at a parliament held at Weſtminſter; and procured a ſtatute in their favour; confirming all the privileges and franchiſes formerly granted to the clergy, againſt the encroachments of the ſecular judges. After the receſs of this parliament, the old controverſy between the two archbiſhops, about carrying the croſs erected in each other's province, was compromiſed by the king; who determined the privilege to both, but that his grace of YORK, within two months after his coming into the province of Canterbury, ſhould make a preſent to that cathedral of a jewel of the value of forty pounds. At the next parliament held at Weſtminſter, the famous ſtatute of Premunire paſſed, againſt thoſe who ſhould draw cauſes of property into foreign courts, and apply to the ſee of Rome for juſtice; by which they were put out of the king's protection, their eſtates and moveables forfeited to his majeſty, and their bodies impriſoned and ranſomed at his will. The Engliſh began to awake out of their ſuperſtitious dream of the prerogatives of the holy ſee: and as the papal empire had been continually getting ground in England, from the time of AUSTIN the firſt Roman

miſſionary, till the reign of Edward the firſt, ſo the ſtatute of Mortmain paſſed in that reign may be ſaid to have put a ſtop to it, from whence it has been gradually on the decline.

The court of Rome, tho nettled to the laſt degree, at this, and the preceding act againſt proviſions, yet continued its oppreſſions in ſome meaſure, as tho they had not been paſſed; and the king who had no inclination to break entirely with that court, was contented to leave the ſtatutes in force without vigorouſly putting them in execution. King Edward had too many, and too important affairs abroad, to give much attention to what paſſed in England; or however to embroil himſelf in a conteſt with the pope, further than was abſolutely neceſſary for his quiet, and the prerogatives of the crown. Upon the death of archbiſhop Islip, of whom nothing conſiderable enough is related to form a character, the pope, at the king's inſtance, tranſlated Langham from Ely to the ſee of Canterbury; tho his holineſs had but juſt before received a mortifying ſtroke from the king and parliament of England. The great acquiſitions which Edward had made now in France, put it into the head of this pope, Urban the ſixth, that the preſent juncture was very proper to demand the tribute which king John had bound himſelf and his ſucceſſors to pay to the holy ſee, and which had been diſcontinued almoſt all this reign. In this preſumption, he was pleaſed to require the payment with ſo much haughtineſs, and ſo little diffidence, that he nominated beforehand commiſſioners to ſummon Edward before him, in caſe of his refuſal. As pacifick as his majeſty was inclined to be with the pope, that none of his great deſigns abroad might be interrupted, yet he could not put up with theſe imperious proceedings from the court of Rome. A parliament was therefore called, in which it was reſolved by the three eſtates of the realm, after taking two or three days time to conſider of this demand, that neither king John, nor any other king of England, had power to bring his dominions under ſuch ſervitude and ſubjection, without the conſent of parliament; that if the neceſſities of that king had compelled him to this meaſure it was null in itſelf, as being contrary to the oath, which he took at his coronation: and therefore if the pope ſhould by any means whatever attempt to ſupport his unjuſt pretenſions, that the whole nation would unite with all their power to oppoſe him. A reſolution made with ſo much deliberation, and ſupported with ſo much vigour and unanimity, freed not only Edward, but all the kings of England for ever after, from this infamous tribute.

The archbiſhop of CANTERBURY being much oppreſſed with debt, ſummoned all the clergy of his dioceſe to a ſynod, in which he obtained ſix pence in the mark of them towards the relief of his neceſſities. After this, in a viſitation of the univerſity of Oxford, he condemned thirty erroneous articles which had got footing there; and about the ſame time confirmed ſome hymns in honour of St. CATHARINE, which is the ſubſtance of what was done by him in the primacy. For in a few months after, he was made a cardinal, and reſigned the ſee of Canterbury; which was conferred by the pope on WITTLESEY biſhop of Worceſter. The peace between France and England being broken by the perfidy of the French, and the war being renewed with great vigour, the king, in regard of the great damage and danger which might happen to the realm by reaſon of this war, as he ſet forth in his proclamation, commanded "all the prelates aſſembled in parliament to appear in its defence; and to cauſe their tenants, dependants, monks, parſons, and vicars, and all other eccleſiaſticks, to be prepared for the field in a military manner, in order to encounter the force, and diſappoint the malice of his enemies." Notwithſtanding the canons which forbid the clergy engaging in a military profeſſion, yet the king and the biſhops were of opinion, and they were in the right, that the preſervation of the government from a foreign arbitrary power, was of infinitely more moment than eccleſiaſtical diſcipline.

It began about this time to be generally complained of as a grievance, that the government of the kingdom had been for a long time entirely managed by churchmen, and therefore the temporal lords and commons, aſſembled in parliament, petitioned the king that a law might paſs to prevent ſuch an inconvenience for the future; "and that none but laymen might be capable of the offices of chancellor, treaſurer, keeper of the privy ſeal, barons of the exchequer, and other great places of the civil liſt." Whether it was owing to the forwardneſs, and love-rule humour of the clergy, that they inſinuated themſelves into all employments, how improper ſoever to their profeſſion; whether the neceſſities of the ſeveral kings, who from their frequent wars had occaſion for all their great men in military commands, obliged them always to make uſe of the clergy for the places of truſt and council; or whether, as the clergy were generally ſingle and unmarried, and had no deſign to raiſe a family, our princes

thought them the fitteſt perſons to be truſted with their ſubſidies and revenues, it is impoſſible for us to ſay. Each ſide of this queſtion has had its advocates, and perhaps there has been ſome truth in each. But the moſt natural way of accounting for the clergy's being poſſeſſed of the great offices of ſtate, ſeems to me I confeſs, that they were for many ages the only people of learning and education, and conſequently the only men able to adminiſter the affairs of the king and kingdom. Be this however as it might. King Edward's anſwer to the petition was, "that he would ordain upon this point, as it ſhall ſeem beſt to him by the advice of his good council." Accordingly the biſhops were removed from the offices of chancellour, treaſurer, and privy ſeal; in order to make a trial of this expedient, and to give ſome ſatisfaction in this article of the addreſs.

About this time died Wittlesey archbiſhop of Canterbury, who did nothing of any moment during his primacy, except procuring a bull from the pope, to free the univerſity of Oxford from the juriſdiction of the biſhop of Lincoln, and to govern themſelves by their own officers and ſtatutes. Upon the death of this prelate, the monks of Canterbury elected Easton, an Engliſhman, but a cardinal then at Rome, for their archbiſhop. The king was ſo diſguſted with this choice of a metropolitan, who had lived ſo long out of the kingdom, and was ſo much in the intereſt of that court, that he had an inclination to expel the convent, and baniſh them for ever. But the pope interpoſing, to ſave the monks, and appeaſe the king, or rather I believe to keep alive his own pretenſions, tranſlated Sudbury biſhop of London, with his majeſty's approbation to the ſee of Canterbury. The nation was now become ſo generally averſe to thoſe pretenſions of his holineſs, that in the parliament of the following year, a complaint was made of the proviſions, notwithſtanding the late act, in favour of cardinals and other foreigners; who drew out of the kingdom twenty thouſand marks a year from the benefices they enjoyed, beſides what was collected for the uſe of the pope: and therefore it was reſolved that this miſchief ſhould be vigorouſly oppoſed, and that thoſe who inſiſted on the pope's proviſions ſhould be baniſhed the kingdom.

Whilſt the parliament was thus attempting to throw off the yoke of Rome, which had galled the necks of the Engliſh for many ages, Wickliff, a ſecular divine of the univerſity of Oxford,

ford, aroſe; and advanced publicly ſome opinions, which not only contradicted the eſtabliſhed doctrines of religion but alſo cut up the power of the pontificate by the roots. Theſe opinions, meeting with the inclinations of the laity to check the eccleſiaſtical power, were embraced and propagated very greedily. The duke of LANCASTER, whoſe power, after the death of his brother the black prince, was little inferior to that of the king himſelf, declared openly for WICKLIFF; and protected him perſonally in a ſynod, to which the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY had ſummoned him, in obedience to an order from the pope. The doctor being thus openly countenanced and powerfully ſupported, it was thought prudential to enjoin him only ſilence for the future, and that he ſhould not preach or publiſh any of his new opinions.

This affair was ſoon followed by the death of the king at Richmond, after a reign of fifty years; during the greateſt part of which, he had acquired ſuch fame by his military atchievements, that his glory was ſcarcely equalled by any prince upon earth, and we may ſay, exceeded by none. But towards the latter part of his life, the tide of his good fortune turned. He loſt his queen, who had lived with him in perfect harmony above forty years; and to comfort himſelf for her death, he admitted a paſſion for a young lady, who made ſuch an imprudent uſe of it, as leſſened his reputation, and produced a complaint in the houſe of commons againſt her. He loſt his eldeſt ſon, the moſt illuſtrious prince that England had ever brought up ſince the days of ALFRED; and with him the glory of the Engliſh nation, and the ſucceſs of her arms, were at an end. In ſhort EDWARD loſt all the conqueſts he had made in France with ſo much fame, and at ſuch an immenſe expence, without one conſiderable action, and with a rapidity that is inconceivable. What he loſt in the eſteem and affection of his ſubjects muſt be attributed to the infirmities of his age; his mind decaying with his conſtitution. Before that declenſion, he was particularly careful to ſupport his character, and to maintain the dignity of his royal ſtation. There was ſomething very noble and majeſtic in his aſpect, which commanded reſpect and veneration: and he made uſe of great ſolemnity and parade in his triumphs and entertainments, in order to create a regard for his perſon and government. He had all the qualifications of valour, clemency, modeſty, humility, and benevolence, which were neceſſary to adorn and recommend a

prince: a great friend to the poor, the fatherleſs, and the widow, and to all thoſe whom misfortune had made an object of commiſeration. In ſhort the virtues and accompliſhments of Edward, which were great and many, outſhone ſo much the few little failings he had as a man, that the luſtre of his reign was nothing tarniſhed. Fierce and terrible to his enemies; amiable and indulgent to his ſubjects; loving and encouraging the ſpirit of liberty in his people; he was ſtrengthened and ſupported by them, in ſuch a manner, and in ſuch circumſtances, as cannot be parallelled. Under this glorious king, the conſtitution of our parliaments, and the whole frame of our government, became reduced into a better form: and to ſum up his character in a few words, it is hard to ſay, whether his wiſdom, or his goodneſs, were the moſt conſpicuous.

To this great king ſucceded Richard, the ſon of the black prince, as heir apparent to the crown in right of his father, Edward's eldeſt ſon. But as he was not of fit age to govern the ſtate himſelf, the duke of Lancaster and his two brothers, with ſome biſhops and lay lords, were made regents of the kingdom. About this time, the pope ſent bull after bull to the univerſity of Oxford, and to the archbiſhops and biſhops to ſuppreſs Wickliff's doctrine. A ſynod was ſummoned at Lambeth accordingly; in which, it was generally believed, that he would not eſcape a ſevere puniſhment. But whilſt this matter was under debate, and Wickliff was explaining himſelf upon ſome articles, Clifford, a gentleman of the court, came abruptly into the chapel, and forbid the biſhops to proceed to a definitive ſentence. The biſhops, being ſtruck with a panick at this prohibition, which was unprecedented, and which they concluded came from the duke of Lancaster, contented themſelves again with enjoining the doctor ſilence. As the uſurpations in the church had been long murmured againſt, and Wickliff had diſpelled the charm which maintained them, ſo the parliament, when they confirmed the rights and liberties of the church of England, paſſed a ſtatute, that no foreigner ſhould hold any eccleſiaſtical benefice or preferment, that no one ſhould farm any benefice then poſſeſſed by a foreigner, nor convey the rent for the ſame out of the realm, without the king's licence: and thus they ſtruck at the root of the papal proviſions, and provided an effectual remedy againſt expoſing the treaſure to Italian eccleſiaſticks.

The next year, the king empowered the biſhops to arreſt and impriſon the followers of WICKLIFF; commanding all his ſubjects to diſcountenance his opinions, and to aſſiſt the biſhops in the execution of this order. Immediately after, archbiſhop COURTNEY, who had ſucceded SUDBURY in the primacy, held a ſynod in London, to examine the opinions ſaid to be held by WICKLIFF; ſome of which were condemned for hereſy, and others pronounced only erroneous, and contrary to the doctrine of the church in leſſer matters. About the ſame time, the king ſent a writ to the univerſity of Oxford, impowering and requiring them to cauſe a ſtrict ſearch to be made within their juriſdiction, after all thoſe who were known, or ſuſpected, to maintain any error or hereſy, eſpecially any of thoſe concluſions condemned in the ſynod abovementioned; to expell them the univerſity within ſeven days; and not to re-admit them, 'till they had diſproved the charge, or cleared their innocence, before the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY. They were likewiſe required to ſearch after the books written by WICKLIFF or his followers, and to tranſmit them without any alteration to the archbiſhop: and all this they were bound to do upon their allegeance, and under the forfeiture of the liberties and privileges of the univerſity.

I have already taken notice, that tho the lower clergy were proper and neceſſary members of our ſtate convocations, yet they were not ſo of our provincial church councils. To keep up the diſtinction of theſe meetings from one another, it was the prudential cuſtom of the archbiſhops, when they had an inclination to tranſact any eccleſiaſtical affairs, at the ſame time that they were called to do the buſineſs of the king, to iſſue out ſeparate mandates of a different form; the one in execution of his majeſty's writs to hold a convocation, the other by their own metropolitical authority to convene a church ſynod. But COURTNEY thought ſuch a ſummons unneceſſary. He imagined it was ſufficient, that having his ſuffragans with him, by whatever means, he authorized them by his command to act as a ſynod with him, excluſive of the other members of the ſtate convocation; and ſo made them as effectually a provincial council by his order and direction, as tho he had ſent them a previous mandate for that purpoſe. At this time therefore, a convocation for the province of Canterbury having been called to Oxford, and the biſhop of London's certificate for ſummoning it having been

red, the king's treaſurer preſented letters of credence from his majeſty, declaring to them the dangers of the kingdom, and demanding a ſubſidy in the king's name. When this was done, the archbiſhop propoſing the general cauſes of their aſſembling, the grievances in the church and ſubſidies to the king, commanded the proctors of the clergy to meet in ſome decent and fitting place, in order to deliberate upon them; whilſt he, and the biſhops, proceeded in a ſynodical manner upon heretical enquiries. Thus were the affairs of this aſſembly carried on. The archbiſhop and his ſuffragans publiſhed a conſtitution againſt hereſy, which was the work of the ſynod; and the prelates and clergy granted a ſubſidy to the king, which was the buſineſs of the convocation. In the parliament which was called at this time, the houſe of commons were determined to give a check to the great authority which the young king began to aſſume. The power he had given the biſhops to impriſon hereticks, mentioned above, was conſidered as deſtructive of public liberty; ſince the clergy were by that means, in ſome meaſure, the abſolute maſters of the honour and fortune of every private man in the kingdom. The complaints which were made in all places of this power, obliged the commons to addreſs the king; praying him to revoke a grant of this ill conſequence, to which the parliament had not conſented. The king wanted money, and durſt not refuſe the requeſt; tho it is pretended by ſome, that the revocation of the grant, by the artifices of the clergy, was razed out of the rolls of parliament; where it is not to be found.

Notwithſtanding the condemnation of Wickliff's doctrine, and the great oppoſition made to it by the biſhops and clergy, it ſpred over the kingdom with ſuch ſucceſs, that an hiſtorian aſſures us "two men could not be found together, and one of "them not his follower." This account muſt be greatly exaggerated; it is true however, that his doctrine flew with ſurprizing ſwiftneſs thro the nation, and that the man himſelf was neither puniſhed nor impriſoned, but lived the remainder of his time at large, and died undiſturbed at his pariſh of Lutterworth in Leiceſterſhire, in the communion of the church of England. The ſame hiſtorian, who inveighs bitterly againſt the doctor's principles, allows him to have been one of the greateſt philoſophers and divines of the age he lived in; and that he had made an unuſual progreſs in univerſity learning. He wrote ſeveral books, and tranſlated the Bible into engliſh. This itſelf was a crime

crime not to be forgiven; and tho he was ſo far from ſuffering a violent death, that he was never ſo much as impriſoned for his opinions, yet his body was taken up, and burnt, many years after his death.

It would be too tedious to enter upon a particular detail of all the opinions laid to WICKLIFF's account: they were enlarged and varied by many of his followers, both in his own time and after it; but yet all of them paſſed under his name. The principles which he firſt ſet out with, and which gave a beginning to what afterwards made ſo much noiſe in this and ſome foreign countries, were briefly theſe: "that after conſecration, the euchariſt was not the true body of CHRIST, but only a ſign or emblem of it: that the church of Rome is no more the head of all churches than any other, nor had St. PETER more authority than the reſt of the apoſtles: that the pope of Rome has no more juriſdiction in the exerciſe of the keys, than a common prieſt: that where temporal lords are patrons, it is not only lawful but meritorious, to diſſeize the church of her lands and endowments, in caſe of her misbehaviour: that when a prince, or temporal lord, is conſcious of the miſmanagement of the church, he is bound under the penalty of damnation to throw her out of her property, and take away her eſtates: that the goſpel is a ſufficient direction for the life and government of a chriſtian: that all other ſupplemental rules, inſtituted by holy men, and practiſed in the monaſteries, give no more improvement to chriſtianity, than whiteneſs does to a wall: that neither the pope nor any other prelate ought to have priſons for the puniſhment of offenders againſt diſcipline, but every ſuch perſon ought to go at large, and have his liberty both in motion and practice." When I ſaid that theſe were WICKLIFF's principles, the reader muſt underſtand me to mean, according to what his enemies have handed down; for all his own writings were deſtroyed: and we may be ſure they did not give the moſt favourable, perhaps not the trueſt, repreſentation of them.

But I muſt turn now to another ſcene, the exactions of the king, and the diſaffection of the prelates and clergy. The king having demanded a ſubſidy of his parliament, they granted it on condition, as they had done twice before, that the clergy ſhould alſo give him the ſame aſſiſtance. The clergy reſented

this condition, and archbiſhop COURTNEY proteſted againſt it in full parliament, as an infringement upon the rights and liberties of the clergy; declaring that he would never call another convocation, nor ſhould they treat of any other ſubſidy to the king, till this condition was revoked, and diſannulled. The archbiſhop being gratified in what he deſired, the convocation granted two half tenths; the one abſolutely, and the other on condition that the king himſelf was at the head of an expedition againſt the French. But his majeſty's neceſſities were not thus ſatisfied; and therefore in about a month after, a new convocation was called for a further ſupply. The archbiſhop, being much concerned at this oppreſſion, uſed all poſſible endeavours to divert the king from calling a convocation ſo ſoon after the other. He wrote to him with great earneſtneſs to withdraw his writ; he told him, that nothing new was offered to induce the clergy to any further grant, which had not been conſidered by them before. He wrote to the chancellour, the treaſurer, the king's confeſſor, and the biſhops of LONDON and WINCHESTER who were then at court, to exhort them to perſuade the king to wave the convocation. But the king, who yielded every thing to his favourites, perſiſted in his reſolution: and tho the primate obeyed and called the convocation, yet to ſhew his diſatisfaction did not appear, but commiſſioned the two biſhops abovementioned to preſide in his ſtead.

The next year, a parliament was held to find ways and means, for maintaining an army of two hundred thouſand men, in order to prevent an invaſion from the French. During the ſitting of this parliament, a convocation was called to the ſame purpoſe; in which the clergy made a complaint, that they were more than ordinarily oppreſſed with theſe kinds of exactions: "nevertheleſs, "conſidering they were aſſured by their biſhops, that there was "a preſſing neceſſity which required their granting what they "now gave, and withal, that the king upon the mature advice "of his noble council in parliament, at the inſtance of the com-"munity of the realm of England, ſpecially deputed by the ſaid "king, for the better government of himſelf and his kingdom, "would employ what they gave to the public uſe, the ſaid cler-"gy did grant him a tenth." The one half of this grant was likewiſe abſolute, and the other on the conditions inſiſted on by parliament; that the king ſhould turn out the treaſurer, and chancellour, and call thoſe, thro whoſe hands the public money had paſſed, to a ſtrict account. Tho COURTNEY therefore juſtly

excepted againſt the condition of the parliamentary grant, "that "the clergy ſhould likewiſe give ſo much as was thought propor- "tionable," as an undue impoſition on the clergy, and contrary to the liberty which they had always enjoyed of giving as they themſelves thought fit, yet by a kind of tacit conſent, the clergy did obſerve the rate which the laity ſet, and made their conceſſions in ſome meaſure ſuitable to that of the parliament. The king at firſt was highly enraged at the conditions, on which the parliament and clergy had granted him a ſupply, and in his indignation warmly ſaid, "that he would not turn out the meaneſt ſcul- "lion in his kitchen to pleaſe them:" but being afraid of the conſequences which might attend a rupture at that time, he repaired to parliament, and granted what they required with a good grace. The broad ſeal was taken from the earl of SUFFOLK, and given to ARUNDEL biſhop of Ely, and the biſhop of HEREFORD was made treaſurer. The two houſes then appointed eleven commiſſioners to take care of public affairs jointly with the king, and to make what reformations they thought fit.

But as ſoon as the fear of this invaſion was blown over, RICHARD gave himſelf up again into the hands of his favourites; who reſumed their old poſts about him with hearts full of revenge. The judges gave their opinion "that the king was above the laws;" and this commiſſion paſſed and confirmed in parliament, was annulled by his own authority in conſequence of this opinion, and the procurors of it declared traitors. BELLKNAP, the chief juſtice of the Common Pleas, tho over-awed and drawn in with the reſt to ſet his hand to this opinion, yet declared at the ſame time, "there was nothing wanting but a ſledge, a horſe, and a halter, "to carry him to the death which he had deſerved." This indeed was the fate of TRESILIAN the chief juſtice of the King's Bench, who was chiefly concerned in adviſing the king to theſe arbitrary and illegal meaſures; but the others tho condemned to die, were only baniſhed to Ireland, thro the interceſſion of the biſhops. The king being ſoon after of age, ſummoned all the members of his council, and declaring he would govern the kingdom himſelf, took the ſeal from the biſhop of ELY, and gave it to WICKHAM biſhop of Wincheſter; turned out the biſhop of HEREFORD from being treaſurer; and removed his uncle the duke of GLOCESTER, and ſome others whom he did not like, from the council board. From hence ſprung all the diſorder and confuſion which afterward overwhelmed the king himſelf.

In the following year, the parliament revived a ſtatute, paſſed in the reign of Edward the third, and confirmed again in this; that in caſe any perſon travelled beyond ſea to procure himſelf a benefice, either with or without cure, unleſs he had the king's licence, ſhould be put out of the protection of the law. By another act in the ſame parliament, it was declared high treaſon, to bring over any ſummons, ſentences, or excommunications, on account of making or executing the ſaid ſtatute. The archbiſhops indeed, that they might cover themſelves from the proceedings of the court of Rome, made a proteſtation in their own, and their prelate's, and clergy's names, againſt all ſuch ſtatutes as were paſſed in reſtraint of the papal power, or contrary to the liberties of the church: and this proteſtation was admitted, red, and enrolled, by the king's command, tho made in direct oppoſition to the authority of the crown, and the acts of parliament. The pope likewiſe ſent a nuncio into England, on the paſſing of theſe ſtatutes ſo prejudicial to his intereſt; who made a great noiſe, and even threatened that his holineſs would be driven to carry his anger againſt the king and kingdom, to the laſt extremity. But, the times were altered. The nuncio's menaces could not prevail with the parliament to annull the acts, and all that he could obtain was a reprieve for thoſe who were guilty till the enſuing parliament. They were not content with paſſing theſe acts againſt the papal power. They addreſſed the king for a remedy againſt the impoſitions upon the clergy, and that all thoſe might be adjudged guilty of high treaſon, who ſhould levy, collect, or publiſh ſuch impoſitions, without the common advice and aſſent of the whole kingdom. Richard therefore iſſued out his writs to the archbiſhops and biſhops of both provinces, commanding them upon their allegeance and the higheſt forfeitures, to revoke any orders for levying ſuch a tax, and to return what had been already collected. The ſame writ was directed to the pope's nuncio; who was obliged to take an oath, that he would not act, permit, or procure to be done, any thing detrimental to the royal prerogative, or the laws of the kingdom: that he would not execute any papal bulls or mandates that were prejudicial to the king, to the rights of the crown, or the conſtitution of the realm; and that he would not remit any money or plate out of the kingdom, without ſpecial licence from the king or his council, nor introduce any new uſages without leave.

But as tho all this was not ſufficient to ſhew their ſentiments of the papal uſurpations and authority, a proclamation was iſſued out in the following year, at the inſtance of the parliament, to call all thoſe from Rome, who went thither to avoid the ſtatutes of Proviſors and Premunire, made by the king and his predeceſſors with conſent of parliament, for the common benefit of the kingdom; and to forbid all perſons whatever from bringing any of the pope's bulls or inſtruments for voiding any ſuch ſtatutes, under the forfeiture of eſtate and life. A complaint was made, in the ſame parliament, againſt the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY, for inflicting the pope's cenſures upon ſome Engliſh biſhops, who had executed the judgments of the civil courts on the right of preſentation to vacant benefices. The archbiſhop, in anſwer to this complaint, allowed the ſubject matter of it to be prejudicial to the king's prerogative, and averred his reſolution to ſupport his majeſty, in this, and all other inſtances, in which the rights of his crown are concerned, to the utmoſt of his power: praying the king, that this anſwer might be made a record, and entered on the parliament roll; which his majeſty granted. The archbiſhop ſoon after viſited the dioceſe of Lincoln, where the Lollards, as the followers of WICKLIFF were denominated, increaſing very much, his grace excommunicated great numbers, and obliged them to be more reſerved in propagating their principles. They had however ſtill a ſtrong party among the laity, and eſpecially among the people of the beſt rank and quality; the queen herſelf being a great favourer of the principles embraced by WICKLIFF.

The next year, the king being in Ireland, and a parliament being called by the duke of York his uncle, the Lollards not only paſted up ſome papers againſt the clergy on the doors of St. Paul's and Weſtminſter abbey, but delivered a remonſtrance into the parliament, in the following articles.---That when the church of England begun to miſmanage her temporalities in conformity to the precedents of Rome, and the revenues of pariſhes were appropriated to ſeveral places, faith, hope, and charity, began to take leave of her communion. That the Engliſh prieſthood derived from Rome, and pretending to a power ſuperior to angels, is not that prieſthood which CHRIST ſettled upon his apoſtles. That the enjoining celibacy to the clergy, was the occaſion of ſcandalous irregularities in the church. That the pretended

tended miracle of tranſubſtantiation runs the greateſt part of Chriſtendom upon idolatry. That exorciſms and benedictions pronounced over wine, bread, water, oil, wax, and incenſe, over the ſtones for the altar, the churchwalls, the holy veſtments, the mitre and croſs, have more of necromancy than religion in them. That the joining the offices of prince and biſhop, prelate and ſecular judge in the ſame perſon, is a plain miſmanagement, and puts a kingdom out of the right way. That prayer made for the dead, in which one perſon is often named and preferred to another, is a wrong ground for charity and religious endowments. That pilgrimages, prayers and offerings made to images and croſſes, have nothing of charity in them, and are near of kin to idolatry. That auricular confeſſion makes the prieſts proud, lets them into the ſecrets of the penitent, and gives opportunities for intrigues, and other great offences. That taking away any man's life, either in war or courts of juſtice, is expreſly contrary to the new teſtament, which is a diſpenſation of grace and mercy. That the vow of ſingle life, undertaken by women, is the occaſion of horrible diſorders, betrays the nuns to infamous correſpondencies, tempts them to procure abortions, and to murther their children unbaptized. And in their laſt article they except againſt unneceſſary trades as the occaſion of pride and luxury.--- This is the ſubſtance of the Lollards embaſſy to parliament, as they called it: and upon this alarm, the archbiſhop of York and the biſhop of London poſted away to Ireland, in order to haſten the king's return, and to prevent a reformation which they dreaded from the people of rank, in the kingdom and the parliament, who were friends to the Lollards. The king being perſuaded by theſe prelates of the danger of the church, hurried away to England, and took meaſures with the clergy to ſuppreſs the hereſy. But it was neither in their power, nor his.

The next year died archbiſhop Courtney, ſon to the earl of Devonshire, by a grand daughter of Edward the firſt. He made great progreſs at Oxford in the canon and civil law, and was three years chancellor of that univerſity, till he was promoted to the ſee of Hereford. Notwithſtanding the great advantages of his birth and ſtation, he was a prelate of great humility and moderation; and yet he did not want courage of mind to reſiſt the oppreſſions of the king, as far as was in his power. He was a great friend to his order, and aſſerted with vigour what he thought to be the rights and liberties of the

church: in ſhort conſidering the age he lived in, he may be allowed to have been a valuable and uſeful primate. Upon the vacancy of the ſee, ARUNDEL was tranſlated by a papal bull from York to Canterbury; and the rights of the convent and the crown, to ſay nothing of the ſuffragan biſhops, were ſwallowed up, and forgotten. As ſoon as his grace was poſſeſſed of the proper powers, a convocation was held at London, in which ſome of WICKLIFF's doctrines were condemned; and a papal exemption of the univerſity of Oxford ſet aſide. A new parliament having been choſen by illegal methods, to favour the intentions of the court, they made no ſcruple to ſacrifice to the paſſions of the king and his miniſters, the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the nobility, as well as the liberties and privileges of the people. The archbiſhop of CANTERBURY was impeached of high treaſon, in being one of the eleven commiſſioners for the adminiſtration of public affairs; and after a great deal of double dealing in the king, was condemned to perpetual exile.

Upon the vacancy of the ſee by this prelate's baniſhment, the pope, at the king's inſtance, promoted WALDEN the lord treaſurer to the primacy: and having gratified the king in this promotion, his holineſs hoped that his proviſions would be connived at in England, as they had been before. In confidence of this ſucceſs, he tranſlated the biſhop of LINCOLN to the ſee of Cheſter; but the biſhop choſe rather to reſign his biſhoprick, and retire to a cloiſter, than accept the tranſlation: and upon his refuſal, the king's confeſſor was removed from Landaff to Cheſter. The king perceiving the pope thus buſy in diſpoſing of the biſhopricks, conſulted the clergy upon the caſe; and declared, if they would make a ſtand againſt theſe encroachments, he would ſupport them in the diſpute. But the clergy contented themſelves with deſiring his majeſty to write to the pope, and to requeſt that he would forbear theſe tranſlations. In the mean time, his holineſs reſolving not to give up his pretenſions, ſent a nuncio to perſuade the king to repeal the ſtatute of Proviſors and Premunire, which laid ſo great a reſtraint upon the court of Rome. The nuncio could not ſucceed in his negotiation; for whatever the biſhops and clergy might do in favour of the papal intereſt, the nobility and the houſe of commons were determined to proceed in putting a check upon the holy ſee.

The people of England, having been long enſlaved and impoveriſhed by the tyranny and extravagance of the court, their patience was wearied out: and there being a neceſſity of coming to extreme remedies, they could think of no other expedient to relieve the kingdom, and reſtore the conſtitution overborne by arbitrary power, than by ſetting another perſon at the helm. Hardly therefore was the king gone for Ireland, to redreſs ſome diſorders there, but the male contents purſued meaſures in order to dethrone him. After many conſultations, they ſent to the exiled archbiſhop who was then in France, to acquaint him with the diſpoſition of the people of England, and to deſire him to make an offer of the crown to the duke of Lancaster, who was alſo condemned to perpetual baniſhment, and whoſe father was lately dead. Upon this encouragement, and being very deſirous to revenge the injuries which had been done him, the duke, attended by the archbiſhop, came into England; and ſo eager were the nobility and the people to put themſelves under his protection, and to be freed from the oppreſſions they groaned under, that in a few days after his landing, he found himſelf at the head of an army of threeſcore thouſand men.

The king, being informed of theſe commotions in England, embarked with all expedition to oppoſe the revolt; but finding himſelf deſerted by the greateſt part of the people of all ranks, he threw up the conteſt, and deſired ſomebody might be ſent to confer with him about the terms of his ſubmiſſion. The archbiſhop, and the earl of Northumberland, whom the king had greatly incenſed by his injuſtice towards them, were ſent by the duke of Lancaster to know his majeſty's inclinations; to whom Richard offered, on a ſecurity for his life and an honourable penſion for a few favourites, to reſign the crown, and to lead the reſt of his days like a private perſon. Theſe conditions being promiſed him, he ſurrendered himſelf to the duke, and was brought up to the tower of London; where ſhortly after, a parliament having been called in his name, he ſubſcribed and ſwore to an inſtrument of reſignation, in the preſence of a great number of lords and commons; to whom he declared, that if it was in his power, he would appoint the duke of Lancaster to ſuccede him; in token of which, he pulled off a ring, and put it on the duke's finger. The next day, the parliament being

being aſſembled in Weſtminſter-hall, the proxies conſtituted by the king for declaring his renunciation, red the inſtrument which he had executed; and aſking the lords and commons if they would accept of the reſignation, the two houſes anſwered in the affirmative, and drew up a charge of male adminiſtration, as a ground for depoſing the king. The throne being thus declared vacant, the duke of LANCASTER roſe up; and claiming the crown by deſcent, and perſonal ſervices, the parliament aſſented to it, and he was the ſame day proclaimed king.

In this manner ended the oppreſſive and deteſted reign of RICHARD the ſecond: who notwithſtanding the princely generous inclinations he had by nature, and the advantages of being deſcended from ſuch a father, was ſo corrupted by flattery and miſled by favourites, that he made himſelf odious to the whole nation. Deluded by the arguments and artifices of his miniſters, he took their iniquities on himſelf; made their cauſe his own; was privy to their plots of poiſoning their enemies, of packing juries, of corrupting the judges to give opinions againſt law; and to all that dirty work which they wanted to ſecure their power. The people of England, tho animated with the ſpirit of liberty, yet bore all this with the greateſt patience for ſeveral years: they gave him great ſubſidies, and renewed their homage and fealty to him: but all this proved in vain: no experience was ſufficient to reclaim RICHARD the ſecond. He gave birth to the practiſe of procuring a parliament devoted to him, by changing the ſheriffs and magiſtrates throwout the kingdom, and permitting none to continue in thoſe poſts who would not favour the repreſentatives recommended by the court. With the help of a parliament, thus garbled, he wreaked vengeance on ſuch of the lords as had oppoſed him, got his authority exalted above all law, and exerciſed a moſt cruel and violent tyranny. The people ſtill bore; and it is probable that the king imagined they would be obliged to bear on, ſince the whole legiſlature united in their oppreſſion. But in this he was much miſtaken. When the parliament took the part of the people, the people followed the motions of parliament; and when they had no hopes from parliament, they followed the firſt ſtandard which was ſet up againſt the king. The ſame ſpirit of liberty, which had been ſo ſlow to act under ſo many provocations, acted with the greateſt vigour when it was leaſt expected; and when every thing ſeemed to contribute to his ſupport, in the exerciſe of that arbitrary power which he had aſſumed: ſo true

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it is, that a prince can have no real ſecurity againſt the juſt reſentments of an injured and exaſperated nation. RICHARD minded nothing but pleaſure and feſtivity; and tho he did not want a ſhare of underſtanding, yet having never been taught or ſuffered or inclined to exert it, he continued in the ſtate of childhood, ſimple by habit, fooliſh for want of experience and application, and having never diſcharged the functions of government, was at laſt unable to diſcharge them. He was therefore forced to reſign, and to ſign an inſtrument with his own hand, in which he records himſelf to poſterity, as unworthy of the crown of England. Thus whilſt his name will be hated to the lateſt generations, his father will have the reward of honour love and praiſe, as long as there are men and letters left in the world. Such are the different and laſting portions, of EDWARD the black prince, and of his ſon RICHARD the ſecond.

The reign of RICHARD being determined by the authority of parliament, and HENRY duke of LANCASTER being proclaimed, it was neceſſary, according to the law and cuſtom of England, that a new parliament ſhould be choſen. But HENRY being conſcious that his title would not bear too cloſe an examination, was unwilling to part with a parliament which had placed him on the throne, and to run the riſk of having another which might not be ſo thorowly in his intereſt. He therefore contented himſelf with publiſhing a proclamation, in which he empowered the ſame repreſentatives to meet, as a new parliament, on the Monday following. The two houſes being met, and archbiſhop ARUNDEL having been ordered to reſume his dignity, from which he had not been canonically depoſed, the ſeſſions was opened by a ſpeech of this prelate's; in which he acquainted the parliament, that the new king was reſolved to maintain the liberties of the church, to do juſtice to all his ſubjects, and to make the laws the meaſure of his government. In a few days after, the king was crowned at Weſtminſter with the uſual formalities, and his eldeſt ſon HENRY, then thirteen years of age, was at the ſame time created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter. How reaſonable and legal ſoever it might be to deprive RICHARD of the royal power, yet it could not be pretended that HENRY was next in the ſucceſſion; the earl of MARCH being deſcended by his mother from the duke of CLARENCE, elder ſon, than the duke of LANCASTER, to EDWARD the third. It is true, the injuſtice which was done the earl, might in ſome meaſure

be varniſhed over with the pretence of rewarding HENRY for the ſignal ſervice he had done the ſtate, if the reward had been limited to his perſon. But ſo difficult it is at ſuch a juncture to keep within the bounds of equity, the parliament not only ſuperſeded the laws in favour of this prince, but ſecured the crown to his iſſue, and to the houſe of Lancaſter: whilſt HENRY himſelf excluded the only lawful title he had, the general conſent of the people, and declared in a proclamation, that he mounted the throne by right of conqueſt, by virtue of RICHARD's reſignation, and as the next heir male of the crown; all which were evidently falſe. As little pertinent as it may be thought to the deſign of this hiſtory, to be thus particular in the account of HENRY's acceſſion, the reader will find that I was obliged to it, in order to make the ſequel of this, and ſome other reigns, intelligible.

When the pope underſtood that RICHARD was depoſed, and ARUNDEL in great eſteem with the new king, he revoked the bull given to WALDEN, by which he had acted as metropolitan for about two years, pretending it was ſurreptitiouſly obtained: and thus by the prevarications of the court of Rome, which moved according to the revolutions in the ſtate, ARUNDEL both loſt and recovered his archbiſhoprick. Whilſt the parliament was ſitting, he ſummoned a convocation, in which they treated of ſome articles that were thought neceſſary to be reformed by the king and the pope, whoſe collector they ſent for to be preſent at their deliberation. The king, being very ſenſible, that in order to ſupport himſelf in the throne it was abſolutely neceſſary to be well with the clergy, ſent two peers and his chamberlain to the convocation, not as other commiſſioners, they ſaid, had been wont to do, to demand a ſubſidy for the king, but to thank them for their prayers in his behalf, and to promiſe them that he would not aſk any aid, but in caſe of apparent neceſſity, when he hoped that they would ſhew themſelves kind and liberal. They added, that they had orders to aſſure the convocation, that the king would endeavour to behave towards the clergy in ſuch manner as to give them cauſe to love him ſtill more, and would readily join with them in any meaſures that ſhould be judged neceſſary, to extirpate hereſy, and puniſh obſtinate hereticks. Nothing was more capable of gaining the hearts of the eccleſiaſticks, than what the king had promiſed with regard to hereſy. The number of the Lollards, which daily encreaſed, gave the clergy room to fear, that in the end a reformation might be ſet on foot, which could not but be very detri-

mental to their power and intereſt: and therefore the aſſurances which were given now in the king's name were received with great thankfulneſs and ſatisfaction.

How vigorous ſoever the parliaments had ſhewn themſelves in the two former reigns, againſt the papal power and encroachments in the church of England, yet it being the intereſt of ſo many people to countenance the pope's prerogative, his holineſs continued to engroſs the collation of all the church preferments in the kingdom. Therefore at a parliament which was aſſembled in the firſt year of the fifteenth century, the old ſtatute of Proviſors, commonly known by the name of "the ſtatute of Præmu-"nire," were revived and made more effectual. When any one incurred the guilt of ſeeking after proviſions from the court of Rome, for benefices that were, or ſhould be vacant, or for carrying to the eccleſiaſtical court what belonged to the civil, a writ beginning with "præmunire facias" was iſſued againſt him, whereby he was commanded to appear in the king's court, and he was liable to the forfeiture of lands, and to impriſonment, during the king's pleaſure. Hence the ſtatute, as well as the penalty, were called Præmunire; and all that go under that name are only enlargements of thoſe ſtatutes that were made in the two preceding reigns. But in ſpite of all the precautions the parliament could take, the clergy were ſo intent upon favouring the pretenſions of the court of Rome, and the king was ſo determined to keep fair with the clergy in order to attach them to his intereſt, that the breach of this ſtatute was as much connived at in this, as in any former reign. The acts of parliament therefore were to the popes, like thunder only at a great diſtance; and upon all occaſions that offered, they made no ſcruple to act contrary to any ſtatutes in England, and to aſſert their apoſtolic power, whether it was any prejudice to the king, or his ſubjects, or not.

The parliament however, being deſirous to do all they could againſt this power, not only revived, as I have ſaid, the ſtatute of Præmunire, but in the ſame ſeſſion paſſed two more; "that "all perſons who purchaſed or executed any bulls to be diſ-"charged from the payment of tithes, ſhould incur the penal-"ties contained in the ſtatute againſt proviſions; and that if any "perſon ſhould procure an exemption from the juriſdiction of "the biſhops he ſhould incur the ſame penalties." I have already taken notice in the reign of Richard, that the biſhops had

obtained a general licence to impriſon hereticks without an order from the king; but that the houſe of commons got it revoked. There was no other alteration enſued from this, than that the king granted an order whenever it was applied for, and hereticks were impriſoned without number. The biſhops however, finding that this penalty was not capable of checking the pretended evil they were in dread of, preſented a petition to the king in this ſame parliament; ſetting forth the great encreaſe of thoſe whom they called hereticks, what their grievances were with relation to them, and praying they might be redreſſed. The king, who ſtood in need of the affections of the clergy, in order to enable him to keep the crown upon his head which he had uſurped, and which had already been ſhaken by a conſpiracy, fell in with all the views of the eccleſiaſticks; and recommended to the parliament in a very preſſing manner the care of church affairs. The famous act therefore was now paſſed for burning hereticks; enacting, "that every biſhop in his dioceſe may con-"vict a perſon of hereſy, and put him on his abjuration, and "afterwards convicting him of a relapſe, may order the ſheriff "or mayor to receive him, and in a high place before the people "commit him to the fire."

The reader will give me leave to make a reflexion or two upon this ſtatute, before I continue the ſtory. In the tyrannical reign of RICHARD, when ſome of his favourites were impeached of high treaſon, and were to be tried for the greateſt crimes againſt the ſtate, the biſhops pretended to be ſo tender in the cauſe of blood, that they alledged they were forbidden by the canons of the church to ſit in judgment in ſuch cauſes; and all of them withdrew. But theſe very biſhops were ſo ſanguinary in the preſent reign, a few years after, that they made themſelves the only judges, where life was to be forfeited after the moſt cruel manner, in direct oppoſition to the canon of ſcripture, for crimes againſt the faith and doctrines of the church; and in ſome caſes for crimes againſt the hierarchy alone. Can it be thought a blemiſh in the character of an eccleſiaſtick, to aſſiſt in the condemnation of a traitor to the ſcaffold, who has been guilty of murders, oppreſſion and the ſubverſion of the laws, and ſhall the ſame eccleſiaſtick be allowed without blame, to convict a heretick, whoſe crime at worſt is only an error in ſpeculation, and then deliver him up to a death the moſt abhorrent to human nature? The men who can think thus, are hypocrites; or elſe blinded by

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thoſe guides, " who ſtrain at a gnatt and ſwallow a camel." But the biſhops whom I am ſpeaking of in the reign of Henry, and who petitioned for this ſtatute, had not only diveſted themſelves of the mercy which was eſſential to their ſacred character, but of the good nature of Engliſhmen, and the charity and forbearance of the Chriſtian temper. To burn a fellow creature for no other reaſon, than that he will not renounce what he thinks an important truth, becauſe he is afraid of offending God, and deſtroying his ſoul, is a cruelty which one ſhudders at, and which was unknown to the primitive Chriſtians. If opinions in religion are really wrong, they ought to be gently dealt with, becauſe the people who hold them believe them to be right: they judge according to the beſt of their knowledge, and their will is not bad, tho their underſtanding may be miſled. This is the language of ſcripture, and of common ſenſe; and to enlighten men with fire and faggot, and to torture them into orthodoxy, was a diſcipline which the early ages of chriſtianity neither practiſed nor underſtood. But when the primitive fathers applied to the ſecular power againſt hereticks, they always deſired extremities might be avoided, and capital puniſhments might be forborne. It was not ſo with our biſhops, to their ſhame it muſt be ſaid, in the reign of Henry. For, to turn again to the hiſtory; no ſooner had this fiery diabolical ſtatute paſſed, even before the ſeſſion was ended and the act proclaimed, but one Sawtre, a pariſh prieſt of the city of London, was brought before the convocation, pronounced a heretick relapſed, chiefly for denying tranſubſtantiation, degraded in form by the archbiſhop, delivered over to the lord mayor, and burnt alive. Thus this poor ſincere prieſt was the firſt who ſuffered for hereſy in this mercileſs manner in England: and Henry the fourth, who depoſed king Richard, and got him afterwards cruelly murdered in his impriſonment, was the firſt of all our kings who began the burning of men, not half ſo wicked and profligate as himſelf, that he might ſerve his intereſts with an ignorant and bigotted clergy.

In the writs of ſummons for the following parliament, the king commanded the ſheriffs to return none of the long robe, or who had ſkill in the laws of the land; which gave it the name of the lack-learning parliament. The lord chancellour having repreſented to the parliament thus compoſed, the great want which the king had of an extraordinary aid at that time againſt an invaſion threatened from every quarter, the commons went in a

body to the king, and preſented a remonſtrance; in which they ſet forth, that the laity had exhauſted their fortunes, and hazarded their lives in the ſervice of their country; whilſt the clergy lived at home in idleneſs and luxury, doing the king no perſonal ſervice, tho poſſeſſed of the third part of the lands of the kingdom: and therefore it was but reaſonable, that they ſhould contribute to the neceſſities of the publick, by giving up their revenues. The archbiſhop of CANTERBURY who was preſent, replied, that tho the clergy did not ſerve in perſon, yet they always ſent their tenants and vaſſals into the field, whenever it was required, that they granted the crown a tenth, much oftener than the laity granted a fifteenth: neither were they idle and inſignificant at home, as it had been ſuggeſted, but made uſe of their character for the benefit of their country, and offered their prayers night and day for the welfare of the ſtate. Then falling on a ſudden on his knees before the king, he preſſed him ſtrongly on the ſcore of conſcience, and on the oath which he had taken at his coronation, to preſerve the rights of the church, and to afford the clergy his royal favour. The king bid him riſe, and go to his place; aſſuring him that his fears were groundleſs, and that his majeſty was fully reſolved to leave the church in a better ſtate than he found her.

Whilſt the parliament was ſitting, the archbiſhop at the king's deſire, ſummoned a provincial council to meet at Oxford, to check the progreſs of the Lollards, and to prevent the univerſity from being further tinctured with that perſuaſion. The great buſineſs of the conſtitutions agreed upon in this ſynod, under thirteen articles, was to forbid any one to preach that was not licenſed; to confine the diſcourſes of thoſe who did preach to moral ſubjects, or at leaſt to reſtrain them from teaching any doctrine on points of faith, which the church had not taught already; to prevent any books of WICKLIFF or his followers from being publicly red in ſchools or colleges; to prohibit any unauthorized perſon from tranſlating any part of the holy ſcripture into Engliſh; to prevent any propoſitions or concluſions with reſpect to faith or practiſe which ſeem to have an ill tendency, either in ſchools or any where elſe; to prohibit any diſputes about the articles of religion ſettled by the church in any councils or decrees; eſpecially with regard to the worſhipping images, the holy croſs, relicks, pilgrimages, &c; and to oblige the heads of houſes to enquire

every month, into the principles of the ſtudents, to admoniſh them if they are in error, and if they continue obſtinate, to expell them.

But notwithſtanding all the pains which had been taken to ſuppreſs it, the doctrine of Wickliff made an amazing progreſs: and therefore when the king demanded an aid of money in the next parliament, the majority of the commons, embracing that doctrine in ſome particulars, took occaſion from thence to renew the inſtances they had made once before with regard to the clergy, and to petition the king in favour of the Lollards. In the firſt addreſs they ſet forth the great revenues of the eccleſiaſticks, ſpent upon vain grandeur and unneceſſary figure; and that if the king would take away theſe eſtates, the kingdom would be in a better ſtate of defence, the poor would be more amply provided for, and the clergy more obſervant of the duties of their function. In the ſecond they prayed, that the ſtatute paſſed in this reign for burning hereticks might either be repealed, or at leaſt altered in ſome reſpects. The reader will eaſily figure to himſelf the treatment, which ſuch a parliament would meet with from the clergy, and from the church hiſtorians who record this tranſaction. The names of Lollard and Heretick were plentifully dealt about, and the petitions were, in the leaſt and moſt favourable conſtruction, condemned as laying the ax at the root of all religion. This is what they endeavoured to inſinuate to the king, with all the aggravating circumſtances which parties concerned are capable of diſplaying. The king, who ſaw plainly how much the clergy had it in their power to ſtir up the people to a revolt, eſpecially upon a pretext ſo very plauſible as ſtripping the church of her revenues, anſwered the commons ſomewhat ſharply, that he could not and would not conſent to their petitions, and forbid them expreſly from medling any more with the concerns of the church. As to the Lollards, this righteous king replied further, that ſo far from conſenting that the ſtatute againſt them ſhould be repealed, he rather wiſhed the rigour of it was heightened, that hereſy might be entirely rooted out of the kingdom.

The commons then moved, that clerks convicted of any crime ſhould not be tried in the eccleſiaſtical courts; alledging as a reaſon, from every day's experience, that by that means they eſcaped the puniſhment which they deſerved. What the commons demanded was certainly no leſs reaſonable at this time, than in the reign of

Henry

HENRY the ſecond; when that prince, and all the nobility, diſputed this point ſo warmly with BECKET, and the pope. But the king, being apprehenſive perhaps of the like diſturbance which they created, or to ſhew an extraordinary zeal for the clergy in order to attach them to him, refuſed to give his aſſent to this ſtatute. On the other hand, he ſigned a warrant for the execution of one BADBY a blackſmith, convicted of hereſy on the article of tranſubſtantiation. The commons looked upon this execution as an inſult, and a great aggravation of the refuſal they had lately met with. Therefore to ſhew their reſentment, they preſented a bill to prevent his medling with elections, fining every ſheriff, who ſhould make falſe returns, a hundred pounds for every ſuch offence. The king was very deſirous to ſhift off this act, but as he could not do it without laying himſelf too open, he gave at laſt the royal aſſent. But the commons did not ſtop here. HENRY having a mind to encreaſe his power and to make himſelf independent on the parliament, ordered a bill to be brought in, empowering him to collect a tenth upon the clergy, and a fifteenth upon the laity every year, tho there ſhould not be a ſeſſion of parliament; which they flatly refuſed to paſs. Nay the commons refuſed to grant him the neceſſary ſupplies, till he had prolonged the ſeſſion, at a great inconvenience and expence to the ſeveral members; and then being impatient to return home they voted at laſt the ſubſidy which he had demanded.

Whether it was owing more to a perverſeneſs in human nature, or to the truth and reaſonableneſs of WICKLIFF's doctrine, that it ſpred ſo faſt under perſecution, it is hard to ſay; but notwithſtanding the ſeverity and oppoſition with which it was treated, it daily gained ground in England, and eſpecially among the people of rank and learning. There were ſeveral doctors even at Oxford, who publicly defended the new opinions, both in writing and diſputation. The greater part however being ſtill averſe to them, the new opinions were condemned in a full congregation; and all the members of the univerſity were forbid to teach, preach, or publicly maintain them, under the penalty of degradation. But this did not quiet the fears which the biſhops were under on account of theſe opinions. A convocation therefore was aſſembled ſoon after at St. Paul's, where the growth of the new hereſy at Oxford was the chief ſubject of complaint; and in which the archbiſhop was preſſed to viſit the univerſity. Upon this complaint, the primate wrote to the chancellour and the heads, to give

give them notice that he intended to hold a viſitation; and to make ſome ſatisfaction for their backwardneſs in cenſuring the books of Wickliff, they wrote to the archbiſhop, and aſked his pardon: nor was this all. They afterwards choſe twelve of the moſt learned of their body to examine into this hereſy; the archbiſhop ſent his delegates; and an extract was made of the exceptionable propoſitions out of the doctor's writings, and tranſmitted to the primate and his ſuffragans. This cenſure produced an authority from the archbiſhop, and a letter from the king, empowering them to enquire after thoſe ſuſpected of hereſy, and either to impriſon them or deliver them into his grace's hands. The perſecution of the Lollards was every where carrying on with great cruelty, when it pleaſed God to viſit Henry with a diſtemper, which in three months laid him in his grave. He ſent for the prince of Wales juſt before he died, and gave him many excellent inſtructions; in which he ſhewed that he had ſome doubt of his right to the crown which he had worn: then recommending his ſon to the protection of heaven, a few moments after, he breathed his laſt, in the fourteenth year of his reign, aged forty-ſix.

Was I to give the reader a character of Henry the fourth, as it is drawn in the writings of hiſtorians, I muſt celebrate his mildneſs, his clemency, his valour, his generoſity, and a thouſand other good qualities which they have given him; and they alone; for he had them not when he was a king, whatever he might have when he was a private nobleman. Let us take our idea of him from his actions. The male contents had called him in to redreſs their grievances, and to put a ſtop to the arbitrary power which Richard had aſſumed above the laws. It does not appear, that they had any intention at that time to depoſe the king; and much leſs to overlook a deſcendent of the elder branch of the royal line, that they might ſet up Henry in his room. But he ſaw the moment offered in which he might aſpire to the crown, and he took hold of it immediately. This act of injuſtice towards the earl of March, if we acquit him of the guilt of rebellion againſt Richard, was the foundation of many, more ſevere, and more indefenſible: and all the advantage which the nation got by the revolution, was the exchanging one oppreſſive cruel tyrant, for another. The pretence for dethroning Richard, was the abſolute power which he had uſurped; but the only difference between them was, Richard exerciſed this

power in the perſon of his favourites, and HENRY exerciſed it himſelf. The very firſt act he did, in not ſummoning a new parliament, but continuing the old one which had ſet the crown upon his head, was arbitrary and illegal; and tho he had no other title to it than the conſent of the people, yet on the day of his coronation he diſavowed it, and aſſumed another which had neither truth nor law for its ſupport. The freedom of elections, which is the baſis of the Engliſh liberty, he invaded as notoriouſly, as his predeceſſor did: and if it did not bring him to the ſame untimely fate, it was owing more to his artifices in cajoling the clergy into his intereſt, and to the torrent of noble blood which he had taken away, than to any want of jealouſy and diſaffection among the people. There have been hiſtorians partial enough to his memory, to wipe all this away with the neceſſity and circumſtances of his affairs; not conſidering that this neceſſity aroſe from nothing but his own iniquity, in ſeizing the crown unjuſtly, and ordering RICHARD to be privately murdered; and therefore cannot be an excuſe. But the truth of the matter is, by the ſingle artifice of appearing zealous in the intereſts of the church and clergy, HENRY covered his uſurpation: and all his oppreſſions in heavy taxes; his attempts on the public liberty by violating the freedom of elections; his putting to death almoſt all the nobility of the kingdom, for taking arms againſt him as a tyrant and uſurper; theſe are all forgot by the church hiſtorians who write his reign. He had the glory of being the firſt burner of hereticks; and this, with the protection that he gave the clergy againſt the attempts of the houſe of commons, were the only foundation of the exceſſive commendations given to this prince. However to be impartial we muſt ſtrip him of them all; and deliver him down to poſterity, as a cruel, unjuſt, revengeful, arbitrary, and oppreſſive monarch. The terms are ſtrong, but this was the true character of HENRY the fourth: and I think wicked princes ſhould be treated with ſeverity and abhorrence, in honour and juſtice to the good.

As the death of HENRY paſſed with every body except the clergy for a public bleſſing, eſpecially in the firſt impulſe of joy, ſo it awakened different paſſions in the minds of different men. The whole nobility of England had been almoſt extinguiſhed by his executions, and the riſing generation remembered him with horror. The warlike genius of the nation had lain unexerciſed againſt the enemies of the ſtate, during the whole courſe of his

reign, tho there had never been ſo fair an opportunity to recover what had been loſt in France. The bulk of the commons, who were Lollards, had no reaſon to regret a king, who had carried his cruelty to a pitch unknown before in England, and who had invaded the freedom of their elections. It is no wonder therefore, that the greateſt part of the people ſhould ſee with joy another prince aſcend the throne, who had given proofs of an elevated enterprizing genius, active, warlike, and benevolent. But then amidſt theſe pleaſing hopes, there were circumſtances which ſat but heavily on the minds of the grave and thoughtful. The prince having been reduced to a ſtate of idleneſs, thro the exceſſive jealouſy of his father, had abandoned himſelf to exceſſes, very unbecoming his birth, and injurious to his honour. Notwithſtanding therefore the tokens of generoſity, and greatneſs of ſoul, which on ſome occaſions he had diſcovered, yet there was too much room to be afraid, that the nation might be unhappy under the government of a prince, who had been drowned in pleaſure. He was however proclaimed king upon his father's death by the name of Henry the fifth; not only without heſitation, but with a gladneſs ſo uncommon, that his ſubjects offered to take the oath of allegeance to him before his coronation. But the king declined this teſtimony of their eſteem in a moſt obliging manner; and on the day which ſet the crown upon his head, granted a general pardon, except for rapes and murder. This was no ſooner over, than he ſent for all his libertine companions; and giving them ſerious exhortations to leave off their courſe of life, and many handſome preſents, he charged them upon pain of his higheſt diſpleaſure never to preſume to come to court. This was ſo manifeſt a proof of his wiſdom and goodneſs, which at the ſame time that it aſtoniſhed thoſe who had been the ſharers of his voluptuouſneſs, gave every body elſe the moſt pleaſing hopes of the public happineſs.

I have already taken notice of the great zeal of archbiſhop Arundel againſt the Lollards; and that he had procured a letter from the late king to the univerſity of Oxford, to enquire after thoſe who were ſuſpected of the new hereſy. In conſequence of this order, ſome informations had been taken and ſent to the archbiſhop; who ſummoned a convocation to conſider of them, about the time of the king's death. The convocation being prorogued upon this accident, and aſſembled again ſoon after the preſent king's acceſſion, the deliberations on Wickliff's

hereſy were renewed. After ſeveral debates, it was reſolved at laſt thro the fiery zeal of the archbiſhop, that there was no poſſibility of extirpating this hereſy, unleſs an exemplary puniſhment was inflicted on its abettors; that Sir J. OLDCASTLE was one of its principal champions in appearing publicly to defend it with force and threatnings; and therefore that a proceſs ſhould be formed againſt him. This gentleman, who by marrying the lady COBHAM was ſometimes called by that title, was a military man of great courage and reputation, one of the king's domeſticks, and in great favour with him. It was therefore thought adviſeable to acquaint his majeſty with Sir JOHN's delinquency, and to procure his leave to proſecute this heretick. The archbiſhop taking this taſk upon himſelf, endeavoured to perſuade the king, that fire and faggot were the only means to extirpate this growing evil; and that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the intereſt of the church, to proceed againſt Sir J. OLDCASTLE with this rigour.

The king heard all that the archbiſhop had to ſay, and then told him, that tho he did not approve of theſe new opinions, yet neither did he approve of uſing force againſt them, eſpecially of that cruel kind; ſince it was full as effectual againſt truth as againſt error: but however, that he would talk with OLDCASTLE himſelf, and if he could not recover him with gentleneſs and perſuaſion, he would then conſent to their proſecution. The king was no match for the knight upon this ſubject, and finding him inflexible, gave leave for the ſpiritual power to attack him. A ſummons at firſt was ſent him by the archbiſhop; which Sir JOHN making a jeſt of, he was cited in form by an inſtrument fixed on the church door: but this being likewiſe diſregarded, the king grew offended with his preſumption, and ordered him to be apprehended and ſent to the tower. After he had been in cuſtody ſome days, he was brought before the archbiſhop and ſome of his ſuffragans, to whom he delivered an account of his belief: but this being repugnant in many particulars to the eſtabliſhed opinions of that time, and in which the knight obſtinately perſiſted, the archbiſhop pronounced him a heretick convict, and delivered him over to the ſecular power. The king however being extremely deſirous to preſerve him, the execution was reſpited for fifty days, in hopes that time and reflexion might qualify him for a pardon. But by the help of his friends, or the careleſſneſs of his guards, OLDCASTLE made his eſcape out

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of the tower, and fled into Wales; where at preſent we muſt leave him, and turn to the meaſures purſued againſt his friends.

The two attempts which had been made in the houſe of commons, againſt the revenues of the church in the late reign, had convinced the clergy that the Lollards were their determined enemies; and they were therefore the more inclined to extirpate a hereſy ſo deteſtable. The king however had declared, to their great grief, that he did not approve of violent methods; and whilſt he preſerved his diſpoſition to gentleneſs and moderation, they ſaw they ſhould never be able to accompliſh what they wiſhed. Something was neceſſary then to be done, in order to inſtill into his majeſty other ſentiments more agreeable to their deſign; to which nothing bid ſo fair as the making him believe, that the Lollards had a plot againſt his perſon, and were forming conſpiracies to overturn the ſtate. To this the eccleſiaſticks applied themſelves immediately; and the private aſſemblies of theſe people, in order to worſhip GOD in their own manner in unfrequented places in the open fields, gave a fair opportunity to their enemies to miſreport them to the king.

Accordingly when his majeſty was at Eltham with an intention to keep his Chriſtmas, very far from ſuſpecting any ill deſigns againſt him, he was one night informed, in a manner intended to alarm him, that OLDCASTLE was in the fields behind St. Giles's with twenty thouſand men; whoſe deſign was to deſtroy the royal family, and all the nobility who were not their friends. As improbable as all this was, the ſtory was told with ſo much punctuality, and affirmed with ſo much confidence, that HENRY gave credit to it; and drawing together what force he could, reſolved inſtantly to attack them, before they had taken all their meaſures. He arrived at the place about midnight, and finding near a hundred, who had arms to defend themſelves againſt their perſecutors, about twenty of them were killed, and the reſt were taken priſoners. Among the latter were ſome, who, either awed by threats, or won by promiſes, confeſſed all that their enemies ſuggeſted; even that OLDCASTLE was at the head of this conſpiracy. How it was poſſible that the king, who had a very good underſtanding, could be impoſed upon ſo groſly, when he found not a hundred men inſtead of twenty thouſand, without a ſingle perſon of any note, it is difficult to conceive. Impoſed upon however he was for a time; and under that deluſion, a thouſand marks

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was ſet upon the head of OLDCASTLE, and ſome of theſe unhappy wretches were executed. But it may be preſumed, I think, that the king was himſelf convinced afterwards of the falſehood of this charge; becauſe we find in the collection of the public acts, not only ſeveral private pardons, but an act of indemnity for all the Lollards.

Soon after this pretended rebellion was ſuppreſſed, archbiſhop ARUNDEL was kindly prevented by death from embruing his hands in any more innocent blood. This prelate was the younger ſon of the earl of that name, and had a good natural capacity, well improved by ſtudy, and experience of the world: neither was he wanting in courage, learning, or activity, to qualify him for the eminent poſt which he had ſuſtained. Whilſt he was biſhop of Ely he had the care of the great ſeal, which was continued to him whilſt he was archbiſhop of York. By virtue of that poſt, he was one of the commiſſioners appointed to take care of the public affairs in the reign of RICHARD, and executed that commiſſion. But the king having procured a houſe of commons afterwards at his devotion, ARUNDEL was impeached when he was archbiſhop of Canterbury, for having executed a commiſſion ſo prejudicial to the king's prerogative: and tho his majeſty had promiſed to indemnify him in order to prevent his making any defence, yet he permitted him to be baniſhed. This accounts for the archbiſhop's taking up arms againſt the king, and perſuading the duke of LANCASTER to make an attempt againſt him: it accounts too for the great zeal with which he puſhed on the dethroning RICHARD, and for his long harangue in commendation of the uſurper. But tho it accounts for his conduct, it does not excuſe it: becauſe if we ſhould be inclined to overlook his being at the bottom of a conſpiracy againſt the king, who had unjuſtly baniſhed him, and almoſt overturned the conſtitution, yet there is nothing can juſtify his ſetting the crown on the head of HENRY, who was not the legal heir, to the prejudice of the prince who was. But even this does not equal another blemiſh upon his character, which is of a much deeper dye, and which all the virtues of ARUNDEL can never take away; which was his extreme ſeverity againſt the Lollards. Even allowing him to have had all the provocation from theſe people that he himſelf could urge; allowing the abſurd and monſtrous doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, which they denied, to have been true and ſcriptural; and, which perhaps was more offenſive to this prelate, that their attack of

church power was utterly indefenſible and deſtructive of religion; yet to put men to death for any ſuch opinions, was a practiſe neither warranted by reaſon nor by ſcripture, and to a death of ſuch horrid torment, was a reproach not only to his character as a chriſtian biſhop, but even to the feelings of humanity. But character and humanity are weak conſiderations, when oppoſed to religious impulſe and the inſtigation of divine fury. In ſhort Arundel, with many virtues to have made him a good man, and many qualifications to fill the primacy with honour to himſelf and advantage to the kingdom, by his bigotry alone became an enemy to his country; and produced oppreſſions and deſolations repugnant to his glory, and the intereſt of the ſtate.

Upon the death of this prelate, the monks of Canterbury, with the king's conſent, choſe Chicheley, biſhop of St. David's, to ſuccede him. But the pope being informed of this election wrote a letter to the monks, and declared his reſolution to diſpoſe of the primacy by way of proviſion. For the late acts of parliament againſt this papal encroachment paſſed for nothing at Rome. However to carry the matter ſmoothly, and to prevent his privilege from being oppoſed, he thought fit to make choice of the ſame perſon; and ſo his proviſion, contrary to the ſtatute, was overlooked. Nevertheleſs when Chicheley did homage for his temporalities, he was obliged to renounce all the clauſes in the pope's bull of tranſlation, or any other engagements to that ſee which were prejudicial to the royal prerogative: but having ſerved the king in ſeveral embaſſies with great ſucceſs, he was ſo much in his majeſty's favour, that the profits of the archbiſhoprick during the vacancy, were remitted him on the payment of ſix hundred marks.

The project which the commons had formed in the late reign againſt the eccleſiaſticks, had twice miſcarried thro the forwardneſs of Wickliff's followers. The deſign however, notwithſtanding this ill ſucceſs, was not entirely dropped: and the promoters of it being warned by the rock which they had already ſplit upon, were only contriving to ſteer another courſe, when a fair opportunity ſhould offer to renew the attempt. This opportunity was now at hand. For in a parliament which met at Leiceſter at this time, the clergy prevailed on their friends in the houſe of commons, to move for ſome new and ſeverer ſtatutes againſt the Lollards, with which the party that favoured them

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cloſed without any oppoſition. The clergy, not aware of what lay at the bottom, were exceedingly pleaſed with this acquieſcence: the pulpits every where reſounded with the praiſes of this parliament; and it was called the wiſeſt and beſt inclined to the church of any parliament that had ever ſat. But in a little time the ſcene was changed; and the perſecution againſt the Lollards in conſequence of this act, which burnt many alive, and drove others out of the kingdom, was but a ſmall compenſation for an addreſs of the ſame commons to ſeize the eſtates of the eccleſiaſticks. By conſenting to this act, the parliament had purged itſelf of all ſuſpicion of hereſy: and therefore when the king was adviſed by them to convert a part of the revenues of the church to other purpoſes, to his own aid eſpecially, he was ſoon convinced that the clergy had miſrepreſented the commons under the name of hereticks, and the clergy were diſarmed of one of their ſharpeſt weapons.

The king, who was on the point of beginning an expenſive war, if he was not convinced, yet feigned at leaſt to believe, that it was neceſſary to purſue the meaſures which the houſe of commons had recommended: and the clergy to divert him from it, reſolved to give up with alacrity ſome part of their eſtates, and to engage him deeply in a war with France, in order to take up his attention from things at home. They knew the active enterpriſing temper of the king; and rightly enough concluding, that if they could flatter him into an undertaking which ſuited with his inclinations, they ſhould preſerve their influence with him, the archbiſhop prepared a long and artful ſpeech. He ſet before his majeſty his title to the dominions of the crown of France, which it concerned his honour and intereſt to aſſert; he ſet before him the fame and glory that he would acquire in recovering the inheritance of his anceſtors; he pleaded the juſtice of his cauſe which would entitle him to the aid of providence in the diſpute; and then conjuring him to conſider, that he was in the flower of his age, of a hale and vigorous conſtitution, all his ſubjects at his devotion, and the ſovereign of a powerful kingdom, poſſeſſed of every thing that was neceſſary to maintain his right, he aſſured his majeſty that the clergy were determined to give him a proof of their zeal and affection upon this occaſion, by delivering up the alien priories into his hands; which would prove a greater ſubſidy than their order had ever before given the crown. A man of HENRY's warlike enterpriſing genius would eaſily be won with ſuch arguments;

ments; and ſo was he. The war againſt France was inſtantly reſolved upon, and took up all public deliberations. The commons approved of the expedition, and granted the king a conſiderable ſubſidy. Thus the archbiſhop very dextrouſly diverted the ſtorm which hung over the church; for no ſooner had this affair paſſed in parliament with a grant of the alien priories to the crown, than the bill intended againſt the clergy fell of its own accord.

Whilſt the king was employing his arms againſt France, with ſuch wonderful ſucceſs as made the Engliſh name formidable to the reſt of Europe, the clergy were putting the laws againſt the Lollards in execution with all imaginable rigour; and the more they were oppreſſed and perſecuted, the more were the zeal and courage of the Lollards exerted to propagate their opinions. From the time that Sir J. Oldcastle had eſcaped out of the tower, he had been concealed with great care and ſecreſy in an obſcure part of Wales. But ſome of his friends having been taken, in the commotions now ſet on foot between them and the clergy, Sir John's retreat was diſcovered; and after ſome difficulty and violence he was taken and brought to London. The favour he had been in with the king, his great merit and ſervices, and his rank as a nobleman, were of no conſideration with the eccleſiaſticks: he had ſhewn an invincible courage and reſolution, in defending the principles taught by Wickliff and his followers, and his example, if it paſſed unpuniſhed, would infallibly be of pernicious conſequence to the church. His rank and merit therefore, inſtead of being arguments in his favour, ſerved only to hurry him the faſter to his execution, and to encreaſe his ignominy. He was drawn upon a hurdle to the gallows, hung up by the middle with a chain, and burnt alive: and all this he bore with the ſame firmneſs and good temper with which he had all along defended the doctrine that he profeſſed. When the reader conſiders with what eagerneſs and animoſity the clergy laboured to root out the pretended hereſies which ſtruck at their worldly grandeur, he will conclude perhaps that they themſelves perceived the neceſſity of a reformation which they would not admit; and that the fountain of corruption was in the chief eccleſiaſticks, from whom it had but too great an influence on the inferior clergy. Accordingly we find in hiſtory, that Rome and Avignon, where the popes at this time reſided, were the centre of avarice and ſenſuality, of pride and luxury; at the ſame time

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that the preambles of their ſeveral bulls breathed nothing but humility, charity, zeal, juſtice, and moderation; tho for the moſt part what they enjoyed was an irrefragable proof of their pride and tyranny.

The nature of my work does not leave me at liberty to enlarge upon the ſtate of the church abroad; and the reader muſt look into other hiſtories for ſuch an account. It is neceſſary however, in order to underſtand ſome of the following eccleſiaſtical affairs of England, that I ſhould take notice of a ſchiſm which had ſubſiſted above fifty years in the church of Rome, and of a council called at Conſtance about this time in order to put an end to it. The ſchiſms manifeſtly tended to the diſſolution of the papal dignity, which ſerved as a baſis or foundation for the privileges of the clergy, and for the hierarchy itſelf. The council of Conſtance, to which a great deputation was ſent from England, finding no better way to put an end to the ſchiſm, turned out the three popes which had all at one time aſſumed the dignity, and elected cardinal ODO COLONNA: and thus the peace and quiet of the church, which had been ſacrificed to the private intereſts of the moſt profligate of men, was at length reſtored. But they had other buſineſs to tranſact at the council of Conſtance, beſides depoſing three popes and ſetting up another. The followers of WICKLIFF had encreaſed prodigiouſly, abroad as well as at home: and the hereſy they propagated ſtruck ſo directly at the privileges of the church and clergy, that it was proper to root it out, they thought, with fire and ſword.

The reader muſt obſerve, that the opinions charged on WICKLIFF were of two different ſorts; the one relating to matters of faith and doctrine in religion, and the other to the authority which the popes, the cardinals and the biſhops had uſurped. That the council therefore might not ſeem to direct ſo ſevere a puniſhment as that of burning men alive, whoſe principles only tended to a reformation which all Chriſtendom ſeemed to require, the articles of faith were made the grounds of their condemnation: tho ſome of the hereticks they convicted and burnt as the followers of WICKLIFF, did not embrace his opinions relating to faith and worſhip. They went a ſtep further in their zeal againſt this hereſy; and a ſtep greatly beyond religion, or moral honeſty. They roundly declared without any diſguiſe, that the ſafe conduct given to hereticks by temporal princes, to

bring them before the council, was no bar to the juriſdiction or proceedings of the church: and notwithſtanding any ſuch ſafe conduct, it was lawful to puniſh hereticks who would not abjure their errors, and if the prince had done his part who granted it, he was no further obliged by his promiſe. It does not belong to this hiſtory to give any further detail of the proceedings of the council of Conſtance: and after this, whatever might be the firſt deſign of its aſſembling, the reader, I believe, will not expect, that a reformation in the church could be carried on by the fathers of this council, who had agreed in ſo licentious a declaration.

No ſooner was Odo inveſted with the papal dignity under the name of Martin the fifth, but he began to exerciſe his ſupremacy over the Engliſh church. He engroſſed ſo much the diſpoſal of vacant biſhopricks by way of proviſion, and ſo often voided the elections of chapters, notwithſtanding the late acts of the Engliſh parliament, that he appointed thirteen biſhops in the province of Canterbury within the compaſs of two years. He was likewiſe very laviſh in his grants for conſolidating and appropriating pariſh churches; in giving diſpenſations for non-reſidence, and in ſuffering ſome of the laity to enjoy the profits of livings. The Engliſh nation, which had by this time cooled in their zeal for the holy-ſee, could not ſee theſe encroachments without loud complaints; and the king thought himſelf obliged to ſend embaſſadors to the pope in order to get theſe grievances redreſſed. The embaſſadors executed their commiſſion with ſuch addreſs, that they procured an inſtrument called "the concor-" dat between Martin the fifth and the church of England." By the articles of this agreement, the pope gave up the appropriation and conſolidating of churches, without the conſent or approbation of the reſpective biſhops; he revoked all the diſpenſations for non-reſidence, and for beſtowing benefices upon the monks or laymen: and moreover agreed, that the cardinals ſhould be elected equally out of all Chriſtian nations, and the Engliſh not excluded from any poſts of honour or profit in the court of Rome. But all this did not ſatisfy the king and people of England. An act of parliament therefore paſſed at this time, to prohibit the admiſſion of eccleſiaſticks into benefices upon the popes proviſions, contrary to the rights of the ſeveral patrons, and that the clauſe "non obſtante" ſhould have no effect.

HENRY diſpatched another embaſſy to his holineſs to acquaint him with this act, and to deſire him not to offer at the diſpoſal of thoſe preferments in England, particularly, which belonged to the crown; and that when his majeſty ſhould be engaged in a war in defence of the holy ſee, the Peter pence and other money uſually ſent to Rome might be expended in the expedition. The pope was not a little diſconcerted at theſe demands; and giving an evaſive kind of an anſwer, the embaſſadors told him plainly, that unleſs he immediately complied without any reſerve, they had poſitive inſtructions from the king to make a proteſtation before the conclave, that his majeſty would uſe his prerogative in the points demanded, and that it was nothing but his reſpect for the apoſtolic ſee which had induced him to proceed in that condeſcending manner. Had all the anceſtors of this king held the ſame ſort of language to the court of Rome by their embaſſadors, and conducted themſelves by it, the papal encroachments in England would have given no diſturbance ſo far down as in the reign of HENRY the fifth. But he was a prince of ſpirit and reſolution, and what he ſaid he made good. For the pope having at this time tranſlated the biſhop of LINCOLN to the ſee of York by the plenitude of his power, the dean and chapter, by the king's command, inſiſted on the ſtatutes of proviſors, and refuſed to admit the biſhop. When his holineſs ſaw the king's reſolution, he quietly acquieſced; and the biſhop was glad to return to his former dioceſe. The next year, his majeſty taking offence at the diſaffection of the French monaſteries in England, and at their complaints of the conqueſts he made in France, turned the monks out of the convents, and beſtowed their revenues upon other bodies of eccleſiaſticks more in the Engliſh intereſt. This was one of the laſt acts of HENRY with regard to the eccleſiaſtical affairs of England. For the year following whilſt he was in France, pleaſing himſelf with the flattering proſpect of a victory which would make him maſter of that kingdom, he was ſeized with a flux which brought him to his grave in the flower of his age, being but thirty-four years old, and in the tenth year of his reign.

When HENRY found he was at the point of death, he ſent for his brother the duke of BEDFORD, and ſome Engliſh peers who had accompanied him in his expedition, to give them his laſt inſtructions about the war. He told them that his reign had been

ſhort but glorious; and tho his claim to the crown of France had occaſioned a great deal of blood to be ſhed, yet nothing but force could bring the French to reaſon. He aſſured them that he beheld his approaching fate without any concern, but it was not ſo with regard to that of the infant prince his ſon: he therefore entreated them to continue firmly united to him, to take care of his education, and to adminiſter all the conſolation to the queen which was in their power. After ſome other advice about the war with France, and the guardianſhip of England during his ſon's minority, the phyſicians telling him that he had not above an hour to live, he ſent for his confeſſor and chaplain: the former took his confeſſion, and the latter by his majeſty's order red the ſeven penetential pſalms; and the moment they were finiſhed this great prince expired. The reader will not be able to form an idea of the moſt diſtinguiſhing part of the character of king Henry the fifth, from what he has ſeen of him in the foregoing pages. It was not the buſineſs of a church hiſtorian to give a detail of his conduct in the war with France: and in the management of that war it was, that he principally illuſtrated his character as a prince. For this reaſon it is, that the Engliſh hiſtorians are all praiſe and reverence when they ſpeak of this monarch; and that the French on the other hand are all ſatire and reproach: the one will admit of no failings, and the other will allow of no deſert. Without entering into the particulars on which each ſide ground their opinion, and which are foreign to this work, it muſt be allowed with regard to the management of his own kingdom, there are few objections to be made to Henry. He had all the endowments of mind and body which were neceſſary to form a hero; and he ſhewed thro the whole courſe of his reign that they were not beſtowed upon him in vain. The ſtrength of his conſtitution was much improved by his bodily exerciſe in which he was very expert; and by the hardſhips of cold and hunger, of heat and thirſt which he underwent, in common with his army. He was not only a lover of juſtice in his own example, but he cauſed it to be adhered to punctually by his ſubjects. The military diſcipline which had been neglected for many years in England, he revived with great aſſiduity. It was not his military genius which prompted him to this exactneſs; but he ſaw it would be in vain to oppoſe the formidable power of France, unleſs the courage of his troops was excited and kept up, by the ſeverity with which cowards of all ranks were puniſhed. He ought perhaps on the other hand to have been ſomewhat more liberal to thoſe who

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ſerved him well: but we ſhould not blame him for this without conſidering whether it was in his power properly to reward their merit. The money granted him by parliament, was ſo inſufficient to defray the expences of the war, that he was obliged to pawn his jewels to carry it on: and in this condition he could not be very liberal. There were times however in which his liberality might have ſhone without any impropriety; and which would have added a great luſtre to the character of this prince. But fond as the hiſtorians are of HENRY, in whom they will not allow there was any defect, yet to be impartial, it muſt be owned, that liberality was not his turn. He was a great example of moderation in private life, and yet his ambition as a prince was boundleſs. This is not allowed by the eccleſiaſticks who write his life; but yet they record many circumſtances which plainly prove it. According to the opinion of the age he was very pious; a great friend to the church and clergy, regular in his devotions, and a lover of the Engliſh nation. Tho his ambition prompted him to extort a great deal of money from them to carry on the projects that he had formed, yet he never encroached on the liberties or privileges of his people, as RICHARD the ſecond, and his own father had done before him. He gave his aſſent without any reluctance to whatever the parliament judged neceſſary for the welfare of the kingdom; and had he never attempted the conqueſt of France, in which he got immortal glory, his reign as a king of England, would have been more honourable to himſelf, and happier for his people. This, upon reflexion, will not prove ſo ſtrange an aſſertion as it may ſeem at the firſt view; and I ſhall leave it to vindicate itſelf. The great, and perhaps the only material objection to his government at home, was his too eaſy compliance with the perſecution of the Lollards, contrary to his judgment and his natural temper, in order to appeaſe the wrath and bigotry of the clergy. It is here however that we are to look for the reaſon, why HENRY was all perfection with his hiſtorians, and every defect was palliated or hid. He was in truth a very accompliſhed prince, with many virtues, with great qualifications, with few infirmities as a man, and fewer ſtill as a king. Happy are the people who are bleſt with ſuch a monarch!

As ſoon as the news of the king's death was brought to England, his ſon, an infant about eight months old, was proclaimed by the name of HENRY the ſixth; and the council ſummoned a parliament to ſettle the form of the government during the king's

minority. At the opening of the ſeſſions, the duke of Bedford, his uncle, was appointed protector of the realm; and in his abſence the duke of Glocester, another uncle, was to ſupply his place: men of great abilities in council, and of eminent valour and experience in the art of war. The duke of Glocester indeed had not ſo great a command of his paſſions as his elder brother, and could but ill brook any oppoſition to his meaſures: for which reaſon the council, who held their places of the parliament, were always upon their guard, in order to hinder him from aſſuming a greater authority than he was entitled to: and the biſhop of Winchester his uncle, one of the king's governors, was at the head of a confederacy in oppoſition to him. The conduct of Mortimer earl of March, whoſe title to the crown had been ſuperſeded, had given no offence: but yet it was thought adviſeable by the council, that a pretender to the crown ſhould be at a diſtance from the kingdom during a minority; becauſe it was not impoſſible, that without his conſent he might be made the ground of diſſenſion and animoſity: he was therefore made governour general of Ireland with a very extenſive power. The good order which was thus eſtabliſhed by the wiſdom of the privy council procured a perfect tranquillity in the ſtate of England. Let us ſee how it was in the church.

The death of the king had given ſome little interruption to the perſecution of the Lollards; but by the zeal of archbiſhop Chicheley it was now revived. When he met his clergy in convocation to procure an aid for carrying on the war, two prieſts were brought before them accuſed of hereſy: this hereſy conſiſted, in their refuſing to kneel to a crucifix, in having books in their ſtudies wrote againſt tranſubſtantiation, in condemning the monaſtic inſtitution and auricular confeſſion as inventions of the devil, and in pleading for all things common among chriſtians. Theſe opinions they were obliged publicly to renounce at St. Paul's croſs, and upon this ſubmiſſion they were releaſed. In the parliament which met ſhortly after, a grievous complaint was made by the commons againſt the clergy for non reſidence; in which it was ſuggeſted "that for want of inſtruction the people were fallen "into Lollardy, the ſacraments of the church were not duly ad-"miniſtered, many people died without the religious rites, and "hoſpitality was not obſerved." They therefore petitioned "that "if any man of holy church having a cure of ſouls, or of any "divine ſervice to be done to his benefice, ſhould be abſent from

"his

" his benefice by ſix weeks continually, his benefice from which he " ſhould be ſo abſent ſhould be void." To this anſwer was made from the council, " that there was proviſion ſufficient for this already, and " the lords ſpiritual had promiſed to do execution and call their ſub- " jects to reſidence, except ſuch as had cauſe reaſonable and lawful " of excuſation, and to puniſh the non reſident for their abſence." Whoever takes up a prejudice againſt non-reſidence in general, as it is practiſed at preſent in the church of England, from any canons or ſtatutes paſſed in this or former ages againſt it, may perhaps ſee his abſurdity, when he conſiders that in thoſe times, if an incumbent was non-reſident, the pariſh was without any miniſter at all to inſtruct or officiate, and had not, as in theſe days, a curate ſubſtituted in his ſtead. The difference is ſo eſſential, that the caſes are not the ſame; and yet becauſe the ſame name only ſtill continues, men have been weak enough to argue from the one to the other, as tho the caſes were alike and equal.——But to proceed.

Before the prorogation of this parliament, the archbiſhop ſummoned a provincial ſynod, to enquire after one RUSSEL a franciſcan heretick, and to determine in what manner they ſhould proceed againſt thoſe who favoured hereſy. RUSSEL, it ſeems, had preached openly to the people, that perſonal tithes were not commanded by GOD, and that it was lawful for all chriſtians to expend them in pious uſes as they thought fit. This was a doctrine which ſtruck deep at the revenues of the church, and the friers had an intereſt obvious enough in it. The clergy therefore purſued the preacher with great zeal; the ſynod ordered him to recant at St. Paul's croſs, and as he eſcaped out of England without doing it, they ſolemnly cenſured him for a heretick, and obliged all of the ſame order, whenever they preached, to inſtruct the people that theſe tithes were paid by the laws of GOD, and the direction of the holy fathers of the church. Not content with all this, they got the opinions condemned in both the univerſities by a decree: the univerſity of Oxford went ſtill further, requiring all who were admitted to any degree, to take an oath not to maintain any of RUSSEL's opinions againſt perſonal tithes, which had been cenſured by the convocation and the univerſity, and that they ſhould not aſſiſt any perſon defending ſuch opinions, with advice or countenance.

Henry the fifth being no more, and the Engliſh affairs on the decline, about this time pope Martin ſent a thundering letter to the archbiſhop againſt the ſtatute of Premunire; and charged him, under the penalty of excommunication, to make all the intereſt he could with the privy council to get it repealed: he commands him to apply to the parliament, when it met, for the ſame purpoſe, and to inform them that thoſe who obeyed the ſtatute were under excommunication at Rome: the clergy were to be required by him to preach the ſame doctrine, and that his holineſs might be aſſured of his grace's compliance with this mandate, the primate's diligence was to be atteſted by two witneſſes of good character. If the reader is at a loſs for the reaſon of this ſudden exertion of the papal zeal, which he has heard little or nothing of for many years, he muſt recollect, beſides the death of the king, the ſchiſm which had till lately embroiled the papacy for fifty years; during which there were always two, and ſometimes three, competitors for the chair: and had either of them, who was acknowledged in England, given themſelves any haughty domineering airs, the Engliſh very probably might have transferred their obedience to the rival pope, and in time might have witheld it from the holy ſee. Should he want to know yet further, why ſo much perſonal outrage againſt Chicheley, and what his guilt was in this affair, who was not archbiſhop when this ſtatute paſſed, and who could not therefore prevent it, he muſt be told, that in the firſt convocation wherein this primate preſided, he moved for the annulling all papal exemptions; and in a letter afterwards to the king, adviſed him againſt admitting the biſhop of Winchester as a legate a latere from the pope. He tells his majeſty, "that this "commiſſion may be of dangerous conſequence to the realm; "that it appeared from hiſtory and ancient records, that they "had not been ſent into England unleſs upon very great occa- "ſions; that before they were admitted, they were brought un- "der articles and limited in their character, and their commiſ- "ſions determined within a year at fartheſt; whereas the biſhop "of Winchester's was granted for life." This letter was ſufficient to do the archbiſhop's buſineſs at Rome, and for the pope to give him a ſingular mark of his diſpleaſure. Here however, or no where, we muſt look for the cauſe of his diſgrace; for the ſtatute of Proviſors and Premunire were made fifty years before

fore in the reign of EDWARD the third, when CHICHELEY was not a biſhop.

But whatever might be the cauſe of the pope's diſpleaſure againſt him, the primate was uneaſy under it and ſent an excuſe to the court of Rome. The pope was not ſatisfied with this excuſe; and ſuſpended his exerciſe of the legatine power: upon which the archbiſhop appealed from his holineſs to the next general council, and if none met in his time, to the great tribunal of heaven. In the next letter the pope repeats his command, that the archbiſhop ſhould make his utmoſt effort to repeal the ſtatutes, and reprimands him very ſeverely for having ſaid "that "his holineſs's zeal in this matter was only to raiſe a ſum of "money upon the Engliſh." The next letter from MARTIN is in a ſtill higher ſtrain, directed to the two archbiſhops; and to mortify CHICHELEY, the archbiſhop of YORK is named before him. Here he ſtretches the ſupremacy to the higheſt pitch; by the plenitude of his power makes void the ſtatutes paſſed in the parliament of England, and commands the archbiſhops not to act upon their authority for the future. But this is not all. He declares that whoever ſubmitted to thoſe ſtatutes were "ipſo fac-"to" excommunicated, and not to be abſolved by any, unleſs at the point of death, but by the pope. What the council and the parliament thought of theſe proceedings of the eccleſiaſtical monarch we ſhall ſee preſently. In the mean time I muſt inform the reader, that the archbiſhop and his brethren were greatly terrified: and to mollify the pope's reſentment, ſeveral biſhops, joined by the univerſity of Oxford, ſollicited his holineſs to reſtore the primate to his favour; aſſuring him of the great value which the whole Engliſh nation had for their metropolitan, whoſe example was ſo admirable, that he might be called the "golden "candleſtick of the church of England." To theſe ſollicitations the archbiſhop added a very humble ſubmiſſion, proteſting that he had done, and would ſtill continue to do, his utmoſt for repealing theſe ſtatutes. But as to the cenſures which his holineſs had inflicted upon him, he knew nothing of them but from report; having been commanded by the king in council, to bring the inſtruments which contained them with the ſeals unbroken, and to lodge them in the paper office 'till the parliament met.

The holy MARTIN was of a temper not to be eaſily entreated: and being reſolved to puſh his point, he wrote letters to the king,

to the parliament, and to the duke of Bedford protector of the realm, upon this ſubject. In his letter to the king, he acquaints him that his majeſty is obliged in conſcience, without any ſollicitation, to get this act repealed; and promiſes to ſecure him and his ſubjects againſt any inconveniences which may ariſe from it. In his letter to the parliament, he touches on the ſame arguments but flouriſhes ſomething more upon his ſupremacy; he then tells them plainly, that they cannot be ſaved, unleſs they give their votes for the repeal. His letter to the protector calls the ſtatute "execrable, contrary to reaſon and religion; in pur-
"ſuance of which the law of nations and the privileges of am-
"baſſadors was violated, and his nuncioes much more coarſely
"treated than thoſe of that character among Turks and Infidels.
"He then deſires him to uſe his intereſt to wipe off the impu-
"tation from the government, to retrieve the honour of the
"church, and to chain up the rigour of theſe perſecuting ſta-
"tutes." But the Engliſh had by this time learnt from the court of Rome, to hold a language and a conduct towards it, which had more of diſſimulation in it than of ſincerity, and more of policy than of truth and argument.

At the next ſeſſions of parliament, the archbiſhop, attended with ſeveral biſhops and abbots, went to the houſe of commons: and after proteſting that he had no intention to offer any thing in prejudice to the king's prerogative, or any part of the conſtitution, he harangued for ſome time on his holineſs's ſupremacy, and attempted to prove from ſcripture, from uſage, and from the conſent of all Chriſtendom, that the granting proviſions was one branch of the privilege of the apoſtolic ſee. He then requeſted the commons to conſider how much the ſalvation of their own ſouls, and the happineſs of the kingdom was concerned, in not obſtructing this privilege; putting them in mind of the danger of an interdict if his holineſs was not complied with on this article. After he had laboured the point with great vehemence, and much ſeeming zeal, he withdrew with the reſt of his brethren. To carry on the farce, the commons went very ſolemnly into the debate; but not being convinced by the archbiſhop's rhetorick, they refuſed to repeal or amend the ſtatutes in diſpute. They were of opinion however that his grace had been hardly uſed by the court of Rome; and addreſſed the king that an application might be made to the pope for his purgation.

The

The biſhop of WINCHESTER, tho he had been diſappointed of the purple and the power of legate in the reign of his nephew HENRY, yet now renewed his attempt ſince CHICHELEY was in diſgrace, and there was an infant king, and ſucceeded. Upon his return however into England, and declaring his commiſſion at the council board, the king's proctor proteſted in form, that no legate of the pope ought to come into the kingdom without his majeſty's leave; that this was a right of the prerogative; and therefore, if the cardinal of England intended to exert his legatine authority in prejudice of this privilege, he forbad him in the king's name the exerciſe of that character. Upon this the legate promiſed ſolemnly not to do any thing by virtue of his commiſſion in diſinheriſon of the crown, or which might leſſen the prerogative, or the rights and liberties of the people. Upon a further proteſtation that he would abſent himſelf when any difference between the king and pope was in debate, he was admitted to take his place at the council board, in conſideration of his being of the blood royal. But as he had not the king's leave for holding the biſhoprick of Wincheſter with the purple, the duke of GLOCESTER, his great enemy, oppoſed his officiating on St. George's day as prelate of the order of the garter: and when he came himſelf to council to demand the reaſon for which they deprived him of his right, he was told it was for fear of prejudicing the prerogatives of the crown. But this was not the only inſtance in which the papal ſupremacy met with a ſevere mortification; and which ſhewed how careful the council was, to prevent the pope from exerciſing an authority here in England, which his predeceſſors had too much abuſed.

The cardinal being ſhortly after appointed legate for Germany, and general of a cruſado againſt the hereticks in Bohemia, petitioned the king and council for leave to publiſh it; and that he might have power to levy five thouſand five hundred men, and to appoint the officers to command them. This petition having been debated, the council granted it in part under theſe reſtrictions. That no one ſhould be obliged to contribute any money towards a cruſado, but every one ſhould give what they pleaſed: The ſums thus voluntarily furniſhed ſhould be put into ſuch hands as the council ſhould direct: and the gold or ſilver ſhould not be exported beyond ſea, but expended within the kingdom. That the cardinal ſhould be empowered to levy only

only half the number of men he had propoſed; on this condition too, that the pope ſhould have ſome regard to the king and kingdom, and not impoſe any tax on the laity, or eccleſiaſticks. That the cardinal ſhould give the council ſufficient ſecurity for the return of the troops. That he ſhould not nominate the officers, but they ſhould be commiſſioned by the king. That in publiſhing the cruſado, it ſhould be mentioned expreſly, that it was with the king's conſent. That he ſhould ſerve with the troops till the end of December under the duke of Bedford in France, provided they were not employed in any ſiege; and if the cruſado did not take place, the money furniſhed by private perſons ſhould not be laid out without the king's approbation.

About the ſame time a convocation was held at London, wherein a tenth was granted for carrying on the war in France: and as the clergy complied thus chearfully with the occaſions of the government, an act was paſſed in this ſeſſions of parliament, "that all "the clergy to be called hereafter to the convocation by the "king's writ, and their ſervants and familiars, ſhall for ever here-"after fully uſe or enjoy ſuch liberty or defence, in coming, "tarrying, or returning, as the great men and commonalty of "the realm of England, called to the king's parliament, do en-"joy." The pope's nuncio ſeeing the clergy ſo liberal in ſupplying the king, came into the convocation houſe whilſt they were ſitting; and flouriſhing a great deal on the ſubject of the war with hereticks, preſſed very hard for an aid to his holineſs, in order to carry it on. But the convocation would give nothing. In a little time after, he went to them again with more authority: he produced a letter from the pope, in which he had poſitive orders to command the Engliſh clergy to contribute a tenth on this occaſion. Such imperious treatment diſguſted the eccleſiaſticks, and made the matter worſe: they gave a flat denial to his demand, and offered him eight pence in the mark of their annual rents; on this condition, that the money ſhould not be paid, if the contribution was found to intrench upon the king's prerogative, and the laws of the realm. But this was not the only check which the eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy received at this time in England. The nuncio was impriſoned for collecting money upon the ſubjects contrary to law; which impriſonment, tho it was warmly reſented at the court of Rome, was inſiſted on by the people, and continued. At this convocation, ſeveral of the clergy, and

others, were accuſed of hereſy, in declaring againſt pilgrimages and worſhipping images, in calling the pope antichriſt, and embracing ſeveral tenets which had been taught by WICKLIFF. Some of theſe recanted before the ſynod; and thoſe who had more integrity, or more courage, were ſent to priſons and dungeons to repent.

The ſole buſineſs of convocations called by the king's writ, had hitherto been to grant ſupplies, and to deliberate on the affairs of ſtate. But it was now become the uſual cuſtom, began if I don't miſtake by archbiſhop COURTNEY, for eccleſiaſtical councils to give aids to the king, if he ſent to them to require it, and for the convocations to tranſact the buſineſs of the church, if they were allowed by the archbiſhops and biſhops ſo to do. Accordingly in a convocation which was ſummoned the following year to grant a ſubſidy to the king, they deliberated about a general council which was to be held at Baſil; the archbiſhop and his brethren in the chapter houſe, whilſt the clergy below were employed about the ſubſidy: the debates on both points being concluded, the clergy were ſent for up, and the ſubſidy was granted jointly by both houſes. In this convocation, ſome delegates were appointed to repreſent the Engliſh church at the general council; two pence in the pound was granted to defray their charges, and they were inſtructed to move againſt the exceſſes of papal diſpenſations, with reſpect to pluralities, non reſidence, and the conferring dignities and preferments upon young men of family, who were ſcarcely of age to take orders, and had little or no learning; to the prejudice of religion, and the church of England. The pope would gladly have evaded this general council, which by a decree of that at Conſtance was now to be convened. But he could not omit it with any regard to his reputation. To keep up his credit therefore with the Weſtern church, he ordered cardinal JULIAN to open the council at Baſil, and preſide as legate. But before the council was aſſembled MARTIN died; and EUGENIUS the fourth was choſen in his room. The new pope confirmed the act of his predeceſſor; yet a council which talked of nothing but a reformation of the church in the head and members, could not but terrify a pope, who had not had time to taſte the ſweets of the pontificate. The council of Baſil therefore was no ſooner met, than EUGENIUS endeavoured to recall his conceſſions, and to diſſolve it. It does not conſiſt at all with my deſign to give a particular account of the tranſactions of this general council. But as the church of Eng-

land was repreſented in it, I am obliged to take notice of ſome of the principal events, that the reader may underſtand more eaſily what is to follow.

The pope was not more intent on breaking up the council, than the council was on continuing their ſeſſions, and entring on a reformation. The ſynod placed the authority of a general council above that of the pope; and the pope nulled this decree. On his ſide he threatened to diſſolve the council; and on their ſide they were reſolved to ſuſpend the pope. The quarrel ended at length in a real ſchiſm. The fathers perceiving the pope intended to remove the council, paſſed ſeveral decrees in great haſte to leſſen the authority of the holy ſee, and even cited the pope to appear before them. Eugenius made light of all theſe proceedings, and tranſlated the council to Ferrara. The ſynod refuſed to comply; and ſuſpended the pope by a great majority of votes, 'till he ſhould come in perſon to make his defence. In the mean time the preſident, and all the other cardinals, except one, with ſeveral biſhops, repaired to Ferrara; and thus a new ſort of ſchiſm aroſe between two councils, which both called themſelves general, and condemned each other. The Baſil council at laſt depoſed Eugenius, and choſe another pope, who took the name of Felix, in his room. Whilſt this conteſt was carrying on, between two popes, and two general councils, who thundered out their anathemaes againſt each other, to the great ſcandal of Chriſtendom, Eugenius died, and was ſucceded by Nicholas the fifth; to whom Felix agreed, on certain conditions, to reſign the popedom. I have given this abſtract in one view, tho the tranſactions it contains took up eighteen years, that it might not too often break the thread of the hiſtory. It is time now to return to the affairs of England.

Tho the king acknowledged the council of Ferrara, and had all along eſpouſed the cauſe of pope Eugenius, yet in a convocation which was ſummoned to furniſh the delegates to this council according to their character, the lower houſe, who were moſt of them for the council of Baſil, refuſed to contribute to this expence. Nor was this the only mortification which the pope met with here. For having given the archbiſhop of Rhoan the biſhoprick of Ely in commendam, the king rejected the bull: and tho, in conſideration of the biſhop's ſervices in France, his majeſty afterwards conſented to it, yet the archbiſhop was ſo diſguſted

guſted at this unprecedented ſtretch of the pope's ſupremacy, which might prove of dangerous conſequence to the church of England, that he deſired the convocation to deliberate about a remedy: and when the deputies of the new biſhop of ELY came to enter upon the juriſdiction and to take poſſeſſion of the temporalities, the primate oppoſed his title, cited his agents to appear before his grace at Lambeth, and on their not appearing ſuſpended them for contumacy. In this ſame convocation, upon a complaint from Oxford that the univerſity was much declined, thro the diſappointment of thoſe who had ſpent all their youth to qualify themſelves for the church, and had ignorant unlearned people put over their heads, a canon was paſſed, that none but graduates in the univerſities ſhould be capable of benefices. This was putting it in the power of the univerſities themſelves to prevent an abuſe of this nature; and they may thank themſelves only that it continues to this day to be a juſt cauſe of complaint. Had they given no degrees to young men of quality who have neither parts nor learning, we ſhould have ſeen none ſuch in the church, engroſſing the great dignities, to the ſcandal of learning and religion, and to the prejudice of thoſe able worthy men who are the ornament and ſupport of both. A crowd of reflexions offer themſelves upon this ſubject, and of great conſequence to the publick: but they may perhaps be thought invidious; and tho I have a deſire to ſerve the publick, yet I have no intention to offend. Let the reader therefore make theſe reflexions for himſelf: I ſhall turn again to the hiſtory.

The next year the archbiſhop held a provincial ſynod, for the defence of the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; which by ſeveral of the king's writs, and more eſpecially by that of "Præmunire facias," was more diſturbed and hindered, he ſaid, than it uſually had been. For this, and ſome other cauſes, he called the clergy together, "to provide ſome remedy in this behalf," and to draw up their grievances in writing. Upon this ſome articles were formed and paſſed, whereby thoſe that violated their eccleſiaſtical rights were pronounced excommunicate; and theſe articles were to be publiſhed three times a year in every church. Whatever remedies the convocation might provide for the defence of the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, yet it is plain they were ineffectual. For among the grievances of the clergy, agreed upon in another convocation five years after, we find the writ of Præmunire one of the chief, and a petition preſented in their name to the king by

the archbiſhop againſt it: but they could not prevail. In a ſhort time after, the primate finding himſelf worn out with age and infirmities, and having a truer ſenſe of religion, than to fill a great office in the church which he could not diſcharge, or to keep the revenues of it from thoſe who did the duties of it for him, he wrote to the pope for leave to reſign his ſee, and to recommend one to ſuccede him. He tells the pope in this letter, "that he "thought in his conſcience his brother of Bath, a man of the "greateſt merit, and in all reſpects beſt qualified for the poſt of "primate: that beſides his eminent learning and other valuable "qualifications, which had diſtinguiſhed him very remarkably "from the greateſt part of his order, his family, and the intereſt "which he had gained by his hoſpitality, were ſtill further mo-"tives to promote him to the ſee of Canterbury." There is ſuch an excellent ſpirit, and ſo much good ſenſe, in the requeſt and recommendation contained in this letter, as cannot be too much applauded: it affords a leſſon of inſtruction, and a leſſon of reproof to his poſterity; to thoſe who perhaps have believed themſelves to be much better, if not much greater men than he was.

Whatever was the anſwer the archbiſhop received from Rome, he was ſoon accommodated to his wiſhes by being taken out of the world; and Stafford biſhop of Bath appointed to ſuccede him. After a life of great integrity, and of eminent ſervice to the church and kingdom, twenty-nine years of which he filled the chair of primate, ſuch was the glorious end of archbiſhop Chicheley: an end, by which he did as much honour to his religion, and gave as great a luſtre to his character, as by the whole courſe of his life. He had humility enough to uſe his clergy with reſpect and freedom, and yet he had ſpirit enough to preſerve the juriſdiction of his ſee, and to appear openly againſt licentiouſneſs how great ſoever thoſe might be by whom it was countenanced: he managed however in the exerciſe of his authority with that prudence and dexterity towards the great men of the kingdom, ſo as never to forfeit the favour of his ſovereign. We have had too many proofs in the foregoing pages of his oppoſing the papal uſurpations, not to know that he was true to the intereſts of his king and country: and if we meet with no burning of hereticks, nor any other puniſhment but impriſonment, and that in a few inſtances only, may we not impute it to the candour, good ſenſe, and chriſtian ſpirit of this prelate? He knew

knew the true uſe of a great fortune in a churchman, and he made it accordingly. He did not amaſs immenſe wealth out of the church to raiſe a name in the world, or to aggrandize relations; but he ſpent his eſtate in encouraging learning, in the intereſt of religion, and freeing deſerving men from the difficulties of a ſlender income. Beſides a large hoſpital, and a large eſtate ſettled for the uſe of the poor, in the town where he was born, he founded a college there for a warden, eight fellows, and ten inferior clerks; he founded All Souls, and another college at Oxford ſunk in that of St. JOHN's, and was a great benefactor to his cathedral church. In ſhort CHICHELEY was one of the greateſt, and one of the beſt men of the age; and hence it is that he never attained to the honour of the purple, which was ſo laviſhly beſtowed upon men of leſs merit and learning: but CHICHELEY wanted one indiſpenſable qualification for a cardinal; he had not a greater zeal for the ſee of Rome, than for his native country.

In the ſecond year of the tranſlation of archbiſhop STAFFORD, he held a convocation by the king's writ for a grant of a ſubſidy to his majeſty; and the clergy gave him a tenth. They entered then into a debate about their grievances, and appointed proctors and ſollicitors to attend at the next parliament to get them redreſſed; particularly that the ſtatutes of Proviſors and Præmunire, which were wreſted by the common lawyers to the prejudice of the church, might be repealed; or at leaſt explained to a more commodious ſenſe. They likewiſe moved, that the parliament ſhould enact a penalty againſt all thoſe who ſhould bring eccleſiaſticks into the civil courts againſt their privilege, and harraſs them with unjuſt and vexatious ſuits. But they broke up without coming to any reſolution upon theſe points. The next year however, theſe ſtatutes continuing to be turned againſt the clergy and perverted to their prejudice, the biſhops, being met in convocation, conſulted about a remedy againſt this oppreſſion. The two houſes agreed in an addreſs to the king, ſetting forth their hard uſage from the practiſe of the temporal courts: which by the miſconſtruction of the word "elſewhere" in the ſtatute of Præmunire, a ſtatute made for the benefit of the prelates, pretend that their judges are liable to the penalty if they interfere ever ſo little with his majeſtie's courts. The intention they ſaid of adding the words "or elſewhere" in the ſtatute, to the words "in the "court of Rome," was becauſe the pope was frequently at other places beſides Rome, where he inſiſted the ſame on his privilege

of proviſions. They therefore beſeech his majeſty, that the word which gave occaſion to this unfortunate miſconſtruction might be explained by authority of parliament; and that the eccleſiaſtical judges might not be liable to a Præmunire, unleſs they took no notice of prohibitions from the courts of Weſtminſter-hall. We muſt wait till the next reign before we ſee the ſucceſsful fruits of this addreſs; and then the prelates were gratified according to their deſire.

About this time died H. Beaufort, the king's great uncle, cardinal of England, and biſhop of Wincheſter; who having made a great figure in the church and ſtate, it is proper the reader ſhould know ſomething more of him. The firſt part of his education he had at Oxford, from whence he went to Aix la Chapelle, where he applied himſelf to the civil and canon law. As he was intended for the church, and was of the royal family, he was preferred young to the ſee of Lincoln. At the death of Wickham, his brother Henry the fourth made him biſhop of Wincheſter; in which ſee he continued three and forty years, till he was deprived of it by death. Inſtead of expending the revenues of this wealthy biſhoprick, as Chicheley did that of the primacy, or as his predeceſſor did in building and endowing colleges, he made it the buſineſs of his life to ſcrape up riches; in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that he was thought at laſt the richeſt of the Engliſh noblemen. He lent his nephew, Henry the fifth, twenty thouſand pounds, which at that time was a prodigious ſum; and he took his crown in pawn for it. The king had ſome regard for him as an uncle; but he ſaw that he was fitter for the court than for the church, and was always apprehenſive of his intriguing temper. He is ſaid to have had his ſhare of learning for the age he lived in: he was certainly a man of ſenſe, and knew all the means which human prudence ſuggeſts to the vain and covetous. If his birth, his riches, his parts, and his great ſtation, gave him credit and influence in the court and the kingdom, it is evident that his religion never ſtood in the way of his ambitious projects. The many outrages with which he braved his nephew the duke of Glocester, the protector of the realm, and the principal ſhare he had in his death, will put this out of doubt; and is a ſtain upon his memory which nothing can take away. He ſaw the political reaſons for which king Henry the fifth, and his primate Chicheley, oppoſed his having the purple, and the poſt of legate a latere: and if his luſt of power and preeminence had

not ſwallowed up all regard to the intereſt of the king, which was that of his own family, and to the good of his country, he would not afterwards have taken the advantage of a minority and an embarraſſed adminiſtration, to poſſeſs himſelf of theſe dignities contrary to the laws. *But his pride and ambition were equalled by nothing but his love of money; and this was immeaſurable. Tho he held this rich biſhoprick ſuch a vaſt number of years, and had beſides the revenues of cardinal and of legate half the time, yet the only charitable benefaction that we find, was the hoſpital of St. Croſs which he founded near the city of Wincheſter; and which, if it is not groſly abuſed and perverted from its original inſtitution, as many think it is, was only to maintain a few old men in neceſſaries, and to ſupport one eccleſiaſtick in luxury, in lazineſs, and in pride. When this worldly-minded prelate drew near his end, he ſaw with deſpair the change which death was going to put upon him: and revolting againſt providence becauſe his wealth could not exempt him from the common fate of mortals, in a fit of prophane fury he expired. Thus ended the life of BEAUFORT; miſerably to himſelf, but full of inſtruction to thoſe ſordid groveling wretches, who, like him, make gold their hope, and place all their confidence in the multitude of their riches. Let us turn now to the hiſtory.

HENRY the ſixth was ſo weak a man, that if he had held the reins of the government himſelf, it is probable that the papal intereſt would in his time have revived. But thoſe who conducted the affairs of ſtate, as well during his minority as after his marriage, were men of another character. For this reaſon when pope NICHOLAS, preſuming on the king's imbecillity, attempted to levy a tenth upon the clergy, his majeſty being unwilling that his ſubjects ſhould be impoveriſhed, commanded the archbiſhop not to execute the bull, nor promote the collecting any money. The primate made the king's prohibition his excuſe, and the nuncios were obliged to return without their errand. Tho the pope was thus diſappointed of a ſupply from the Engliſh clergy, yet he exerciſed his ſupremacy in ſome other things; particularly in filling many of the vacant ſees, without oppoſition. Wincheſter was filled by WAINFLEET, at the election of the chapter, on a conge d' elire from the king. But the truth of the matter is, the court was broke into ſuch factions after HENRY's marriage, which were attended with ſuch fatal con-

conſequences ſoon after in a civil war, that the adminiſtration had no time to think much of religion or the affairs of the church. The king himſelf indeed was the greateſt devotioniſt of his time; for he minded, and employed himſelf in nothing elſe: but his reign, tho a very long one, was ſo torn with diſſention, after the death of his uncles eſpecially, as to afford little matter for church hiſtory. The good archbiſhop STAFFORD, whoſe character is known more by his predeceſſor's letter about him than by any thing which we have ſeen of him, died in the middle of this century, after filling the ſee of Canterbury about five years and a half; and was ſucceded by KEMP, a cardinal and archbiſhop of York, at the election of the monks. The pope indeed took no notice of this election, but tranſlated him to the primacy by a proviſionary bull. He lived however but a year and half after; and the chapter without any interpoſition either from the pope or the king, made choice of BOURCHIER biſhop of Ely for their metropolitan.

The court was too much engaged with the conteſts between the houſes of York and Lancaſter to attend to any thing elſe; but how his holineſs came to let his ſupremacy ſleep upon this occaſion, it is hard to ſay. We may be ſure the metropolitan did not prove unacceptable to the court of Rome, becauſe the ſame pope advanced him afterwards to the purple. Soon after he was inſtalled, the archbiſhop held his viſitation, and made ſeveral regulations for the government of his dioceſe. He decreed that the religious who threw off the habit of the cloiſter, and entered on parochial cures, ſhould forfeit their benefices, and be puniſhed as revolters from their order. That no livings ſhould be let to farm without the biſhop's leave. That marriages and wills ſhould not be valid without two witneſſes at the leaſt. He paſſed ſeveral other conſtitutions, for the reformation of the laity, as well as clergy, but of too little moment to be related. The truth is, religion and learning were at that time much on the decline. An author of character then alive complains, that a right diſcharge of the functions of a pariſh prieſt was almoſt grown into diſuſe and become impracticable. He imputes this to the practice of non reſidence, to the promoting unworthy and illiterate perſons in the church, to the exceſſive indulgence of pluralities, and to the beſtowing degrees in the univerſity on thoſe who had neither morals, nor any kind of merit, to recommend them. They were purchaſed, he ſays, without any regard to life or learn-

learning; and that this corruption in the univerſities overſpred the country with ignorance, and cauſed the pariſhes where any clergy were reſident to be ill ſupplied.

About this time we meet with the firſt deiſtical writer in England, PEACOCK biſhop of Chicheſter; who publiſhed ſeveral books in favour of natural reaſon above the ſcripture. He went likewiſe into ſome of the opinions taught by WICKLIFF, with regard to the natural preſence of CHRIST in the euchariſt, and the determinations of the church of Rome; beſides other novelties of his own againſt the preaching of biſhops, their titles, reſidence, and revenues. There were no proceedings however againſt him, 'till by his ſatirical declamations againſt his brethren from the pulpit, he had enflamed the mob to ſuch a degree, that they murdered two biſhops, and drove two others from their dioceſe, plundered and put to death ſeveral advocates and judges of the ſpiritual courts, and harraſſed the inferior clergy of Kent and Wiltſhire in a barbarous manner. The archbiſhop then convened a ſynod at Lambeth to examine into his writings; whither being ſummoned, and appearing, he was obliged to recant his errours. He was ſhortly after ordered to London for another trial; and having a ſecond time recanted, he was brought in his epiſcopal habit to St. Paul's church-yard, where his books were publicly burnt, and where he confeſſed that his pride had brought upon him this diſgrace. He was deprived of his ſee, and the ſtudents in the univerſities, who embraced his hereſy, were excommunicated and expelled. This is the laſt tranſaction relating to religion and the church of England, in the long and weak reign of this unfortunate king. The ſtate hiſtorian muſt inform the reader of the ſeveral intrigues in the cabinet, and the ſeveral battles in the field; which, after infinite confuſion, and ſhedding a great deal of blood, determined in the ruin of the houſe of Lancaſter, and the elevation of the houſe of York.

HENRY the ſixth after a reign of eight and thirty years was depoſed by the joint conſent of all the lords ſpiritual and temporal, gentlemen, magiſtrates, and people in and about London; and EDWARD earl of March, the eldeſt branch of the line of York, which was ſet aſide at the advancement of HENRY the fourth, was declared king of England. The great defect of the unhappy prince whom they had depoſed, was a natural incapacity for politicks and war; which made him not only unfit to

judge of the wiſdom or impropriety of the counſels given him, but alſo indifferent about the events which happened during his reign. He always thought his adviſers had better heads than he had; and in that he was not miſtaken: but he always thought too, that the advice was the beſt for himſelf and the Engliſh nation; and in that he was in the wrong. He was chaſte, temperate, juſt, and merciful; and in ſhort had all the virtues of a good Chriſtian. Had he been a private gentleman, without any public truſt or authority, Henry was ſo amiable in his temper and deportment, and ſo extremely given up to devotion, that in thoſe days he might have paſſed very well for a ſaint. He was in truth much fitter for a monk than for a king: and the monks looking at him only thro his virtues, without conſidering, perhaps without knowing, that he wanted all the qualifications of a ſovereign, have extolled him beyond meaſure as a moſt accompliſhed prince. But his real character, is that of a weak, well tempered, and good man, loving every body, and offending none; and tho the ſon of one of the moſt illuſtrious princes that ever ſwayed the Engliſh ſceptre, yet being one while a ſlave to his miniſters, another while to his queen, was himſelf a very contemptible, and not a deſerving king.

Notwithſtanding Henry was depoſed and the duke of York was proclaimed, yet the conteſt between the houſes was far from being laid aſleep. The new king indeed was crowned with the uſual ſolemnities very peaceably; and the parliament, according to the ſalutary maxim they had adopted of taking the ſtrongeſt ſide, approved the coronation, and ratified the title of Edward. The pope likewiſe, Pius the ſecond, believing the new king ſufficiently eſtabliſhed in the throne, wrote him a letter of congratulation: but yet he was not without his fears, and without his danger. At leaſt one cannot well aſcribe to any thing elſe, the great haſte he was in to ſecure the clergy in his intereſt, by granting them a charter of liberties of a very extraordinary nature, and which his predeceſſors had refuſed. By virtue of this grant, all eccleſiaſticks for the future were diſcharged from the juriſdiction of the temporal courts in criminal cauſes: and if any of them were indicted for felony, rapes, or treaſon, &c. the king's judges were obliged to deliver them up to their ordinaries on demand, who were to trie them, and paſs ſentence. If any of the judges, ſheriffs, bailiffs, or other officers, ſhould arreſt, attach, or impriſon any one in holy orders, they were liable to

the penalty of excommunication: and the clergy were empowered to take tithe of wood tho of more than twenty years growth. But this was not all. They had an authority given them under the great ſeal, to proceed in all cauſes within the verge of the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, without diſturbance; and were ſcreened from the penalties of the ſtatutes of Proviſors and Præmunire, which they had long ſollicited.

The king pretended that he was induced to make theſe conceſſions, from the zeal he had for the honour and liberties of the church, from his dread of the excommunications decreed by the holy canons, and from a perſuaſion that all the calamities which had afflicted England for ſome time, were the juſt judgments of GOD for the little regard which had been ſhewn his miniſters. But may we not doubt his ſincerity without being uncharitable? May we not ſuppoſe that a young king, not eſtabliſhed firmly on the throne, whoſe rival was ſolliciting foreign aid, had ſome motives of another nature for breaking thro ſo many ſtatutes, which the parliaments had deemed neceſſary to check the power of the eccleſiaſticks? Be this however as it might: the clergy very ſenſible of the favour ſhewn them in this charter, in the next convocation very readily granted the king a tenth, and took his part with great zeal. But ſuch is the inſtability of all human grandeur, and ſuch the vanity of human foreſight, EDWARD, notwithſtanding he thought himſelf firmly ſeated in the throne, yet by only putting an indignity on his great friend the earl of WARWICK, whom he had ſent to the court of France to negotiate a marriage for him, and taking an Engliſh lady in the interim to his wife without making the earl any excuſe, I ſay EDWARD was dethroned, impriſoned, and eſcaping, obliged to flie abroad to ſave his life; voted a traitor and uſurper, ſubſiſted upon the charity of a foreigner, returned to England as a ſubject, begged for his inheritance, and took an oath of allegeance to king HENRY at the altar of the cathedral church of York. It was not long however before he forgot this engagement, and reaſcended the throne, which he poſſeſſed quietly to his death.

HENRY and his ſon having been put to death, and EDWARD being now freed from all his enemies, without any proſpect of more diſturbance, aſſembled the lords at Weſtminſter; and in a ſet ſpeech endeavoured to make out the title of the houſe of York

to

to the crown. All the ſpiritual and temporal lords preſent, took the oath at his requeſt to Edward his ſon, as his apparent ſucceſſor; and as he always made it his buſineſs to carry it fair with the eccleſiaſticks, he granted a pardon to ſeven biſhops who had declared againſt him in the late revolution. His perfidious treatment of the archbiſhop of York, the earl of Warwick's brother, is an exception, which does no honour to his memory. Notwithſtanding the charter of liberties which was granted to the clergy in the beginning of this reign, we may conclude from a bull of pope Sixtus fourteen years afterwards, grounded on a complaint of the whole clergy of England, that they were ſtill indicted and impriſoned by the temporal courts. Wherefore the pope thundered out a ſentence of excommunication againſt all thoſe who ſhould diſturb their privileges in time to come. So many were the foreign and domeſtic troubles of the reign of Edward, that it furniſhes no more matter for a hiſtory of the church, tho his reign continued above two and twenty years. The civil conteſts between the houſes of York and Lancaſter had divided the nation ſo much into parties, and the thoughts of the Engliſh were ſo taken up with military projects and executions, that religion and learning were gone much to decay.

Whilſt the king was making great preparations for a war with France, he was ſeized with a mortal diſtemper which diſcovered to him the vanity of all human projects, and put an end to his life in the forty ſecond year of his age. He is ſaid to have been very ſenſible of the iniquities that he had committed and to have given marks of a ſincere repentance: there was certainly great room for it, and it was happy for him if this is true. He was allowed by every body to have been the fineſt figure of a man in Europe: and a ſweet and lively mien, a free and eaſy manner being added to the majeſty and handſomeneſs of his perſon, he won the hearts of all who ſaw him. The qualities of his mind, if we conſider him only in the light of a hero, were not much inferior to his body. His genius which was chiefly military, had been improved by education in the art of war; in which the coolneſs of his temper was as beneficial to him as the ſolidity of his judgment, or the invincibleneſs of his courage: and theſe all contributed to make his way to the throne. His good and bad fortune was ſudden and ſurpriſing, but he ſupported both with great dignity; and avoided haughtineſs in the one and dejection in the other. Few

things can be ſaid of a great man in a political light, which may not be ſaid with truth of EDWARD: what pity it is, that there is nothing to be ſaid of him as a good one! enough has been told in the foregoing pages, and much more might be told, of his murders, barbarity, and breach of faith, to make the reader entertain an unfavourable opinion of his morals. But the ſtate hiſtorians muſt be conſulted to enable us to form EDWARD's character. We are not to take it upon their word, for a reaſon which RAPIN gives very rightly; becauſe they wrote when the houſe of Lancaſter was on the throne, when nothing good would be allowed to be ſaid of the houſe of York; and they were copied by later writers. But the facts of hiſtory are what I ſpeak of; from which alone I draw all the characters, without regard to the commendation or the reproach of thoſe who write it: and if theſe facts are not falſified, if EDWARD put to death ſo many lords and gentlemen on the ſcaffold who were taken in war, even after he had promiſed them pardon; if king HENRY and his ſon were murdered by his direction, whoſe only crime was that he had ſworn allegeance to them; if he broke the ſecurity of a ſafe conduct ſigned by his own hand; and put his brother to death on falſe accuſations, which he muſt know to be ſo, and only for reaſons of ſtate; I ſay, if theſe things are ſo, then EDWARD the fourth, with all his greatneſs as a hero, was a very wicked man, and a very ſanguinary perfidious king.

The eldeſt ſon of this monarch, who was about twelve years of age at his father's death, and was proclaimed by the name of EDWARD the fifth, had a ſhort and unfortunate reign, if it may be called ſo, of between two and three months. The whole matter of it conſiſted only in the means made uſe of by the duke of GLOCESTER his uncle, to ſet him aſide, and to place himſelf on the throne. On the throne then we are now to behold him, under the name of RICHARD the third, notwithſtanding all the obſtacles which ſtood in his way: and as he had obtained it only by blood and wickedneſs, he endeavoured to keep poſſeſſion of it by the ſame methods. The young king and his brother were privately ſtrangled in the tower by his directions. His own ſon, about ten years old, was created prince of Wales. His favourites were put into all the places of truſt and profit; and the great men who were his enemies, had either abſconded, or were ſecured. This was particularly the caſe of MORTON biſhop of Ely, who had been put under an arreſt a few days before he

ſeized the crown; leſt his love and fidelity to the family of his brother, the late king Edward, ſhould induce the prelate to oppoſe his deſigns. The biſhop had been educated at Oxford; and being in high eſteem there on account of his parts and learning, the univerſity ſent a petition in his favour to the king, a few days after his acceſſion. Richard being unwilling to reject this petition, at a time when he wanted to conciliate the affections of his ſubjects to his unjuſt advancement, and hating the biſhop mortally for his abilities, and his loyalty to his nephew, was in great perplexity what to do. At laſt he thought of a middle way, between ſetting him at liberty, and impriſoning him in the tower; which was to commit him to the cuſtody of the duke of Buckingham, the partner and confidant of the king in his bloody meaſures, in order to be kept in the caſtle of Brecknock. But ſo infatuated and ſo blinded are men by providence, when it pleaſes God to blaſt the projects that are founded in violence and injuſtice, that this very meaſure which he concerted for the ſecurity of his crown, proved the great means by which he loſt both his crown and his life together.

The principles of the duke were no better than thoſe of the king; he went all the lengths which the king deſired to aſſiſt him in his uſurpation; and he had been promiſed for this ſervice a moiety of the lands of the earl of Hereford which he claimed a right to. But Richard was now in quiet poſſeſſion of the throne; and thinking differently from what he did when he was only paving the way to it, he refuſed to make good his promiſe. The duke was too high ſpirited, and had too great a ſenſe of the ſervices he had done the king, not to reſent this refuſal in the warmeſt manner. Under this impreſſion he came to his caſtle in Wales, where biſhop Morton was his priſoner; with whom he daily converſed. Incenſed as the duke was at this ungrateful uſage, it was impoſſible he ſhould not diſcover ſome intimations of his diſſatisfaction with the king; and the biſhop had penetration and abilities enough to perceive and to make uſe of it. After having ſounded each other with great caution at a diſtance for ſome days, at length they threw aſide all reſerve, opened their hearts to one another, and equally lamented the wretched fate which England was in under ſuch a king. But their mutual confidence did not end in a fruitleſs lamentation. The duke giving the biſhop the ſecurity of an oath to keep the ſecret, if he would diſcover to him the means of delivering the kingdom from its

its miſery, MORTON opened a project which his impriſonment had prompted, and his retirement had given him leiſure to digeſt. Whether this prelate had really thought of no other perſon for the crown, or whether he had only a mind to make a compliment to the duke to whom he was a priſoner, as he might imagine from many circumſtances he would not accept it, I don't know; but he propoſed to dethrone RICHARD, and ſet up BUCKINGHAM as a deſcendent from EDWARD the third.

If we may judge from all the reſt of this prelate's character, he certainly meant no more than a flouriſh of civility to the duke: for he muſt know him enough to know, that the nation could not be benefited by the change, and that it would be only to pull down one bloody tyrant in order to ſet up another. He muſt know too, that the pretenſions of the duke were too remote to be aſſented to by the people; eſpecially as there was a prince of the houſe of Lancaſter ſtill remaining in the perſon of the earl of RICHMOND. The biſhop therefore might naturally ſuppoſe, I think, that tho this compliment might pleaſe the duke of BUCKINGHAM, yet that it would not be entertained by him in the leaſt; and then other meaſures might be concerted with a better grace. I am very unwilling to believe with RAPIN, I muſt confeſs, that this good prelate, who ſhewed ſo much regard to juſtice and to his country all thro his life, acted more upon a motive of revenge in this buſineſs, than with a view to the good of the publick; as he muſt have done if he would have ſet BUCKINGHAM on the throne: and if there are authorities for RAPIN's ſaying that this was the biſhop's ſcheme and no other, there are on the other hand thoſe who tell us, that it was MORTON who projected the marriage of the earl of RICHMOND, with the eldeſt daughter of EDWARD the fourth, in order to unite the two houſes, and the ſetting him on the throne. Be this however as it might. The duke and the biſhop having laid their heads together and concluded on this expedient, they agreed to acquaint the counteſs of RICHMOND with it, and to get the queen dowager to conſent to the match.

It was neceſſary that I ſhould be thus particular, in relating the firſt ſteps of this revolution, in order to make the ſequel more readily underſtood. Let it ſuffice now to obſerve, that the queen and the counteſs of RICHMOND aſſented to the plan; that the earl who was in Brittany was informed of it by his mo-

ther; that the biſhop of Ely made his eſcape into Flanders leſt it ſhould be diſcovered; and that before it could be executed the duke of Buckingham was taken and beheaded. The conſpiracy however was ſo forward, the hearts of the people were ſo alienated from the king, and the vengeance of heaven ſeemed ſo fully pointed at him, that tho he had quelled the conſpiracy as it were in its birth, got a parliament to recognize and confirm his title, and made alliances or truces with all the powers of Europe, yet the earl of Richmond came over with a ſmall aſſiſtance, gave him battle with half his majeſty's number of forces, defeated, and ſlew him. In this manner ended the life of Richard the third, ſirnamed Crookback, after a reign of two years and two months. Whatever was the irregularity of his outward ſhape, and the aſperity of his aſpect, it could not ſufficiently denote the deformity and brutality of his mind. There is no occaſion to aggravate the heinouſneſs of his guilt, in order to rank him with the moſt wicked of all Engliſh princes. Whether it was owing only to his boundleſs ambition, or to his natural temper, that he was treacherous and cruel beyond all example, is totally immaterial: it abates nothing of the accuſation which is brought againſt him. He is ſaid to have expreſſed a great concern that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered to all his ſubjects without diſtinction, where the preſervation of his crown was not concerned. Be it ſo: and where is the human heart in which there is not one good inclination or principle to be found? This ſingle virtue however in Richard, was extinguiſhed by his ambition; which never boggled at any expedient neceſſary to his purpoſe, how unjuſt, how cruel, or how ſanguinary ſoever. Impenetrable in his deſigns, he was a perfect maſter in the art of diſſimulation; and tho naturally cholerick and high ſpirited, yet could quell his pride to ſerve a turn, and affect the moſt plauſible and fawning condeſcenſion. As he was of a very active enterprizing genius, ſo in military affairs his conduct was judicious and his courage invincible. The guilt of ſo many murders, in order to obtain a crown which he found ſit very uneaſy, had at laſt given an air of perturbation to his mien and manner: and he would frequently ſtart on a ſudden, clap his hand upon his dagger, and walk about in a guarded poſture. But neither the horror of his guilt, the hatred of his people, nor the conſpiracy formed againſt him, could depreſs or abate his valour. He is ſaid to have been in great agitation of ſpirit particularly the night before the battle of Boſworth: but yet he charged his

 enemy

enemy in the field with the moſt heroic bravery, made his way thro their troops by dint of courage, in order to come at the earl of RICHMOND; and having cut open his paſſage, bore down his enemy's ſtandard, killed the ſtandard bearer, and being on the point of vanquiſhing the earl himſelf, was overpowered by numbers, and loſt his life. Thus fell RICHARD duke of Gloceſter, in a much more glorious manner than his many enormous crimes ſeemed to deſerve; of whom it cannot be too ſevere to ſay, that he was the moſt bloody tyrant and uſurper that ever filled the Engliſh throne.

There is no example to be produced, I believe, out of any hiſtory, which ſets the cruel effects and the ſtrange turns of faction in a ſtronger light, than the conteſt between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, and to which the death of RICHARD put an end. The intereſt of learning and religion, of the church and ſtate of England, were manifeſtly ſunk in the particular intereſt of thoſe two families. The ſpirit of liberty however, inherent in the Engliſh people, as incompatible as liberty and faction generally are, prevailed enough even at this time, perhaps becauſe it is inherent, to preſerve the principles of public freedom, tho not enough to preſerve the public peace. Thus tho each ſide contended to have a king of their own party, yet neither ſide would have a tyrant. The nation at laſt grew tired of theſe contentions; and a ſpirit of liberty, and a regard to the public good, made it unanimous in a coalition, at the death of RICHARD, under a king of one, and a queen of the other houſe. There being nothing therefore to relate which concerns the church of England till this happy union in the next reign, I ſhall here put an end to this volume and this book together: leaving the reader to be thankful for the peace and proſperity which GOD hath given in our time to this church and nation; and from the ſcenes of publick miſery which we have juſt gone thro, to learn a leſſon of loyalty and affection to the beſt of kings and conſtitutions upon earth.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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AIDAN, a monk of Iona, conſecrated biſhop, and ſent to convert the Northumbrians—did not keep Eaſter as the church of Rome did—has a great character from BEDE notwithſtanding—remarkable in his zeal and aſſiduity and converts great numbers—deſires king OSWALD to remove the ſee of York to Holy-iſland—conſtant in preaching the goſpel, and in an example of devotion and primitive ſimplicity—had many other Scotch clergy to aſſiſt him who were moſt of them monks—his conduct—his example and inſtructions very prevalent with OSWY the ſon and ſucceſſor of OSWALD 72. 3. 4. had too much intereſt and too much merit for the Roman miſſionaries to get their rites and uſages acknowledged among the northern Engliſh 86.

ALDHUN, biſhop of Holy-iſland, removes the corpſe of CUTHBERT to Durham—builds a cathedral, and fixes a ſee there 219. his death 229.

ALDRED, made archbiſhop of York in the room of KINSIUS, with a power to retain his biſhoprick of Worceſter 241. goes to Rome with ſome embaſſadors from the king, but is refuſed the pall, and deprived of his dignity——the ſee of York and the pall conferred on him 242. crowns the conqueror——various reaſons ſuggeſted for it 248. 9. zealous at firſt for the intereſt of the conqueror——ſends an agent to remonſtrate in his name againſt the king's tyranny—denounces a curſe againſt him and his race—dies. 252.

ALDULF, ſuccedes OSWALD in the ſees of York and Worceſter 218.

ALFRED, natural ſon of OSWY and partner in his throne, embraces the ſentiments of the Roman church about Eaſter and the eccleſiaſtical tonſure—at the ſynod of Whitby—ſollicits WILFRID's advancement to the ſee of Holy-iſland—ſteady to the rites and uſages of the church of Rome 87 to 95. provoked by WILFRID joins againſt him in a ſynod——propoſes to deprive him of all he had—gets him excommunicated—ſends ambaſſadors to Rome to lay a charge againſt him 132. Receives two meſſengers from WILFRID with the ſentence paſſed at Rome in his favour—refuſes to acquieſce in it—falls ſick, and makes a vow to reſtore WILFRID if he recovers—charges the performance of it on his ſucceſſor if he ſhould not recover 133. his vow effectual to ſettle WILFRID in the ſee of Hexham, and to reſtore him to his abbey of Rippon, but no further 135.

ALFRED, ſon of ETHELWULPH, ſent to Rome in his minority—the ſtory of his being anointed king there, refuted 171. 2. His minority ſpent in hunting and field exerciſes

exerciſes — makes a campaign under his brother — prevailed upon with difficulty to accept the crown 176. 7. Fought eight pitched battles in the firſt year of his reign —laments the ignorance of the nation —obliged to ſend to France for monks to inhabit a monaſtery he built 177. Invites many ſcholars of character to his court— makes DUNS SCOTUS his preceptor — endows three halls at Oxford and ſettles a revenue for the ſcholars — the founder of that univerſity — erects ſchools in ſeveral parts of the kingdom 178. Makes himſelf maſter of many parts of learning — tranſlates the paſtoral of GREGORY into Engliſh—tranſlates BEDE's eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, the Pſalms of DAVID, and the old and new Teſtament — after conquering the Danes, conſents they ſhould ſettle in England, on condition of turning Chriſtians. — Articles of agreement between him and the Danes. 179. His death and character 180 to 183.

ALFRICK ſuccedes SIRICIUS in the ſee of Canterbury by the ſole election of the chapter 218. His homilies relating to tranſubſtantiation and the elements 220. 1. A great aſſertor of the celibacy of the clergy 222. Diſpoſſeſſed the canons of the church of Canterbury, as ſome ſay, and denied by others — his death and character 223.

ALFRICK PUTTA, archbiſhop of York, builds the tower at Beverly and endows the church—dies 238.

ALEXANDER, pope, refuſes to ſend a pall to LANFRANK 255. Deposes THOMAS archbiſhop of York, and RIMIGIUS biſhop of Lincoln — reſtores them at LANFRANK's interceſſion — a myſterious ſtory 257. attempted to be explained— 258. writes to the king in favour of the monaſtic order 260. dies 261.

ALEXANDER III. pope, ſummons a council at Tours 325. receives archbiſhop BECKET with great marks of eſteem — pretends to be ſupreme patron as well as ordinary of the church—his canons at the council of Tours. 353. Sends the archbiſhop of Rhoan to make up the controverſy between the king and BECKET — refuſes to confirm the articles of Clarendon, and to make the archbiſhop of York his legate—makes the king his legate on condition of not prejudicing BECKET. 363. receives an embaſſy from the king to inform him of BECKET's obſtinacy and is deſired to ſend two cardinals to England to determine the diſpute — had owed his being pope to HENRY, but diſappoints him of all his hopes — declares ten of the conſtitutions of Clarendon void, and denounces excommunication againſt all who ſhould maintain them—refuſes to permit BECKET to reſign 368. Writes to the king and biſhops of England for BECKET's reſtoration — confers on him the title and power of legate — prevented by the king's levying an army from proceeding as he intended 370. Afraid of the king's alliance with the emperor —gives the king hopes that the diſpute with BECKET ſhould be accommodated to his mind—ſends legates to England and inhibits BECKET's proceedings — all this

while hearty in BECKET's intereſt --- clogs the power of the legates 371. ſends a threatening letter to the king --- has no reaſon to boaſt of his ſucceſs yet againſt him —— ſets about meaſures in good earneſt to end the diſpute between the king and BECKET to his own advantage --- ſhews an extraordinary regard for BECKET and confirms all the privileges of his predeceſſors 372. knows the Engliſh clergy are on his ſide in their hearts, which makes him the more arrogant --- writes an imperious letter to the biſhop of LONDON, has an anſwer to that letter 373. receives a menace from the king which gives him great perplexity — has recourſe to the uſual methods of the court of Rome — diſpatches legates to England with a letter of great ceremony and compliance --- cajoles and impoſes on the king --- ſupports and adviſes the archbiſhop --- gives his legates private inſtructions which fruſtrate the king's intentions of an accommodation ---- his legates diſcover a ſecret to the king which he had long ſuſpected, and anſwer him with great inſolence 375. His legates return without making up the breach — has a generous offer of money made him by the king if he would tranſlate BECKET to another biſhoprick, which he will not comply with —— ſends other legates to mediate a peace —— reſolves at laſt to try extremities 376. cauſes the king to be repreſented every where as a tyrant and oppreſſor, &c. and magnifies the humility and holineſs of the archbiſhop — publiſhes a decretal bull againſt all the prelates who adhered to the laws —— recalls the inhibition he had granted, and ſets BECKET at liberty to excommunicate the king — appoints three legates to excommunicate and put the kingdom under an interdict — his authority renounced by the king, and his meſſenger with an interdict threatened to be hanged on the ſpot —— is convinced that his attempts againſt the king are premature and waits for a better opportunity 377. Suſpends the archbiſhop of York, and excommunicates the biſhops who had aſſiſted at the coronation of prince HENRY — his motive for it --- ſends a menace to the king and gets the better of him 378. He is exhorted by the king of France to draw the ſword of St. PETER upon the king for the murder of BECKET —has a great mind to ſuppoſe the king guilty of that murder, that he might have an opportunity to humble him —— is afraid of the conſequence of this violence to the archbiſhop's perſon 382. Fulminates againſt the king and threatens him with an excommunication and interdict —— reſolves to ſell the blood of his martyr as dear as he could —— enhances the favour of an abſolution he was about to give the king —— his legates agree upon terms which overwhelm the rights of the crown and church, and make BECKET's death more pernicious than his life 383. 4. Confirms the election of archbiſhop RICHARD in the room of BECKET —— conſecrates him and ſends him into England with the character of legate 385. iſſues out a bull to declare his predeceſſor at Canterbury a martyr and a ſaint 386. is appealed to by the archbiſhop againſt the primate — ſends a legate to adjuſt the difference — refers the deciſion of their diſpute

to the archbiſhop of RHOAN, and orders all animoſities to be laid aſide——his legate makes an agreement with the king about the eccleſiaſtical liberty——meant nothing more by it than to cover the deſigns of the ſee of Rome 388. takes part with the prior of Canterbury in his diſputes with the archbiſhop——ſends a mandate to the archbiſhop——and for his diſobedience determines the two archbiſhops ſhould have precedence according to the priority of their conſecration——denies his power over the biſhops of the province as metropolitan, but orders them to obey him as legate 390. writes a ſevere reprimanding letter to three biſhops for preferring the buſineſs of the world to that of their character——is anſwered by the archbiſhop of Canterbury 394. conſents that the ſee of Lincoln ſhould be filled by GEOFREY the king's natural ſon tho under age --- is complained to of this irregularity——orders him to compleat his character, or to reſign——this a thing much to the pope's honor——he dies, and is ſucceded by LUCIUS. 395.

ALEXANDER IV. ſuccedes INNOCENT in the papal chair --- ſends a nuncio into England to extort money from the clergy--- approves of any means of getting money tho ever ſo unjuſt --- abſolves the king from his vow of going to the holy land, and commutes the ſervice 468. orders obligatory notes to be drawn up and ſigned by every biſhop and abbot on pain of excommunication --- his nuncio requires all the clergy to ſign them. 469.

ANSELM, ſuccedes LANFRANK in the ſee of Canterbury 281. Offers the king five hundred pounds which was refuſed——ſpeaks with too much freedom to the king---gives the money to the poor --- deſires leave to convene a national ſynod --- holds more offenſive diſcourſe with the king --- is adviſed to give him five hundred pounds, and promiſe as much more as ſoon as it could be raiſed --- refuſes this expedient of getting his favour 283. withdraws from court—applies for leave to go to Rome for his pall from URBAN --- diſguſts the king with this application in favour of that pope --- pretends the king had no right to judge in eccleſiaſtical affairs --- his declaration to the king 284. refers the diſpute to the great council --- is gratified in that appeal --- pleads his cauſe --- defeated in that council --- adviſed to ſubmit to the king and aſk his pardon --- is renounced as metropolitan by ſome of the biſhops --- his affections engaged in the deſign of the ſee of Rome--- is refuſed leave to go thither 285. is permitted to wait on the king and is adviſed to take the pall from him, which he would not conſent to -- receives the pall from the legate with much pomp --- is elated with the iſſue of this affair --- an agreement made outwardly with the king 286. 7. is reproached and threatened by the king --- deſires the king's leave to go to Rome, and is again refuſed --- renews his application with great inſolence --- denies the king's authority to detain him --- the pretence for his journey --- his declaration --- is commanded to leave England but to take nothing with him belonging to the crown --- is picqued at this order ---takes the habit of a pilgrim

pilgrim and ſails for Flanders --- his wild bigotry --- his temporalities ſeized by the king 288. goes to Rome --- his pompous reception by the pope, as the apoſtle and patriarch of another world --- took upon him the ſtate and grandeur of a pope --- ſends letters to the king which are refuſed and his meſſengers threatened 289. concurs in a council at Rome which declared the king worthy of excommunication, but deſired the ſentence might not be pronounced --- his behaviour juſtifys the king in endeavouring to keep him at home --- deſires to quit his ſee and retire into a monaſtery --- is refuſed to do ſo by the pope 290. is recalled by HENRY --- returns with his former ſpirit, and new acceſſions of bigotry --- refuſes to do homage to the king at the firſt meeting --- his inſolent declaration --- takes umbrage at the pope's ſending a legate --- did not ſee the folly and miſchief of the deſigns he was carrying on. 294. Refuſes to conſecrate the biſhops whom the king inveſted —— is threatened by the biſhops and nobility to be driven back again --- preſſes the king's coming to a reſolution about giving up the inveſtiture 295. yields to the expedient of referring it till Eaſter, and ſending meſſengers to Rome about it --- is kept ſteady by the king's promiſes from joining in an invaſion from Normandy —— is ſummoned to do homage to the king 296. is ſummoned to the great council at London --- is required to obey the laws or quit the kingdom---produces the pope's letters commending his fortitude, and deſiring his perſeverance --- his agents contradict the king's ambaſſadors 297. is under difficulties from this counter evidence --- ſuſpends his compliance with the king 'till the pope was further conſulted --- holds a national ſynod at Weſtminſter --- is commanded by the king to conſecrate three new biſhops --- refuſes till he could hear from Rome 298. is proof againſt all the king's menaces --- is deſired to go as the king's ambaſſador to the pope --- excuſes himſelf till the next Eaſter --- ſets out on his embaſſy 299.--- acquieſces in the pope's declaration about the right of inveſtiture --- is forbid to return to England --- his temporalities ſeized and his meaſures broken for the preſent--- retires from Rome and reſides at Lyons—300. Watches his opportunity to purſue his intereſt 301. concludes it in vain to wait any longer for aſſiſtance from Rome--- reſolves on meaſures of his own--- viſits the king's ſiſter, and declares to her his intention of excommunicating the king --- waits on the king at Aquila in Normandy---Agrees on ſome articles, and refers the reſt to the arbitration of the pope --- is viſited frequently by the king---aſſiſts the king without any ſcruple in an invaſion againſt his brother --- extravagances of his zeal 302. Writes to the king to deſire his envoys might be ſent to Rome to finiſh their accommodation —— remonſtrates againſt the king's oppreſſion of the clergy in England —— brings the clergy by this means into his intereſt —— is importuned by them to return to England —— returns and convenes a council at Weſtminſter 303. Agrees that the clergy ſhould do their homage to the king---inſiſts uponhis right of

of performing his office every where within his province, except in the king's chapel --- obliges the abbot of Canterbury to attend upon him at Lambeth for his benediction --- reflexions on his firmneſs 304. proſecutes the married clergy with the utmoſt rigour --- calls a ſynod to this purpoſe——writes to pope PASCHAL for his directions about ſuch as were the ſons of clergymen, and gives them a great character --- recommends the dividing the great dioceſe of Lincoln, and erecting the ſee of Ely out of it --- his death and character 305. 6. is canonized at Rome, at the requeſt of BECKET 355.

ARIAN hereſy, the pernicious conſequences of it 20.

ARIUS, occaſions tumults and ſeditions——is wrote to by the emperor, and excommunicated by the biſhop of ALEXANDRIA. 16.

ARTHUR, king of Britain, had probably no other dominions than Wales 33.---his body found buried in the iſle of Avalon in the time of HENRY II. 7.

ARTHUR, nephew to king JOHN, aſſaſſinated, and probably by his uncle 416.

ARVIRAGUS, a Britiſh king mentioned by JUVENAL 7.

ARUNDEL, biſhop of Ely, made lord chancellor, and turned out 513. tranſlated to the ſee of Canterbury in the room of COURTNEY --- holds a convocation at London which condemns WICKLIFF's doctrines --- voids a papal exemption of the univerſity of Oxford—— is impeached of high treaſon and condemned to perpetual exile --- is ſent to from ſeveral in England to make an offer of the crown to the duke of LANCASTER —— returns to England with him --- is ſent to king RICHARD to know the terms of his reſignation 518. is ordered to reſume his dignity-- opens the firſt parliament of HENRY the fourth by a ſpeech 520. ſummons a convocation in order to reform ſome abuſes 521. anſwers the remonſtrance of the parliament againſt the clergy —— ſummons a provincial council to meet at Oxford, to check the progreſs of the Lollards——the conſtitutions of this council 525. holds a convocation at St. Paul's, and is preſſed to viſit the univerſity at Oxford on account of WICKLIFF's hereſy—writes to the chancellor and the heads to give them notice of his viſitation — gives them authority to enquire after perſons ſuſpected of hereſy 527.8. informs the king of ſir J. OLDCASTLE's being a heretick, and deſires the king's leave to proſecute him——Sends a ſummons to the knight —cites him in form by an inſtrument fixed on the church door—pronounces him a heretick convict, and delivers him over to the ſecular power 531. his death and character 533.

ASSER, legate of CLEMENT, the fifth promoted by him to the ſee of Wincheſter 492.

ATHELARD, ſucceſſor to LAMBERT in the ſee of Canterbury, goes to Rome and gets Lichfield reſtored to his province, and reduced again

to a private biſhoprick. 160. returns from Rome — aſſembles a provincial ſynod at Cloveſhoo, in which he preſides — proceedings of that council 162. his death and character 163.

ATHELM, ſuccedes PLEGMUND in the ſee of Canterbury 186.

ATHELMAR, elected to the ſee of Wincheſter in the room of RALEY —his election is confirmed by the pope, but is not conſecrated at all, or not till ten years after 465.

ATHELSTAN, ſon of EDWARD, ſuccedes him in the throne 186. his eccleſiaſtical laws 187. his death and character 188.

AURELIANUS AMBROSIUS, made king of Britain — obtains ſucceſs over the Saxons——reſtores order, and repairs the churches 32.

AUSTIN, with other monks, ſent into Britain by pope GREGORY to convert the inhabitants, then pagan Saxons — the occaſion of this miſſion 37. carries letters to the king and queen of France, and to the queen of Kent 38. Repents of his undertaking — goes back to the pope, is encouraged by him and returns with a letter from him to his companions 40. lands in the iſle of Thanet, and ſends notice to the king of Kent of his arrival, and of the importance of his meſſage—is commanded to attend the king in the open field — goes in the form of a proceſſion with his company, ſinging their litany —— opens his commiſſion and preaches the goſpel — is diſmiſſed with a civil anſwer by the king, and with leave for him and his aſſociates to ſettle at Canterbury — he enters that city in the ſame manner he had addreſſed the king --- has great ſucceſs in converting the Engliſh---begins a monaſtery called by his name at Canterbury — reflexions on his ſucceſs —— haſtens away to Arles, to get himſelf conſecrated archbiſhop of the Engliſh — this has laid him open to reproach — had not all the honour nor all the merit of the converſion of the Engliſh—erects an epiſcopal ſee at Rocheſter, and makes JUSTUS, one of his companions, the firſt biſhop —— ſends LAWRENCE and PETER two more of them to Rome to give the pope an account of his ſucceſs — magnifies his pretended miracles, deſires more aſſiſtance, and more directions from the pope—receives the pall, which is deſcribed, from the pope, ſends ſeveral queſtions of an odd ſort to the pope, and receives his anſwers — is praiſed highly by the pope, and furniſhed with ſome arguments to cure his vanity — receives a power from the pope to erect a metropolitical ſee at York---and a model for the government of the Engliſh church —introduces many rites unknown to the Britiſh churches, which probably occaſioned their averſion to the Roman miſſionaries 40 to 51. Is ſollicitous to reduce the Britiſh biſhops under the pope's juriſdiction, and to enlarge his own authority but could not prevail 52. 3. Meets the Britiſh biſhops a ſecond time—his harangue at that meeting — the anſwer of the Britiſh biſhops, and the reſult of that meeting 55. his pride and haughtineſs the chief occaſion of his ill ſucceſs

ſucceſs with them 56. 7. the ſtory of his baptizing ten thouſand converts in the river Swale on Chriſtmas day fabulous — of his baptizing at a miraculous fountain in Dorſetſhire, and of his being the founder of Ely monaſtery, refuted 57. his death and character 58 to 60. he is unjuſtly accuſed of getting the monks of Banchor to be maſſacred by the Engliſh 60

B

BALDWIN, biſhop of Worceſter, ſuccedes RICHARD in the ſee of Canterbury — propoſes building a college at Hackington for ſecular canons —— commiſſioned by pope URBAN to purſue his model--is violently oppoſed by the convent — his allegations at Rome of no force againſt them——is commanded by pope URBAN to deſiſt ——purſues his undertaking and refuſes to anſwer to the monks appeal——ſerves the agents of the pope with an inhibition from the lord chief juſtice --- is obliged to give up his deſign---buys the manor of Lambeth, and carries the materials thither to build a college 397. 8. Requires GEOFRY elected to the ſee of York, to be ordained and conſecrated by him, and to make profeſſion of canonical obedience to the church of Canterbury, which he refuſed --- revives the diſpute about the college at Hackington 401. he gives up his truſt as primate to aſſiſt in the expedition to the holy land 403. dies 404.

Banchor, monks of, were brought up to learning as well as devotion 27. put to the ſword by EDELFRIDE an Engliſh king 60. This laid to AUSTIN's charge but unjuſtly — 60. 1.

Bards, an inferior order to the Druids — their name whence derived—— their buſineſs — 2.

BARONIUS, cardinal, his conjecture about St. PETER, not a right one, 5. His falſe account of the epiſtle from the council at Arles to the biſhop of Rome 15. is miſtaken in his chronology of the king of Kent's converſion 43. His acknowledgment of the impoſtors in St. PETER's chair 186. He gives a terrible character of HENRY the ſecond, but untruly. 358.

Barons, they enter into a league againſt king JOHN for their laws and liberties — grant the king a little time to conſider — meet at Stamford, well armed and accoutred and joined by the principal gentry — are ſent to by the king for their demands in writing——prepare for war and pretend a zeal for religion 436. reflexions on their demands---chooſe the lord FITZ-WALTER their general——get poſſeſſion of the city of London, and beſiege the king in the tower——ſend circular letters to all the nobility to join in the common cauſe —— agree to meet the king, at Running Meadow near Staines, to adjuſt the diſpute——the agreement made and executed in Magna Charta and the Foreſt Charter, which they all ſign——provoke the pope for endeavouring to dethrone the king ——they make light of his injunctions, and are excommunicated by name. 437——9. their excommunication

nication publiſhed except in London —— ſeem to deſpiſe the king's preparations againſt them——their towns and villages ravaged, and they themſelves almoſt reduced to obedience 439. They are thrown into deſpair, and ſend an offer of the crown and kingdom to the king of France for his ſon prince LEWIS——their excommunication is repeated every Sunday —— they receive LEWIS with great joy, and ſwear allegeance to him 442. They remonſtrate in a general aſſembly againſt the adminiſtration of HENRY the third in church and ſtate ---digeſt their complaints in thirty articles, and ſend them to the king 458. They are determined to put a ſtop to the exactions from Rome on the eccleſiaſticks——iſſue orders without the king to ſtop all who ſhould bring any bulls or mandates from Rome —— they juſtify their conduct —— they ſhew the king that the income of the Italian eccleſiaſticks exceeded the revenues of the crown —— they get his leave to appeal to a general council aſſembling at Lyons —— they drive the pope's nuncio out of the kingdom 461. A deputation of them attend the general council at Lyons with a liſt of their grievances under the papal yoke——wait a great while for an anſwer, ſend in a proteſtation and return home 460. meet in parliament the ſpring following and digeſt their grievances under ſix articles—they reſolve to demand ſatisfaction from the pope in ſeparate letters from the king and parliament. 462. 3.

BEAUFORT HENRY, biſhop of Wincheſter, oppoſes his nephew the duke of GLOCESTER 442. ſollicits the purple and the power of the legate, which he had been diſappointed of before, and ſucceeds —— he returns into England and declares his commiſſion at the council board —— is prohibited by the king's proctor the exerciſe of the character of legate——promiſes not to do any thing in prejudice of the king's prerogative, or the rights and liberties of the people ——proteſts that he would abſent himſelf when any difference between the king and the pope was in debate —— is admitted to take his place at the council board—— is prevented from officiating on St. GEORGE's day as prelate of the order of the garter —— demands the reaſon of the council why he is deprived of his right to do this —— is appointed legate for Germany and general of a cruſado againſt the hereticks in Bohemia ——petitions the king and council for leave to publiſh it, to levy an army, and to appoint the officers who were to command it ——his petitions granted on certain conditions——what thoſe conditions were 547. His death and character 554.

BEAUMONT, of the houſe of France, and a relation of EDWARD the ſecond's queen, made biſhop of Durham 492.

BECKET, archdeacon of Canterbury, recommended by archbiſhop THEOBALD for the great ſeal 347. An account of him in that office. 348. Was in Normandy with the king when archbiſhop THEOBALD died —351. Is ſent into England to be elected to the primacy — is ordained

dained prieſt after his election — is conſecrated by the biſhop of WINCHESTER, and ſome others— ſends the great ſeal to the king without his conſent —— lays aſide his former air and addreſs, and alters his whole manner of living —— ſhews the king he was deceived in him —— obtains his leave to attend the ſynod of pope ALEXANDER at Tours —— is received there by the pope with great marks of eſteem —— ſecretly reſigns his archbiſhoprick to him, and takes it back again at the hands of the pope —— the reaſons for this 352. Is governed entirely by the ſee of Rome —— inſiſts upon the reſtitution of ſome of the eſtates belonging to the ſee of Canterbury which were in lay hands —— claims the government of the tower and caſtle of Rocheſter from the crown —— demands homage of the earl of CLARE for the caſtle of Tunbridge --- excommunicates the lord of the manor of Ayneford for ouſting the Rector whom the primate had collated to the living — his miſunderſtanding with the king began from this accident 354. He deſires the court of Rome to canonize ANSELM —— is cajoled by the addreſs and artifices of that court —— eſpouſes the cauſe of the clergy vigorouſly 355. aſſerts that the clergy are triable only in the eccleſiaſtical court, and before the ſpiritual judges —— oppoſes the king in this diſpute with great violence and indecency 356. Aſſerts to the king the immunities of the church and privileges of the clergy —— offends the king by this conteſt 357. His haughtineſs had offended moſt of the nobility —— refuſes to agree to the king's articles for redreſs of grievances without a ſaving clauſe to the rights of the church and clergy —— provokes the king afreſh by this obſtinacy —— his ſpirit not overcome by the king's menaces 'till a legate from the pope adviſed him to comply 359. Is at the head of a deputation to the king in order to conſent to the articles without the clauſe —— repents his compliance and thinks himſelf obliged to retract his ſubmiſſion —— enrages the king by it to a great degree, and is ſeverely threatened by him —— is entreated by ſome of the biſhops and nobility to wait upon the king and make a public acknowledgment of his ſubmiſſion —— he goes with great reluctance, and renews his promiſe to the king in the preſence of many laymen and eccleſiaſticks 360. Swears he will never ſet his ſeal to the articles agreed upon, nor give any other conſent than what he had given —— accepts a copy of them from the king — ſees too well the conſequence of their being paſſed —— retires from court and ſuſpends himſelf till he had an abſolution from the pope 363. Is caſt in a trial before the lords at Northampton —— is convinced he ſhould loſe all the cauſes that ſhould be tried, and reſolves to plead no more —— is accuſed of two capital offences by the king's order —— his anſwer to this accuſation —— promiſes to take further advice —— conſults ſeveral of his brethren on this emergency, and is adviſed different ways 364. Receives a meſſage from the king and ſends an anſwer —— appeals from his majeſty to the pope, and puts himſelf and his church under the pope's protection —— his caſe made worſe by it with the king —— is

ſent for by the king and refuſes to wait on him —— furniſhes the king with a pretence to bring other accuſations againſt him —— is accuſed of perjury and high treaſon——is convinced the king intended his ruin, and confirmed the more in his obſtinacy——365. His zeal for the intereſt of Rome is his reigning paſſion——is waited on and entreated by moſt of the biſhops to ſubmit to the king—— is not moved with this advice, and vindicates the breach of his oath ---goes to church and orders ſome particular verſes of the ſecond Pſalm to be ſung——goes with his croſs in his hand to the room in which the king and the lords were aſſembled without aſking leave--- is reprimanded for it by ſome of the biſhops——replies with indignation and leaves the room —— is waited on by ſome of the biſhops and expoſtulated with very freely ——his anſwer 366. He is pronounced by the biſhops guilty of perjury——is ſummoned to appear before the pope, to anſwer the charge they laid againſt him—— is ſent to by the council to hear his ſentence——diſowns the authority of the court, and appeals again to the pope——is charged by the lords with incurring the guilt of treaſon——his reply——leaves the palace——his perſon and retinue ſecured by the king's proclamation againſt any outrage --- deſires the king's permiſſion and a paſſport to go abroad——he did not chuſe to wait the iſſue of a conſultation, and made off in the night in diſguiſe under the name of Dereman 367. His obſtinate humour and not the cauſe of God, at the bottom of this diſpute with the king --- his reſignation chiefly aimed at by the king --- he goes to the pope with a copy of the conſtitutions of Clarendon---confeſſes that his election had not been altogether canonical --- takes off his ring and delivers it to the pope as an act of reſignation, but is obliged by the pope to take it back again 368. He is aſſured of all the aſſiſtance at Rome which the church could give him --- his relations are baniſhed, and his revenues ſeized to the king's uſe --- is exaſperated with the king's ſevere proclamations againſt him--- excommunicates all who adhered to the conſtitutions of Clarendon —— excommunicates by name ſome of the lords of the council, and the king's principal miniſters ——the manner in which he began and conducted this diſpute unpardonable —— it is managed after his flight on his ſide by writing—ſhews throwout all his epiſtles a boiſterous and unruly temper — ſends inſolent letters to the king 369. Endeavours to corrupt his ſubjects and draw them from their allegeance, the clergy of his province particularly — is reproached by the biſhops for his unwarrantable practiſes—has the advantage at Rome over his enemies — his reſtoration is applied for by the pope, and he is made legate 370. His proceedings inhibited by the pope — is exaſperated by it, and makes great complaints to the pope of the bribery and covetouſneſs of his court —— expreſſes his reſentment in moſt extravagant terms—the pope ſtill in his intereſt — has aſſurances from him of his favour — is adviſed by his friends to make up the quarrel with the king, and to reſign the primacy 371. He is not

not inclined to take their advice —loſes all the patience and temper he had — applies to the pope to confirm his cenſures, and for leave to excommunicate the king — his controverſy with him the chief ground of the French invaſion in Normandy—has no reaſon to boaſt of his ſucceſs againſt the king — has an extraordinary regard ſhewed him by the pope — and all the privileges of his predeceſſors confirmed 372. He is offended with the biſhop of London's letter to the pope—— ſends him a bull of excommunication, and writes to the dean and clergy of London to acquaint them with it 373. He appears at an interview of the kings of France and England to vindicate himſelf ——ſeems by his addreſs to Henry, and by his behaviour, to promiſe an accommodation —— his anſwer to the king of France—— his anſwer to Henry's propoſal ——his obſtinacy the ſole obſtacle to a peace——is exclaimed againſt by the king of France and the nobility preſent——is not moved by it at all —— proceeds to revenge with excommunication 374. He leaves ſcarce clergy enough out of the cenſure to officiate in the king's chapel——is ſupported and adviſed by the pope——his return to England conſented to by the king 375. He has another meeting with the king who makes him a very generous offer, which he does not accept of --- his reply to the king's inſiſting on a promiſe of obedience —his conduct all of a piece—— 376. His character is greatly magnified by the court of Rome —is ſet at liberty by the pope to excommunicate the king—his authority is renounced by the king, and all orders from him forbidden to be received—is mortified at the coronation of the prince by the archbiſhop of York—377. He complains to the pope of the injury which had been done him by it —— threatens the king with an interdict — his vexatious and incurable obſtinacy weary out the king—is preſent at another conference between the kings of France and England—deſires that Henry would give him the kiſs of peace, which the king excuſed himſelf from 378. He inſiſts upon it, the king would not give it, and the conference broke up without concluding any thing——the king is reconciled to him without any promiſe on his ſide, and the diſpute is ended——is a ſtranger to the ſpirit of his religion 379. He and his adherents are reſtored to favour, and to all they had forfeited---tranſported with his ſucceſs lets looſe his natural temper —ſends letters of excommunication againſt the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhops who had aſſiſted at the prince's coronation —comes himſelf into England—— is commanded to abſolve the ſuſpended and excommunicated biſhops—defends the cenſures with implacability — is complained of by the injured prelates to the king in Normandy and accuſed of being a public incendiary, &c. is murdered in his cathedral —his character 379 to 382. He is canonized at Rome for a ſaint and martyr — performs more miracles at his tomb than either Christ or his apoſtles, according to the monks — his tomb ſaid to be viſited by the king as a pilgrim barefoot 386.

BEDE, the hiſtorian, records many miracles at the martyrdom of St. ALBAN 12. accuſes PELAGIUS with corrupting the Britiſh churches 22. His opinion about calling in the Saxons 32. His reproach of the Britons unjuſt 39. His account of the anſwer given to AUSTIN by the king of Kent 42. His account of the maſſacre of the monks of Banchor, caſts an unjuſt reflexion on AUSTIN 60. His quotation from king OSWY 91. His character of biſhop AIDAN 72. He is deſired by pope SERGIUS to go to Rome to aſſiſt him in a controverſy he was engaged in—declines this honour, and did not go 128. He complains of the number and abuſe of monaſteries—recommends enlarging the number of biſhops and clergy 143. His death and character 144 to 147. His eccleſiaſtical hiſtory is tranſlated by king ALFRED 179.

BEDFORD duke of, uncle to HENRY the ſixth, appointed protector of the realm 542. He is wrote to by the pope on the ſtatutes of Proviſor and Premunire 546.

BELKNAP, chief juſtice of the Common Pleas under RICHARD the ſecond, a remarkable ſaying of his againſt himſelf—is ſentenced to die, but only baniſhed 513.

BENEDICT abbot of Weremouth, brings JOHN, precentor of St. Peter's at Rome to teach his monks church muſick 114. He founds the monaſtery of Farrow—provides a great and noble library—recommends BEDE to the biſhop of HEXHAM for deacon's orders—recommends him for prieſt's orders—is deſired by the pope to ſend BEDE to Rome 144. 5.

BERKLY conſecrated biſhop of Exeter—refuſes to admit archbiſhop MEPHAM into his dioceſe on a metropolitical viſitation, and appears on the frontiers with men in arms 496.

BERTHA a princeſs of France, married to ETHELBERT king of Kent, on condition of having the free exerciſe of her religion—takes all opportunities of inſtilling into him the principles of her religion——is aſſiſted in this by a Gallican biſhop whom ſhe brought over with her——goes a great way in the king's converſion 37. The impreſſions ſhe had made upon her huſband acknowledged by the pope in a letter 38. She is inſtrumental in converting the Engliſh. 39.

Bigotry of the clergy is returned upon their own heads 434.

BIRINUS comes into England with the epiſcopal character by the approbation of pope HONORIUS——lands in Weſſex, which being entirely pagan, he is determined to begin his employment there——converts the king and the whole province——has an epiſcopal ſee founded for him at Dorcheſter near Oxford——continues in it reputably fourteen years, and then died. 74. 5.

Biſhops, aſſiſted in the great councils of ſtate, in the county courts, and in the hundred courts 274. They promoted the papal uſurpation 329. Their authority invaded every

ry where by the monaſticks 340. They had no ſhare in BECKET's rebellion — were true to the king and the laws — aſſert the rights of the crown and reproach the unwarrantable conduct of BECKET in ſeveral provincial letters — endeavour to ſet the controverſy in a true light at Rome 370. Except ANSELM, BECKET and a few others, they did not favour the encroachments of the ſee of Rome. 389. Their oppoſition to the tyranny and oppreſſion of pope ALEXANDER the fourth 469. They addreſs HENRY the fourth againſt the Lollards 523.

BLOET, ſuccedes RIMIGIUS in the ſee of Lincoln 281.

BOLINGBROKE lord, his obſervations on writing hiſtory 13. what he ſays of hiſtorians 147.

BONA cardinal, his confeſſion of the difference between the Gallican and Roman liturgy 28. 9.

BONNIFACE pope, ſends the pall to JUSTUS archbiſhop of Canterbury, and a power to ordain biſhops in all convenient places 66. Writes to king EDWIN and his queen, to exhort the former to embrace Chriſtianity, and to perſuade the latter not to deſiſt endeavouring to convert him 67.

BONNIFACE, archbiſhop of Mentz, recommends ſuppreſſing pilgrimages to Rome, much in faſhion then in England 137.

BONNIFACE, the queen's brother, elected to the ſee of Canterbury by HENRY the third in the room of EDMUND, not confirmed by the pope till two years afterwards 460. He holds a national council at Merton, and another at Lambeth ——his decrees in prejudice of the prerogative complained of by HENRY the third, and not confirmed by pope URBAN. 470. His death and character 474

BONNIFACE the fourth pope, grants a bull to prohibit the clergy from giving an aid to the king without his conſent. 480. Writes to the king to deſiſt from the conqueſt of Scotland, and claims the ſovereignty of it—puts a new biſhop of Worceſter into the poſſeſſion of the temporalities, as well as the ſpiritual juriſdiction—is ſucceded by CLEMENT the fifth 482.

BOSA, made biſhop of York before it was metropolitical 107. He is turned out of his biſhoprick to make way for WILFRID. 118.

BOURCHIER biſhop of Ely, ſuccedes KEMP in the ſee of Canterbury, and is promoted afterwards to the purple — holds a viſitation, and makes ſeveral regulations of no moment 556

BRIGHTHELM, biſhop of Wells, ſuccedes ELSIN in the ſee of Canterbury — Falſe character of him by the monks 196. 7.

BRIGHTWALD, ſuccedes THEODORE in the ſee of Canterbury, but unwillingly —goes to Rome—— conſecrated in his return in France — brings letters from the pope to the king and biſhops of England ——inveſted with the primacy of all the churches, and with the pall-- ſupplies the vacant ſees with wor-

Cambridge univerſity, not founded by SIGIBERT as ſome hiſtorians ſay; nor does it want ſuch traditionary antiquity to ſupport its dignity 77.

CAMDEN the hiſtorian, his opinion of the Picts 30.

Canon law introduced in England 335.

Canons at the council of Tours 352. at the council of Weſtminſter 314. at the council of Cloveſhoo 149. at the council of Calcuith 164. See Council.

Canterbury, an archbiſhop of it elected by the pope's legate, contrary to the rights of the crown 324.

CANTILUPE biſhop of Worceſter, his ſpeech about pluralities at a council held under cardinal OTHO 455.

CANUTE, acknowledged king of England on the death of EDMUND--- marries EMMA the widow of ETHELRED —— grants a charter to the archbiſhop and church of Canterbury——pretends great regard to the church 227. Makes a law againſt ſorceries and enchantments and idolatry——reflexions on the corruptions which occaſioned theſe laws 228. He is greatly reformed and goes to Rome — his conduct there 229. 30. The courſe of his government much mended at his return, a ridiculous ſtory of him 229. his death and character 230.

CARPUALD king of the Eaſt-Angles, perſuaded by EDWIN to turn Chriſtian, and killed ſoon after in battle 71.

CEDWALLA, king of the Weſt-Saxons, lays aſide his crown, takes the habit of a pilgrim —— ſettles INA in his dominions —— goes on a pilgrimage to Rome and dies 121. 1.

CELESTINE pope, revokes the bulls granted to BALDWIN for the college at Hackington —— pretends that the whole kingdom in the king's abſence was under the protection of the holy ſee. 404.

CELFRID abbot of Weremouth, deſired by the king of the Picts to inform them of the catholic manner of obſerving Eaſter and the eccleſiaſtical tonſure — ſends a letter to this purpoſe which gives entire ſatisfaction 123. 4.

Ceremonies, a difference in them occaſion mutual wrangling and contentions, and ended in a general change of the eccleſiaſtical polity firſt eſtabliſhed——this difference owing to the goſpel's being planted by men of different churches 84.

CHAD a Northumbrian prieſt, recalled by king OSWY from the midland counties, where he was teaching the goſpel with great ſucceſs, to accompany SIGIBERT king of the Eaſt-Saxons —— preached in Middleſex and Eſſex with great diligence, and in three years time converted all the Eaſt-Saxons —— made a viſit to biſhop FINAN his dioceſan to report his ſucceſs and take new directions — conſecrated by FINAN biſhop of the Eaſt-Saxons, in conſideration of his zeal and good conduct —— returns to his charge and his ſee at London, from which MELLITUS had been driven

driven forty years before—forms and finiſhes the church of the East-Saxons—— ordains prieſts and deacons to aſſiſt in baptizing the people and preaching the goſpel—builds ſeveral churches, and begins a monaſtery at Tilbury on the Thames 79. He is interpreter at the ſynod of Whitby 88.

CHAD, brother to the biſhop of LONDON, a Scot from Ireland, is elected to the ſee of Northumberland—went into Kent to be conſecrated by the archbiſhop, who was dead before he got thither——is conſecrated by the biſhop of WINCHESTER and two Britiſh biſhops 93. His character 96. He is reprimanded by THEODORE for uſurping the right of WILFRID, and for being conſecrated by the biſhop of WINCHESTER——his modeſt anſwer —— reconſecrated by the archbiſhop—retires quietly to his monaſtery——is recommended by the archbiſhop to the ſee of Lichfield, and is drawn out again from his monaſtery 97.

CHARLES the great, his teſtimony of the difference between the Gallican and Roman liturgy 28. He affirms that his father PEPIN introduced the Roman way of ſinging into the Gallican church 30.

CHICHELEY biſhop of St. Davids, elected to the ſee of Canterbury in the room of ARUNDEL. 534. His artful ſpeech to divert the king from ſeizing the revenues of the church 535. His zeal againſt the Lollards revives their perſecution —— cauſes two prieſts to be brought before him in convocation who were accuſed of hereſy—releaſes them on their ſubmiſſion 542. he ſummons a provincial ſynod to determine againſt hereticks —— their proceedings at that ſynod 543. He has a menacing haughty letter from the pope about the ſtatute of Premunire——the reaſon of the pope's diſpleaſure againſt him——moves in convocation for annulling all papal exemptions —— adviſes the king againſt admitting the biſhop of WINCHESTER as legate a latere from the pope 544. He is uneaſy under the pope's diſpleaſure and ſends an excuſe to Rome—is ſuſpended from the exerciſe of his legatine power——appeals to the next general council, and the tribunal of heaven —— reprimanded ſeverely by the pope for one of his expreſſions——commanded to do his utmoſt to get the ſtatutes of Proviſors and Premunire to be repealed —— named in the pope's letter after the archbiſhop of YORK —— commanded not to act upon the authority of the ſtatutes —— is greatly terrified at the pope's anger —— is reſtored to his favour——is ſollicited for by ſeveral biſhops and the univerſity of Oxford ——is called by them the golden candleſtick of England —— makes an humble ſubmiſſion and promiſes to do his utmoſt to get the ſtatutes repealed — 545. He goes to the houſe of commons and makes an harangue there on the pope's ſupremacy with ſeeming zeal——his rhetorick does not convince them, but his purgation with the pope is addreſſed for to the king by that houſe 546. He is diſguſted at an unpre-

unprecedented ſtretch of the pope's ſupremacy——deſires the convocation to deliberate about a remedy —— oppoſes the title of the archbiſhop of ROAN to the ſee of Ely—— cites his agents to appear, and ſuſpends them for contumacy ——holds a provincial ſynod for the defence of the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction 551. He is worn out with age and infirmities, and writes to the pope for leave to reſign his ſee, and to recommend a ſucceſſor—the good ſpirit and good ſenſe of this applauded—his death and character 552.

CHILPERIC king of France concludes a marriage for his niece BERTHA with the king of Kent—not miſtaken in his conjectures that ſhe might convert him 37.

Chriſtianity, when firſt introduced into Britain 5.

Church, ſome reflexions on the ſtate of it in the ſeventh century 124 to 129. Some obſervations on the ſtate of it, as to the maintenance and revenues of the clergy 174.5. It acquired eſtates never afterwards alienable to the prejudice of the ſtate, which occaſions the ſtatute of Mortmain 477.

Churchmen, removed from the offices of chancellour, treaſurer, and privy ſeal, and why 506.

Church tribute, what was anciently ſo called 187

CLARE earl of, ſummoned by BECKET to do homage to him for the caſtle of Tunbridge, and denies his claim 352.

CLEMENT IV. pope, ſuccedes GREGORY the eighth in the papal chair, and dies preſently after 398.

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EDWARD ſon of HENRY the third, called EDWARD the firſt after the conqueſt, ſuccedes his father in the throne —— ſoon diſcovers an intention to govern differently 476. He acquieſces in the pope's nomination of archbiſhop PECKHAM— would not permit him to decree any thing againſt the royal prerogative ——obliges him to revoke ſome of his canons 477. propoſes a law to prevent the alienation of lands to the church, and paſſes the ſtatute of Mortmain 478. He convenes a parliament and paſſes the third ſtatutes of Weſtminſter —— ſummons the knights, citizens and burgeſſes now firſt to parliament, calls the clergy at this time firſt to parliament, and demands half their revenues for one year——calls another parliament at Bury to aſk a ſubſidy, which is granted by the laity, and refuſed by the clergy— is extremely offended at this refuſal and orders all their ſtores to be ſealed up —— calls another parliament in three months after at London —— makes the ſame demand on the clergy and is refuſed —— ſummons a parliament at Saliſbury without the clergy, and gets an act paſſed by the barons to confiſcate all their goods—commands them to be thrown out of the protection of the laws —— gives the archbiſhop a private audience with free leave to ſay what he would— his anſwer to that prelate—agrees to an accommodation —— confirms the charter of the eccleſiaſticks and makes additions to it —— obliges the biſhop of WORCESTER when he did homage for his ſee to renounce a bull of the pope's which pretended to inveſt him with the temporalities, and to acknowledge that he held them only from the crown —— fines him a thouſand marks for receiving ſuch a bull——applies to CLEMENT the fifth to diſpenſe with the oath he had taken to confirm the two great charters——makes a preſent to him of a ſervice of gold plate, and is abſolved ——enquires into a conſpiracy formed to dethrone him in his abſence —— procures a confeſſion from ſome of the chief conſpirators, and fines them deeply——charges the archbiſhop with high treaſon as being at the head of the conſpiracy——complains of him to the pope——orders his revenues to be ſeized and the primate outlawed——pays the revenues into the hands of the pope's agents during the ſuſpenſion of the archbiſhop——holds a parliament at Carliſle——conſents that the pope's exactions ſhould be no longer permitted——grants a protection

tection to the nuncio to collect the first fruits—his death and character 479 to 486.

EDWARD II. ascends the throne at the death of his father, amidst great hopes from his people——forgets the oath he had taken to him on his death bed——recalls GAVESTON his favourite who had corrupted his morals—imprisons the bishop of CHESTER, who had been the chief instrument in banishing the favourite——recalls the archbishop out of exile--- breaks thro the canons against pluralities and non-residence —— requires the archbishop to give notice to the lower clergy of their provinces of a parliament — by a second writ gives more time for the clergy --- insists on the execution of this writ 486. 7. 8. He presses the archbishop to move the clergy for an effectual aid—passes the famous statute called "articuli cleri," and confirms it in the way of charter—— involves the kingdom in war and confusion by his male administration — desires BEAUMONT a relation of the queen's may be bishop of Durham——endeavors to prevent the promotion of ORLETON to the see of Hereford, but in vain —retains his resentment against the bishop, and in the next parliament exhibits articles of high treason against him — withstands the application of the bishops in his favour 491. 2. He brings him to a trial in the King's Bench—— seizes his temporalities —is reconciled to him---is deposed for male administration -— delivers up the crown and sceptre, and resigns the government —— is murdered at the instigation of his queen and the bishop of HEREFORD in a most barbarous manner——his character 493. 4.

EDWARD III. succedes his father in the throne--consents to the election of MEPHAM in the room of REYNOLDS to the see of Canterbury— recommends STRATFORD to it at MEPHAM's death ---- opposes ORLETON's translation to the see of Winchester —— exhibits articles against him at Rome——is reconciled to him 495. 6. remonstrates to the pope against the insults offered to his prerogative--too much engaged with military affairs to attend to the papal usurpations — his reign affords little matter for church history—causes a survey to be taken of all the glebe lands, and to be returned into the exchequer, where it now is—undertakes an expedition against France, and leaves the administration of all affairs to the archbishop — sends to him from France for a large remittance——is unable to carry on the war for want of supplies, and returns to England——fights, and conquers the French fleet——besieges Tournay 497. Is obliged to make a truce——makes a formal complaint against the primate 498. Sends a letter to the bishops against him——sends him a safe conduct to come to parliament --- forbids him by one of his court from entering the house of lords 499. He consents to the archbishop's motion to be tried by his peers —— his complaints against him intended only to amuse the people —— is imposed upon and misled 500. He receives the archbishop into favour

vour---commands that the articles drawn up againſt him ſhould be annulled ——— calls a parliament which paſſes the ſtatute of Proviſors, and another the next year which confirms the liberties of the church 501. He reaps immortal glory with his arms in France, and is aſſiſted by the black prince his ſon 502. He determines the controverſy between the two archbiſhops---calls a parliament which paſſes the ſtatute of Premunire 503. He has no inclination to break with the court of Rome ——— deſires LANGHAM may ſuccede ISLIP in the ſee of Canterbury --- is offended at the pope's demand of the tribute granted by king JOHN ———calls a parliament which reſolves vigorouſly againſt the payment of it 504. He commands all the prelates and clergy to array themſelves in a military manner againſt an invaſion from the French 505. He removes the biſhops from the offices of chancellour, treaſurer, and privy ſeal, on an addreſs from parliament ——— is diſguſted at the monks of Canterbury for electing cardinal EASTON their archbiſhop———his death and character 506. 7.

EDWARD IV. declared king of England on the depoſal of HENRY the ſixth 557. His title approved and ratified in parliament 558. He was not without fears and dangers at his aſcending the throne ---grants a charter of liberties of an extraordinary nature to the clergy——— ſcreened them from the penalties of the ſtatutes of Proviſor and Premunire---his pretences for this ---probably not ſincere --- has an aid granted by the clergy who take his part --- puts an indignity on the earl of WARWICK ---is dethroned and impriſoned---eſcapes, flies abroad, and is ſtiled a traitor and uſuper ——— ſubſiſts on the charity of a foreigner—returns to England as a ſubject, begs for his inheritance and takes an oath of allegeance to HENRY whom he had depoſed --forgets this engagement, reaſcends the throne, and cauſes HENRY and his ſon to be put to death ——— aſſembles the lords at Weſtminſter, makes out the title of the houſe of York, and gets the lords to take an oath to his ſon as heir apparent ——— pardons ſeven biſhops who had declared againſt him in the late revolution, excepts the archbiſhop of York the earl of WARWICK's brother out of the pardon, and dies———his character 558 to 560.

EDWARD V. proclaimed king at the death of his father at twelve years of age ——— reigned only between two and three months———is privately ſtrangled in the tower by the directions of his uncle the duke of GLOCESTER 561.

EDWIN king of Northumberland propoſes a marriage with ETHELBURGA ſiſter to the king of Kent, ——— is refuſed becauſe of his paganiſm --- promiſes not to oppoſe the princeſs's religion, and if upon enquiry it appeared beſt, to embrace it ——— marries the princeſs 66. He is dangerouſly wounded by an aſſaſſin 67. He is diſpoſed from this accident to think favourably of Chriſtianity, and conſents his daughter ſhould be baptized

tized 67. He promiſes to become a chriſtian if GOD would revenge him of his enemies——is victorious but delays his promiſe——deliberates wiſely about it——receives a letter from the pope to quicken him——confers with PAULINUS about the grounds of Chriſtianity 68. He declares his readineſs to embrace it——is converted by a viſion——procures the converſion of his ſubjects with great addreſs 69. 70. He openly renounces idolatry and declares himſelf a Chriſtian——is baptized with his two ſons, his niece, and many of his courtiers, by PAULINUS——begins the cathedral of York, and founds an epiſcopal ſee there——ſends to Rome for a pall, and the title of metropolitan for PAULINUS——very zealous for Chriſtianity——perſuades CARPUALD king of the East-Angles, to turn Chriſtian——introduces PAULINUS into Lincolnſhire to preach the goſpel——is ſlain in the field to the great loſs of religion, and his ſubjects——his queen and children obliged to fly into Kent to ſave their lives——his kingdom overrun again with paganiſm 71.

EDWY nephew to EDRED who had ſupplanted him, ſuccedes his uncle on the throne 192. calls DUNSTAN to an account for the money he had received in the former reign——reverſes all that DUNSTAN had done in favour of the monks——baniſhes him the kingdom——a ſtory of his amour ridiculous and improbable 193. 4. his death——a ridiculous monkiſh tale about it 197.

EGBERT ſon of ERCOMBERT king of Kent, ſuccedes his father——reſolves with the advice of his relation to fix an Engliſhman in the ſee of Canterbury, and to ſend him to Rome for a conſecration——they pitch upon WIGHARD for that purpoſe who dies at Rome of the plague 94. He unites the kingdoms of the heptarchy to his own, and ſubdues the Britons in Wales and Cornwall 162 to 164. He cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed king of England——a miſtake about his giving the name of England firſt to this iſland——dies 168 to 170.

EGBERT an Iriſh prieſt, converts the Scottiſh monks of IONA to the Roman uſages 140.——

EGBERT brother to the king of Northumberland, procures the pall and dignity of an archbiſhop to the ſee of York 148.

EGFRID king of Northumberland, depoſes and baniſhes WILFRID——the reaſons for it——endeavours to perſuade his queen ETHELDREDA from turning nun but could not prevail——complains of WILFRID to THEODORE——marries another wife——divides WILFRID's biſhoprick into two——defeats WULPHUR king of the Mercians——cauſes a biſhoprick to be erected at Sydnaceſter in Lincolnſhire, and makes EADHEAD biſhop 106. 7. He would not acquieſce in the ſentence from Rome in favour of WILFRID——upbraids him for procuring it by fraud or bribery——calls his nobles and clergy together to conſider the ſentence——adviſed by them to impriſon him——releaſes him on his aunt's ſollicitation,

licitation, on condition however that he never returned into Northumberland 110. 11. He is killed by the Picts, and ſucceded by his brother ALFRED 115.

ELFLED daughter of king EDWIN, the firſt of the Northumbrians who was baptized 57.

ELFREDA wife to king EDGAR, cauſes her ſon in law EDWARD to be murdered, and puts her own ſon ETHELRED on the throne---not in the intereſt of DUNSTAN and his party---takes the ſide of the ſecular clergy---beats her ſon for lamenting his brother EDWARD's death 212. 13.

ELPHEG ſuccedes ETHELWALD in the ſee of Wincheſter---a miracle pretended for it 214. He is tranſlated to the ſee of Canterbury in the room of ALFRICK---adviſed to retire from the ſiege of that city ---his noble and heroic anſwer 223. His reſolute remonſtrance againſt the cruelty of the Danes 224. He is dragged in chains thro the city and confined ſeven months in priſon---refuſes to redeem himſelf by a diſhonourable expedient ---murdered with great inhumanity---his character 225. 6.

ELSIN biſhop of Wincheſter ſuccedes ODO in the ſee of Canterbury---but dies in his paſſage to Rome over the Alps 196.

Ely erected into a biſhoprick out of the ſee of Lincoln, and HERVEY who had projected the alteration made the firſt biſhop 305.

ELY biſhop of, and lord chancellour, made prime miniſter to RICHARD the firſt in his abſence---throws every thing into confuſion by his pride and arrogance 404.

Embaſſy, a very ſplendid one from HENRY the ſecond to pope ALEXANDER, on account of the diſpute with BECKET 368.

EMMA, widow of king ETHELDRED, marries CANUTE who had been his mortal foe, and injures her children---reflexions on this conduct 227. She is ſtripped by her ſon king EDWARD of all her lands and jewels---is put to the ordeal trial for a ſuſpicion of criminal converſation with the biſhop of Wincheſter, and comes off with honour 236.

England, divided into two ſects or parties 56. It is laid under an interdict by pope INNOCENT the third, and three biſhops are infamous enough to pronounce the ſentence ---no divine ſervice performed in it except baptiſm and the ſacrament to dying people---the dead buried in ditches and highways---the churches ſhut up and every thing ſacrificed to the wicked ambition of the ſee of Rome. 422. The interdict taken off it with great ſolemnity by the pope's legate at St. Paul's 434. An obſervation on its ſituation, and the frequent invaſions it had been liable to 246. 7.

Engliſh, ſold their children for ſlaves at Rome, when they were overſtocked 37. They are ſenſible of their errors, and in a good diſpoſition to receive the Chriſtian faith 38. They apply to the Gallican clergy to inſtruct them---were ſome

ſome of them converted and in poſſeſſion of a liturgy before the coming of AUSTIN 39. Their character in France diſcourages AUSTIN and his companions from proceeding further 40.

Engliſh church, divided into ſeventeen biſhopricks 140.

Engliſh wakes, or village feaſts, their original 49.

ERCOMBERT ſon and ſucceſſor of EADBALD king of Kent publiſhes an edict, requiring all his ſubjects to relinquiſh the worſhip of idols, and all the idols to be deſtroyed 83. He dies of a plague 94.

ERCONWALD biſhop of London, his death and character 118.

ETHELBERT king of Kent, demands BERTHA a daughter of the French king in marriage, and is refuſed becauſe of his idolatry 36. He promiſes that the princeſs ſhould have the free exerciſe of her religion, and marries her—perſuaded by her to think favourably of Chriſtianity 37. He gives AUSTIN, and the miſſionaries from Rome an audience in the iſle of Thanet in the open fields—— probable reaſons for that 41. His anſwer, as it is given us by BEDE——gives leave to the miſſionaries to ſettle at Canterbury, and orders proper houſes and neceſſaries to be provided for them——42. He declares himſelf a Chriſtian, and is baptized——at what preciſe time uncertain——his converſion followed by that of moſt of his ſubjects—— orders ſeveral Pagan temples to be turned into Chriſtian churches---laid the foundations of the cathedral of Canterbury——43. He procures a conference between the Britiſh biſhops and AUSTIN 53. His piety and magnificence 58. He would not permit the metropolitical power to be removed out of his kingdom--- aſſiſts the miſſionaries in the converſion of the Eaſt-Saxons 61. He perſuades his nephew SEBERT to build Weſtminſter-abbey —— appoints a biſhoprick to be erected and the ſee fixed at London--- aſſigns many territories and poſſeſſions to the biſhop and chapter 62. He dies and is buried near Canterbury with his queen 63.

ETHELBURGA ſiſter of ETHELBERT king of Kent, married to EDWIN king of Northumberland 67. She is obliged to fly into Kent with her children to ſave their lives at the death of her huſband, ſlain in battle 71.

ETHELGAR, ſuccedes DUNSTAN in the ſee of Canterbury and dies 217.

ETHELDREDA wife to EGFRID king of Northumberland, ſets her heart on the retirement then in faſhion, refuſes her huſband's embraces, and reſolves to turn nun——is adviſed by WILFRID to importune the king for a divorce——withdraws without her huſband's conſent into a monaſtery, and takes the vail ——is attempted by her huſband but in vain--reflexions on this enthuſiaſm 106.

ETHELRED, ſuccedes EDWARD his brother in law in the throne—— crowned by DUNSTAN——a pretended prophecy relating to his acceſſion 213. He quarrels with the biſhop of Rocheſter and beſieges

sieges the city—raises it for a hundred pounds sent him by DUNSTAN 214. He marries EMMA sister of the duke of Normandy 219. He is obliged to fly into Normandy—invited to return to England ——comes with a great force—— his death and character 226. 7.

ETHELWALCH king of the South-Saxons, bred a Pagan, but marrying EBBA a Christian princess, embraces her religion—gives great encouragement to bishop WILFRID who fled into his kingdom from the persecution he was under at home—had more zeal than knowledge, and compelled some of his people to embrace Christianity—founded a bishoprick, built and endowed a cathedral, and fixed the see at Seolsy in Sussex 82.

ETHELWALD bishop of Winchester, goes into the design of DUNSTAN —ejects the secular canons out of his church—begins to build several monasteries——restores those of Peterborough and Ely 201. He dies 213.

ETHELWULPH son of EGBERT, succedes him as sole monarch of England—sends his son ALFRED to Rome, but not to be anointed king there as some historians report—his grant of tithes to the church 170 to 172. The munificence of this grant 173. His grant does not establish a parochial right of tithes —dies 176.

Eubates, a sort of priests among the Druids who gave themselves up to study 3.

EUGENIUS pope, calls a council at Rheims 336. He receives the archbishop of Canterbury at it with great joy——enters into measures with him to favour the pretensions of MAUD—appears soon after in her interest 337.

EUGENIUS IV. pope, succedes MARTIN in the see of Rome——confirms the acts of his predecessor about opening the council at Basil, and appointing cardinal JULIAN to preside as legate—endeavours to recall his concessions and to resolve it 499. He is cited to appear before the council—translates the council to Ferrara——is suspended by a great majority at Basil—is deposed by that council—dies 550.

EUSEBIUS the historian, a tradition mentioned by him 4. His testimony concerning the British churches 9. His remarkable passage of CONSTANTIUS 13. His account of the council of NICE 17. His observation about the Easter festival 90.

EUSTACE son of king STEPHEN, is set at the head of an army in favour of his father and mother with such speed and secrecy that he surprized the empress MAUD, and took her brother the earl of GLOCESTER prisoner 333. He is present at a council held at London under archbishop THEOBALD —— is refused being crowned by the archbishop—is incensed at this refusal—338. dies 341.

Exempt jurisdictions, a breach of the ancient canons 273.

Exeter, erected into an episcopal see ——the monks compelled to remove to Westminster 236.

Expedition to the holy land, undertaken by people of all ranks with great zeal—reflections on it 402. 3.

F

FELIX a Burgundian biſhop ſent for by king SIGIBERT to convert his ſubjects—applies to HONORIUS archbiſhop of Canterbury for inſtructions——had the city of Dummock in Suffolk, now called Dunwick, aſſigned for his epiſcopal ſee——ſucceſsful in propagating Chriſtianity——aſſiſts the king in appointing teachers and maſters for the ſchools he had ſet up——is aſſiſted powerfully by FURSEUS, a monk from Ireland, in preaching the goſpel——and ſettles the Chriſtian religion in the kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles 76 to 78.

FELIX elected pope by the council of Baſil, in the room of EUGENIUS the fourth whom they depoſed—agrees with NICHOLAS, choſe by the council of Ferrara, to reſign the popedom to him and end the ſchiſm 550.

Ferrara, the general council at Baſil tranſlated thither by EUGENIUS—they elect NICHOLAS in his room 550.

FINAN ſucceſſor to AIDAN in the ſee of Holy iſland, baptizes SIGIBERT king of the Eaſt-Saxons on a viſit at the court of OSWY——conſecrates CHAD biſhop of the Eaſt-Saxons, in conſideration of his zeal and good ſucceſs in converting them 78. 9. He conſecrates DIUMA the firſt biſhop of the Mercians in conſideration of his zeal and good conduct in converting them 81. He has no more regard to the church of Rome than his predeceſſor had, and is tenacious of his opinions about the Eaſter feſtival—ſent to by the Roman miſſionaries about that controverſy——an overmatch for his opponent—diſguſted with the diſpute and more confirmed in his own opinions 86.

FORMOSUS pope, the ſtory of his threatning king EDWARD with excommunication, &c. confuted 183. 4.

FURSEUS a monk from Ireland comes voluntarily into Eaſt-Anglia to preach the goſpel—aſſiſts FELIX the biſhop very powerfully--builds a monaſtery in Suffolk, and by his aſſiſtance the Chriſtian religion is eſtabliſhed there 77. 8.

G

GAllican liturgy, when and how introduced into Britain 27. In what reſpects different from the Roman 28. 9.

Gauls planted their religion in Britain, when they peopled the country 3.

GAVESTON, recalled from his baniſhment by EDWARD the ſecond, and inveſted with the royal power 486.

GEOFRY natural ſon of HENRY the ſecond, enjoys the ſee of Lincoln without being ordained or conſecrated—preſſed by the pope either to compleat his character or to reſign—chooſes the latter 395. He is made archbiſhop of York by his brother RICHARD—his election appealed againſt at Rome—inſiſts on the privileges of his ſee——receives prieſts orders from the biſhop

ſhop of Candida Caſa in Scotland, and goes to Rome for his pall and conſecration 401. He forgets his obligation to the king his brother, and enters into meaſures with JOHN and the king of France againſt him—his temporalities ſeized by the king——mortified by a legatine council——a charge againſt him enquired into 406. He is ſuſpended by pope CELESTINE——goes to Rome, gets his ſuſpenſion taken off—and is declared innocent 407. He oppoſes the levying a tax within his dioceſe——furniſhes the king with a pretence to ſeize his temporalities—excommunicates the high ſheriff with all his officers——lays his dioceſe under an interdict—ſeeks to be reconciled with the king and ends the diſpute 413. He dies 435.

GERMANUS a Gallican biſhop, comes into Britain with LUPUS to ſuppreſs the Pelagian hereſy—comes a ſecond time and procures the baniſhment of the Pelagians---reflexions on this proceeding 24. He inſtitutes ſchools of learning and introduces the Gallic liturgy 25. He conſecrates biſhops in ſeveral parts of Britain, places a cathedral at Landaff, and makes DUBRICIUS archbiſhop 26. He was the firſt who introduced the monaſtic education into Britain 27.

GILDAS a Britiſh hiſtorian, his account of the religion of the Britons 3. A paſſage from him miſtaken 4. His account of the time when the goſpel was brought into Britain 5. His account of the martyrdom of the firſt Britiſh Chriſtians 12. His obſervations on the change of times under CONSTANTIUS 14. His account of the good correſpondence of the Britiſh churches till the Arian hereſy 22. His account of the ancient Britons 31. His opinion about inviting the Saxons into Britain, and account of their devaſtation 32. His account of the diſſolute ſtate of the Britons 34. His reproach of the Britons unjuſt 39.

GIRALDUS, elected by the chapter biſhop of St. Davids——a vain inſolent man of conſiderable learning—is very unacceptable to the court—hurries away to Rome to get his election confirmed and to withdraw Wales from the juriſdiction of Canterbury—makes great promiſes to the holy ſee—is oppoſed by the king and the archbiſhop who get the better of him——has the adminiſtration of the temporalities during the vacancy granted him by the pope 412.

GLANVILLE lord chief juſtice, leaves the bench to aſſiſt in an expedition to the holy land 403. He dies in that expedition 404.

Glaſſonbury the reputed antiquities of its church 6.

GLOCESTER earl of, natural ſon of HENRY the firſt, forms a party in favour of the empreſs MAUD his ſiſter, and withdraws into Normandy——ſends the king word he thought himſelf bound in honour and conſcience to aſſert her right——has a diſpenſation from pope INNOCENT abſolving his oath to STEPHEN 325. He comes with his ſiſter MAUD into England 328. He improves the ſucceſſes of her arms againſt the king 330. He has an

an interview with the biſhop of Wincheſter on the Downs near that city 331. His advices to his ſiſter ineffectual 332. He is ſurprized and taken priſoner by the king's forces —— releaſed in exchange for the king 333.

GLOCESTER duke of, uncle to RICHARD the ſecond, turned out from the council board 513.

GLOCESTER duke of, brother to HENRY the fifth, appointed protector of the realm in the abſence of his brother the duke of BEDFORD —— inclined to aſſume too much authority 542. He oppoſes his uncle cardinal BEAUFORT's officiating as prelate of the order of the garter on St. George's day 547.

GLOCESTER duke of, brother of EDWARD the fourth, ſets his nephew EDWARD the fifth aſide, gets him ſtrangled in the tower, and places himſelf on the throne under the name of RICHARD the third 561.

GODWIN earl, raiſes EDWARD the firſt to the throne —— marries his daughter EDGITHA to him 234. He is forced out of England 236. His cauſe is made national, and he is reconciled to the king 239.

GRAY biſhop of Norwich, recommended to the ſee of Canterbury by king JOHN, elected by the convent but refuſed by the pope 420.

GREGORY the great, reſolves when archdeacon of Rome to go into England to preach the goſpel—— the occaſion of this reſolution 37. His deſign fruſtrated, and why—recollects his deſign after his advancement to the ſee of Rome, and ſends forty monks with AUSTIN at their head to convert the Engliſh —writes to the queen of Kent on this occaſion —— his epiſtle to the king and queen of the Franks on this occaſion by AUSTIN 38. He is entitled to great praiſes for the ſhare he had in the converſion of the Engliſh——over-rules the fears of AUSTIN by his own vigour and firmneſs, and ſends him back to his brethren —— his letter to them on that occaſion 40. He adviſes AUSTIN to alter the uſe of the pagan rites and retain them in the Chriſtian ſervice in order to win the Saxons 48. 9. The folly and danger of this advice 49. The fatal conſequences of it——the conduct of CHRIST's apoſtles very different ——ſends a model for the government of the Engliſh church 50. His death 62.

GREGORY VII. pope, puſhes his deſigns with great boldneſs——ſends a legate to England to claim the kingdom as the patrimony of St. PETER —is refuſed by the king 266. He ſummons LANFRANK the archbiſhop to Rome—repeats the ſummons—but all in vain—ſometimes flatters the king, at other times threatens him 267. He vents his reſentment againſt him in moſt furious terms—convenes a ſynod at Rome——ſummons four Engliſh biſhops to attend but is refuſed, without any excuſe made for it——preſides at this council—changes the profeſſion of obedience to the holy ſee into an oath of fidelity 268. He threatens archbiſhop LANFRANK with ſuſpenſion 270. He entreats him to prevail on the king to put a ſtop

a ſtop to a contempt of the holy ſee 272. His death and character 276.

GREGORY VIII. ſuccedes URBAN in the papacy, lives but a few months, and is ſucceded by CLEMENT 398.

GREGORY IX. ſuccedes HONORIUS the third in the holy chair—voids the election of WALTER de Hemiſham to the ſee of Canterbury, and reſerves the nomination to himſelf —— promotes RICHARD chancellor of Lincoln on a bargain with the king—ſends a nuncio into England to claim the performance of it —— levies the tax with great rigour — oppreſſes the biſhops and abbots to raiſe it 450. 1. He rejects NEVILL for the ſee of Canterbury, becauſe he had too much fortitude and integrity for the court of Rome—attempts to get the collation of all vacant benefices that he might confer them upon Italians——writes a letter of a very high and unuſual ſtrain to the king of England—refuſes another archbiſhop elected by the convent becauſe of his great age, and perſuades him to return to England and not take upon him ſo great a truſt —— rejects a third which the chapter had elected, on pretence of his being a pluraliſt ——appoints EDMUND treaſurer of Saliſbury to the ſee of Canterbury, by his own authority, who being a good man is acquieſced in by the king 451. 2. He grants the archbiſhop an authority to fill abbeys and biſhopricks when they had been above ſix months vacant, but upon the king's application revokes this grant before it had operated at all—his intereſt depended on the king's authority, and the king had too much occaſion for the papal power— He requires a fifth of all the eccleſiaſtical revenues throwout the kingdom——he is at firſt abſolutely refuſed this exorbitant demand by the biſhops, but they afterwards compound with him for a much leſs ſum—he ſends a nuncio into England with a liſt of three hundred Italians who were to be provided for in the church, as the benefices became vacant, before any one elſe --- he ſends his nuncio upon another errand to ſqueeze all the money he could out of the religious houſes—he dies 458. 9.

GREGORY X. pope ſuccedes CLEMENT, and nominates KILWARBY to the ſee of Canterbury in the room of BONNIFACE 474. He calls a general council at Lyons to procure an aid for the expedition to the holy land——had a view to his own intereſt chiefly in making this demand 476. He promotes KILWARBY whom he had made archbiſhop to the purple —— ſets aſide the election of BURNELL nominated by the chapter to ſuccede him in the primacy, and gives the ſee of Canterbury to PECKHAM a Franciſcan — deprives PECKHAM dean of Lincoln for oppoſing his demand of money from the Engliſh church at the council of Lyons 477.

GROSTEST biſhop of Lincoln, being tired out with the male-adminiſtration of HENRY the third, and the pope's impoſitions on the church, intends to quit his biſhoprick and retire —— apprehends the ſee would ſuffer in the vacancy and

in the next election, and alters his design——determines to oblige the king and the pope to change their measures——treats the papal provisions when brought to him with contempt——refuses to institute an Italian, on the pope's provision, who could not speak English —— is suspended for it at Rome —— makes an estimate of the value of all the benefices in England held by foreigners 465. He receives a bull from the pope to institute a Roman boy to a vacant benefice, which he refuses to do——writes an excellent letter to the pope on that occasion——is excommunicated for it at Rome, but continues the exercise of his episcopal office notwithstanding--- he is obeyed throwout his diocese in all respects as he was before his excommunication——sends for several of his clergy, as he lay on his death bed to bear his testimony to them against the corruptions of the court of Rome —— those corruptions enumerated——his death and character 467. 8.

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HAgulstad, or Hexham, reunited to the see of York 206.

HARDICANUTE succedes HAROLD in the throne——dies suddenly —— his character 233.

HAROLD seizes the crown on the death of his father CANUTE—— tries to perſuade the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY to crown him, but could not --- whether crowned at all uncertain——wore out rather than reigned three or four years 233.

HAROLD earl GODWIN's ſon, ſucceedes EDWARD in the throne — and ſoon after killed in battle — his character 245.

HENRY I. ſuccedes WILLIAM RUFUS in the throne 291. declares his abhorrence of his brother's government, and to his diligence and vigour added great and important promiſes — crowned after taking the uſual oath — begins his reign with reforming his court—grants a charter to his ſubjects in which he confirms their privileges, and renounces the unjuſt prerogatives of the crown—reſtores the church to her ancient liberties, and ſets it free from oppreſſion 292. invites ANSELM home to his dioceſe, and promiſes him the adminiſtration of church affairs—refuſed homage by that prelate 293. forces the pope's legate to leave the kingdom without executing his commiſſion 294. extremely perplexed about giving up, or withholding, the right of inveſtitures—agrees to reſpite it till the following Eaſter, and to ſend meſſengers to Rome about it 295. In a new embarraſſment by an invaſion from his brother--promiſes ANSELM to yield to the canons of URBAN, &c.—— keeps the archbiſhop ſteady by that means — is reconciled to his brother and a peace made between them—ſends to ANSELM and requires his homage—ſends new ambaſſadors to Rome with a peremptory declaration 296. ſends his brother back into Normandy—ſummons his great council to London —requires ANSELM to obey the laws or quit the kingdom —has almoſt all the biſhops and nobility on his ſide 297. inveſts ſome new biſhops and abbots— conſents to

ANSELM's holding a ſynod at Weſtminſter—commands him to conſecrate the biſhops of WINCHESTER, SALISBURY and HEREFORD 298. orders the archbiſhop of YORK to do this office on ANSELM's refuſal——provoked by ſome of the biſhops——and baniſhes the biſhop of WINCHESTER and confiſcates his eſtate—ſends for ANSELM and ſets before him the ill conſequences of the new maxims from Rome——deſires him to go thither as his majeſty's ambaſſador ——ſends the biſhop of EXETER with him to demand a confirmation of his rights, or the power of inveſtiture as a favour 299. marked out as a ſacrifice to the ambition of Rome——gains nothing by the embaſſy but delivering himſelf from the noiſe of ANSELM's exile—ſeizes his temporalities 300. ſenſible of the importance of inveſtitures, continues the biſhop of EXETER his ambaſſador at Rome, who gave a favourable turn to his affairs 301. his hopes raiſed and blaſted—goes into Normandy to invade his brother's dominions, and haſtens on the ſlavery of his own kingdom—deſires a conference with ANSELM —agrees upon ſeveral articles with him——reſtores the temporalities of the ſee of Canterbury---obliges himſelf to yield the right of inveſtiture---refers ſome articles to the pope's arbitration---viſits ANSELM frequently——writes into England that he ſhould have no trouble with his tenants or eſtates——aſſiſted by him in his war againſt his brother——acts againſt his judgment and is inſincere with ANSELM 302. impoſes fines upon the married clergy--lays an impoſition on every parochial church——alienates the affections of the people from him by theſe oppreſſions—a great turn to his diſadvantage——reflexions on it---recalls ANSELM---does not refuſe the pope's determination againſt his inveſting biſhops and abbots——convenes his great council to Weſtminſter 303. makes a formal ſurrender of his right of inveſtiture, and of nomination, with a reſerve——his conceſſions quickly put in practice 304. Agrees to the diviſion of the ſee of Lincoln and erecting Ely out of it 305. ſeizes the revenues of the archbiſhoprick at ANSELM's death——reſolves to fill the ſee, and orders the monks to attend upon him in order to elect an archbiſhop 306. Directs them to chuſe RALPH biſhop of ROCHESTER—ſhews his reſentment of the ill uſage of the ſee of Rome---not in a diſpoſition to come to an open breach---permits the monks to demand a pall for the new primate——reſolves to keep at a diſtance from the court of Rome---applied to by the chapter of St. David's to provide them a biſhop——recommends one of his chaplains who was conſecrated by the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY ——ſtops a legate of the pope's in Normandy---ſends the archbiſhop to Rome to expoſtulate with the pope on his uſurpation 308. Takes the part of the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY againſt the archbiſhop of YORK and drives the laſt from his dioceſe----ſends ſome biſhops and abbots to the council of Rheims with particular inſtructions---denies archbiſhop THURSTAN leave to go but on conditions--acquaints the pope with theſe conditions, and requires his compliance with them likewiſe --- deceived both by the pope and the archbiſhop 309. provoked by the pope's and archbiſhop's

ſhop's treachery--- forbids THURSTAN to return into his dominions —— not in a condition to break with the pope--complained againſt by the French biſhops at Rheims for his ill uſage of his brother--- accepts the pope's mediation for a peace with France---meets him in Normandy —— and bribes him to an accommodation 310. Alledges his promiſe as a reaſon why he could not reſtore THURSTAN --- offered by the pope to be abſolved from it---his good anſwer to that propoſal——threatened by the pope with an interdict if THURSTAN was not recalled——conſents to it on conditions 311. Concludes a peace with France, and returns to England——received with great joy--- loſes his only ſon at ſea---ſends a biſhop to attend on the pope's legate, with inſtructions to let him appear only as a private man—— gives him an audience, treats him civilly, and ſends him out of England 312. Calls his great council to Gloceſter, and the monks of Canterbury to attend there for the election of an archbiſhop, in the room of RALPH---confirms the election of CORBEL---his affairs in great perplexity---a revolt againſt him in Normandy 313. conſents to receive the legate of pope HONORIUS, to the great prejudice of the church 314. applied to by archbiſhop CORBEL to enforce the celibacy of the clergy---diſpenſes with their marriage 317. Meets pope INNOCENT in Normandy, and againſt the advice of the Engliſh biſhops acknowledged him as pope, to the prejudice of his rival ANACLETE—returns to England, and founds an epiſcopal ſee at Carliſle, without giving the pope any concern in it ——his only child left a widow by the emperor without iſſue —— marries her againſt her will to the duke of ANJOU's ſon— calls his great council, and gets them to ſwear allegeance to the empreſs as hereditary heir of the crown and kingdom —— has a grandſon born of the empreſs named HENRY after him ——his brother ROBERT dies in priſon --- his death and character 318. 19.

HENRY de Blois biſhop of Wincheſter, brings the clergy into the intereſt of his brother STEPHEN earl of Bologn, in order to give him the crown 320. Had ſet his heart on the ſee of Canterbury, on the death of CORBEL —— not truſted with it by the king his brother— reſents this diſappointment — in ſole poſſeſſion of the character of legate, by the departure of the biſhop of OSTIA 325. Lays hold of an opportunity to ſatiate his revenge againſt the king — calls a council at Wincheſter, and ſummons the king to attend it to anſwer for his conduct— aggravates the king's conduct, and magnifies his own zeal —his declaration at the council board——his anſwer to the king's proxies at the council --- propoſes to excommunicate the king, and to ſend deputies to the pope 327. Senſible of a miſtake in raiſing a ſtorm againſt the king turns about on a ſudden —— draws ſeveral lords to Wincheſter who were in the intereſt of MAUD, and detains them priſoners till they had delivered up their caſtles to the king 330. Has an interview with MAUD and the earl of GLOCESTER --- throws up his brother's cauſe, and ſwears allegeance to her, and receives her next day in his cathedral church ——

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ſummons a council to meet at Wincheſter by his legatine power--has ſecret conferences with the eccleſiaſticks the day before—makes a long and ſolemn ſpeech to the council 331. Gives benediction to all who ſhould pay obedience to the empreſs, and excommunicates all who adhered to his brother 332. Greatly diſappointed in MAUD, who, he thought, looked upon him as her enemy — in ſpite of oaths and proteſtations veers about again —draws a great force from Kent and London, and purſues the empreſs to the caſtle of Wincheſter---ſets fire to the town for the loyalty of the inhabitants to her, which he himſelf had encouraged—takes the earl of GLOCESTER priſoner who is exchanged for the king—writes to the pope to authorize his proceedings in behalf of his brother 333. Commands the people of England to aſſiſt the king, and excommunicates all the adherents to MAUD——makes an attempt to juſtify his conduct and the frequent breach of his oaths--charged to his face with inviting MAUD into England, and adviſing all the cruelty ſhewn to his brother——makes no reply——holds a council at London, and confirms a canon which exempts the clergy from the ſecular power 334. Forwards the pope's uſurpation and carries his authority to the utmoſt ſtretch 335. Forms a deſign to divide the province of Canterbury, and to erect Wincheſter into an archbiſhoprick 336. Concurred in making a peace, between his brother king STEPHEN, and the empreſs MAUD 342.

HENRY II. takes poſſeſſion of the crown of England——recovers the lands that had been given away ——demoliſhes the caſtles that had been fortified—and gives new life and vigour to the laws——chuſes his council out of the moſt eminent men 343. A difficult taſk for him to make a ſtand againſt the diſorders in the church—ſends an embaſſy to Rome for the pope's conſent to the conqueſt of Ireland 345. His error in applying to Rome for leave to invade and conquer Ireland —— reaps ſome advantages from it for the preſent 347. Makes BECKET lord chancellour at the recommendation of archbiſhop THEOBALD——imbibes a ſpirit of violence in religious matters——calls a council at Oxford to enquire into the tenets of ſome German hereticks come into England 348. Cauſes all the German hereticks to be branded in the forehead, and whipped out of Oxford ——forbids all his ſubjects to relieve them —— reflexions on that unholy perſecuting ſpirit 349. Acknowledges ALEXANDER as the ſucceſſor of pope ADRIAN in preference to his rival VICTOR——detained in Normandy by public buſineſs, and gives the adminiſtration of the church to archbiſhop THEOBALD 350. In Normandy when THEOBALD died, and BECKET with him——has an intention to make him primate 351. ſends him into England to be elected to the ſee of Canterbury——gives him leave to attend pope ALEXANDER in his ſynod at Tours—The troubles given him by BECKET conducted by the councils and intereſt of the ſee of Rome--ſupports the earl of CLARE in his controverſy with BECKET---offended with BECKET for excommunicating a lord of a manor without imparting it to his majeſty--his miſunderſtanding with him begun

from this accident 352. Orders the clergy to be puniſhed when convicted of crimes in the ſame manner as the laity — is oppoſed in this by BECKET — has the law and uſage of England on his ſide —manages this diſpute with great temper 356. Expoſtulates with BECKET very warmly, on the ſlight puniſhment of a clergyman who had committed murder, tried in the primate's court——parts from him very much incenſed——vexed to find himſelf diſappointed in his archbiſhop — is made more deſirous to reduce the eccleſiaſtical power 357. Repreſented by moſt hiſtorians as a man of ungoverned paſſions 358. Offended at the clauſe propoſed by the biſhops, and endeavours to get it revoked—— is refuſed, and leaves the council with a threatning againſt the biſhops —— his threats could not overcome the primate, tho they terrified the prelates — his temper and conduct in the diſpute with BECKET not unbecoming his character — convenes the lords ſpiritual and temporal to Weſtminſter, to redreſs grievances——ſends an ambaſſador to the pope, to inform him of his diſpute with BECKET —— propoſes a regulation to the lords conſiſting of five articles, which are approved of by the temporal lords, and refuſed by the biſhops without a clauſe 359. Is followed to Woodſtock by a deputation, with BECKET at the head, to aſſure him of their compliance without the clauſe--is much pleaſed with this unanimous conſent of the clergy—to bind them more ſolemnly, ſummons a convention of lords to Clarendon to recognize the laws relating to eccleſiaſticks —— is enraged with BECKET's repenting his compliance and retracting his ſubmiſſion —— threatens him very ſeverely —— is attended by BECKET with a renewal of his promiſe in the preſence of many clergy and laymen — orders the laws of HENRY the firſt to be drawn up, and preſented to the aſſembly of lords 360. Requires the archbiſhop and biſhops to ſeal the inſtrument, containing the articles of Clarendon, and is refuſed by BECKET——alters the form to an indenture, and delivers one copy to Him, another to the archbiſhop of YORK, and orders a third to be laid up among the crown records ——ſends an ambaſſador to the pope to confirm the articles by a bull, and to deſire the archbiſhop of YORK may be made legate — would not be reconciled to BECKET on any other terms——has a bull with a grant of the power of legate 363. Rejected by him with indignation——determines to do juſtice to the laws, and to the authority of the crown——appoints another council of lords at Northampton, and orders BECKET to be accuſed of two capital crimes 364. Sends a meſſage to BECKET ——is irritated by his anſwer — ſends for him and is refuſed —— brings other accuſations againſt him — proſecutes him with more heat and vehemence than wiſdom and honour——accuſes him ſtill further of perjury and high treaſon 365. Provoked with a threatening of BECKET, which implied an excommunication, and preſſes the biſhops to join the barons and paſs ſentence upon him 366. Is ſatisfied with their excuſe, and orders the temporal lords to proceed to ſentence —— ſends two of them to give him notice, that he might attend

tend and hear it —— orders a proclamation to be made, that no one might outrage him, or his retinue —— conſults with his nobility about proper meaſures on BECKET's leaving the kingdom — ſends ambaſſadors to the king of France, to deſire him to baniſh BECKET out of his dominions, and is refuſed 367. Sends a ſplendid embaſſy to the pope, to engage him on his ſide againſt BECKET — aims chiefly at BECKET's reſignation —— wiſhes to have the legatine power at his command — deſires two cardinals may be ſent to England to finiſh the diſpute between him and BECKET —— had been the chief inſtrument in keeping ALEXANDER in the papal chair, his expectations therefore not ill-founded —— diſappointed by him in every thing 368. Reſents this uſage from a pope he had ſo much obliged —— iſſues out a proclamation to baniſh all the primate's relations, to ſeize his revenues, and to forbid all communication with him or the pope —— orders many others of the ſame tendency 369. Receives many inſolent letters from BECKET during his exile —— is applied to by the pope in favour of BECKET —— levies a numerous army to frighten the pope, and to prevent a revolt —— and hinders the pope from any proceedings againſt him 370. Has hopes given him by the pope, that his quarrel with BECKET ſhould be made up ſpeedily to his advantage —— ſends good preſents to Rome — delighted with his ſucceſs there —— deceived egregiouſly by the pope 371. He his threatened by the pope with an excommunication from BECKET — his dominions in Normandy attacked by the king of France —— provoked at theſe proceedings —— ſends a menace to the order of Ciſtercians by whom BECKET was entertained at Portigny —— is inſulted by the pope — makes an alliance with the emperor, and ſome overtures towards renouncing the pope and acknowledging his rival 372. Writes to ſome of the princes of Germany, that he was juſt on the point of diſowning ALEXANDER — this not eaſily to be brought about in England —— is enjoined by the pope to reſtore BECKET, and annull the articles of Clarendon —— his anſwer by the biſhop of LONDON — wants to clear his hands of this controverſy with the archbiſhop 373. Is determined if poſſible to put an end to it — looks upon BECKET's anſwer to the king of France as an evaſion — complains of it, and makes a propoſal —— ſilences by it a report that had been ſpread about to his diſadvantage — makes no impreſſion on BECKET 374. He is enraged at his excommunicating almoſt all his clergy —— appeals to a future council —— ſends two archdeacons with a threatening letter to the pope — involves him in great perplexity by it —— receives a letter from him of great ceremony and compliance by his legates in return — is cajoled and impoſed upon by the pope —— conſents that BECKET may return to England, ſaving the honour of the crown and government —— his reſtrictions cavilled at by the legates, and the articles of agreement refuſed — diſcovers a ſecret he had before ſuſpected 375. He is convinced that the pope was reſolved to carry his point, and

and force his majeſty to a compliance——has another meeting with——the archbiſhop and the king of France——makes him a generous offer which BECKET does not accept——attempts by another embaſſy to prevail on the pope to tranſlate the primate to another ſee, makes the pope a great offer of money, but could obtain nothing but other legates to mediate a peace——the peace defeated by BECKET 376. His character vilified by the court of Rome——the primate permitted to excommunicate him——renounces the authority of the pope and archbiſhop, and forbids any orders from either to be received in England——decrees the bearer of an interdict to be hanged on the ſpot as a traytor——commands all eccleſiaſticks to return to their churches on a day prefixed, and ſuſpends the payment of Peter-pence——convinces the pope by theſe proceedings that his attempts againſt him were premature——returns home from Normandy, and convenes a general aſſembly at Weſtminſter, where he cauſes his eldeſt ſon to be crowned by the archbiſhop of YORK—has a double pleaſure in this event 377. Is threatened by the pope and BECKET with excommunication if he did not make his peace——is determined to come to an agreement with the archbiſhop—ſends the legates word he would put an end to the diſpute as they deſired——frightened by the pope and wearied out by the archbiſhop——has a conference with the French king at Montmirail, where BECKET was preſent, and agrees to every thing that was demanded——the kiſs of peace deſired of him by BECKET—excuſes himſelf from it 378. The conference broken off by this ſcruple, he procures another interview, and is in earneſt reconciled to BECKET——tho he had gained no part of his end, yet is pleaſed with this agreement——reſtores BECKET and his adherents to his favour and to all they had forfeited 379. He loſes all temper with him, for his ill-uſage of the king's friends—complains aloud in a paſſion of his inſolence, and that no one would revenge him of ſuch a prieſt——did not intend to direct his aſſaſſination——taken at his word by ſome of his houſhold, who come into England and murder BECKET in the cathedral 380. He perceives that he would create him as much trouble when dead as living—is charged with his aſſaſſination 382. He dreads the iſſue of this affair, and ſends ambaſſadors every where to diſown the fact, and prevent the ill effects of it—his ambaſſadors at Rome at firſt denied an audience and ill treated—is entangled by a promiſe made in his name by them, which involved him in difficulties he could never get rid of——permitted to clear himſelf of the murder by an oath——declares his concern for having occaſioned it by his raſh expreſſion——the terms of his accommodation 383. They are deſtructive of the rights of the crown and church—gets nothing but an abſolution of a crime he had ſworn himſelf not guilty of 384. He is uneaſy at the diſpute about the election of a primate in BECKET's room——condeſcends to the prior in a very unbecoming manner and

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is refuſed with inſolence —— the diſpute carried higher by a miſunderſtanding between the king and his ſons——yields to the neceſſity of his affairs, and conſents to the election of RICHARD prior of Dover —— is oppoſed by the young king, who ſends a mandate to the college and an appeal to Rome—eſpouſes the cauſe of the new archbiſhop——lets the ſee of Rome into a power of confirming the election of metropolitans 385. He is ſaid to have walked barefoot as a pilgrim to pay his devotion at BECKET's tomb and to be ſcourged by the monks — reflexions on this diſcipline —— ſettles his affairs and receives his ſons again into favour 386. He agrees with the pope's legate on the eccleſiaſtical liberty in four articles — hurried on too faſt to ſee the tendency of this encroachment on his rights 388. He tells the pope that the wiſeſt and greateſt men of his kingdom oppoſed this agreement--his ill conduct a great occaſion of the papal uſurpations 389. He is prevailed on by the pope's legates to turn his arms in conjunction with the French king, againſt the inhabitants of the South of France, and attempt their converſion to popery with fire and ſword 390. He is applied to by pope LUCIUS for his and his clergy's aſſiſtance againſt the ſenate of Rome——deſired by the clergy to make a preſent in his own and their name, and not to permit the legates to come into England for it——his affairs much embroiled by the death of archbiſhop RICHARD —— had imprudently given up his right to the nomination of metropolitan—goes down to Canterbury and gets BALDWIN biſhop of Worceſter made archbiſhop — approves of his deſign to build a college for ſecular canons at Hackington — is made uneaſy with a conteſt about it——the undutifulneſs of his children deſtroyed his quiet — undertakes an expedition to Paleſtine — his death and character 397. 8. 9.

HENRY eldeſt ſon of HENRY the ſecond crowned by the archbiſhop of YORK by the direction of his father 377. He has a diſpute with the convent of Canterbury about the election of an archbiſhop in the room of BECKET — ſends the prior and monks into Normandy to his father——has a miſunderſtanding with his father—oppoſes him in the election, and ſends a mandate to the convent and an appeal to Rome 385.

HENRY III. eldeſt ſon of JOHN ſuccedes him in the throne, crowned at Gloceſter by the biſhops of BATH and WINCHESTER — the earl of PEMBROKE choſe his guardian—is put in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown and kingdom 445. He takes an oath to obſerve the charter and is crowned again by the archbiſhop with more ceremony 446. He is declared of age, orders copies of the charters to be ſent into every county — diſmiſſes the biſhop of WINCHESTER who had ſucceded the earl of PEMBROKE as guardian, begins his government with an act of injuſtice —annulls the two charters of the king his father—rewards chief juſtice HUBERT who gave him this advice with the title of the earl of Kent 448. He rejects the archbiſhop choſe

chose by the chapter at the death of LANGTON for want of learning — promises the pope the tenth of all the moveables in England if RICHARD chancellor of Lincoln might be primate——assembles a convention of the states of the realm to consider of his treaty with the pope, which was flatly denied by the temporal lords, but at last consented to — assents to the election of NEVILL lord chancellor to the see of Canterbury in the room of RICHARD, and invests him with the temporalities —— whom the pope rejects — receives a letter in a high strain from the pope which he does not greatly concern himself about — consents to the election of the subprior of Canterbury who is also rejected at Rome — approves of BLAND whom the convent then elected, who is also rejected by the pope, and acquiesces in EDMUND treasurer of Salisbury whom the pope appointed 450. 1. 2. 3. He is entreated by the barons to remove the bishop of WINCHESTER and threatened in case of refusal — his eyes are opened by the archbishop and he dismisses the favourite —— demands the great seal from NEVILL who refuses to deliver it —— restores his old ministers, sends privately for the pope's legate 454. He recommends the bishop of VALENCE the queen's uncle for the see of Winchester and is refused by the monks —— is disgusted at this refusal and would not consent to the promotion of RALEY whom they elected — reproaches the convent for returning NEVILL as a hot-headed prelate, and sends an ambassador to Rome to get his election annulled 457. His administration is complained against in church and state by all the lords —makes himself sure of the pope's protection —— they stand in need of one another——has no other resource but the papal power against the nobility 458. With artifices and promises he got BONNIFACE the queen's brother elected to the primacy in the room of EDMUND—gets an instrument signed by some bishops and abbots to recommend him to the pope 460. He is surprized at the great revenues enjoyed by the Italian ecclesiasticks in England——is afraid of the pope's resentment——gives leave to the barons to appeal to the general council then assembling against the oppressions from Rome ——acquaints the pope's nuncio he could not protect him, and gives him a safe conduct to go off 461. puts on an air of great resentment against the pope, plays the bully for two or three days and then returns to his usual complaisance ---much displeased with fresh oppressions of the clergy from Rome, orders the bishops and abbots not to permit the pope's agents to levy any money, and sends a proclamation to all towns and public meetings not to contribute a penny to the pope's assistance—— the fear of an interdict and excommunication sinks his courage and ruins all —— recommends his half brother ATHELMAR to the see of Durham ——is offended with the answer of the chapter——goes to Winchester on the vacancy of that see by RALEY's death, to recommend him to that chapter, reminding them that they had disobliged him in the last election 462. 3. 4. By promises and threats he carries his point—— takes the cross from the legate, demands a subsidy

ſubſidy from the clergy, and is upbraided by them with male-adminiſtration 465. He demands a large ſubſidy of the parliament that he might perform his vows of going to the holy land, is gratified in this demand on conditions—— his anſwer to the biſhops who brought him this reſolution —— promiſes to join the parliament in a reformation —— confirms the great charters ſolemnly with an oath in Weſtminſter-hall---breaks thro his engagements and prevails on the pope to make them void 466. 7. He complains to the biſhop of LONDON of the unwillingneſs of the biſhops to gratify the pope's demands 469. He complains of the decrees of a council under archbiſhop BONNIFACE as prejudicial to the prerogative, and deſires pope URBAN to revoke them 470. His death and character 474.

HENRY IV. ſuccedes RICHARD the ſecond whom he had depoſed —— is unwilling to part with a parliament that had placed him on the throne —— continues it as a new parliament by proclamation —— crowned at Weſtminſter and his eldeſt ſon made prince of Wales, &c. 520. He ſends two peers and his chamberlain to the convocations to thank them for their prayers, and to pay his court to the clergy in the moſt effectual manner 521. He connives at the breach of the ſtatutes of proviſors and premunire——is addreſſed by the biſhops againſt the Lollards—— falls in with their views and paſſes the act for burning hereticks —— the firſt of our kings who begun this practice —— commands the ſheriffs not to return any lawyers to parliament 522. 3. 4. He is addreſſed by the commons againſt the clergy——aſſures the latter of his protection, and to leave the church in a better ſtate than he found it——deſires the archbiſhop to call a council in order to check the progreſs of the Lollards 525. He is addreſſed by the commons in favour of the Lollards againſt the clergy, and to repeal or alter the act for burning hereticks—— rejects their petition with great ſharpneſs and reprehenſion —— wiſhes the rigour of the act for burning the hereticks was heightened 526. He refuſes his aſſent to a ſtatute for trying the clergy in the civil courts —— ſigns a warrant for the burning a blackſmith for hereſy —— unwilling to paſs an act to prevent his meddling in elections, &c. but gives it at laſt the royal aſſent —— orders a bill into parliament to enable him to collect a tenth of the clergy, and a fifteenth of the laity, tho there ſhould be no ſeſſion of parliament, which was rejected 527. He writes to the univerſity of Oxford to enquire after perſons ſuſpected of hereſy, and to impriſon them or deliver them up to the archbiſhop ——his death and character 528.

HENRY IV. ſuccedes his father in the throne——grants a general pardon, except for rapes and murders —— charges his libertine companions never to come to court 530. He is informed of Sir JOHN OLDCASTLE's hereſy, diſapproves of uſing force, undertakes to talk with Sir JOHN, and finding him inflexible gives him up 531. He grows offended with his preſumption in diſregarding the archbiſhop's citations, and orders him to be apprehended and ſent to the tower

tower——reſpites his execution for fifty days 531. He is informed of a conſpiracy againſt him headed by OLDCASTLE with twenty thouſand men —— gives credit to this improbable ſtory —— marches in the night to attack them and finds about a hundred Lollards who are killed or taken priſoners——under this deluſion ſets a thouſand marks on the head of OLDCASTLE 532. He is afterwards convinced of the falſehood of this accuſation——and grants an act of indemnity for all the Lollards 533. He is convinced that the clergy had miſrepreſented the commons as hereticks---ſeems to believe it neceſſary to purſue the meaſures recommended to him by the commons againſt the clergy —— reſolves on a war againſt France at the inſtance of the archbiſhop 535. He ſends ambaſſadors to pope MARTIN to redreſs ſome grievances in the church from his incroachments---his ambaſſadors procure a concordat by which the pope revokes them—— ſends another embaſſy with more demands, and orders his ambaſſadors to declare roundly to the pope that they ſhould be complied with —— refuſes to admit the biſhop of Lincoln to the ſee of York tranſlated by the pope —— turns the monks out of the French monaſteries in England —— his death and character 538.

HENRY VI. an infant of eight months old ſuccedes his father in the throne 541. He acknowledges the council of Ferrara, and eſpouſes pope EUGENIUS—rejects the pope's bull for granting the biſhoprick of Ely to the archbiſhop of ROAN——conſents afterwards to it 550. He commands the archbiſhop not to execute the bull for levying money on the clergy —— ſends a conge d'elire to the chapter of Wincheſter to elect WAINFLEET in the room of cardinal BEAUFORT—his court broke into factions after his marriage, of dangerous conſequence 555. He was the greateſt devotioniſt of his time —— his reign torn with diſſenſions 556. He is depoſed and murdered——his character 557. 8.

Hereticks from Germany brought before a council under king HENRY the ſecond and examined——called Publicans, Vandois, and Calviniſts —— branded in the forehead, whipped and ſtarved to death—— reflexions on this cruelty 348. 9. A ſtatute for burning them —— reflexions on it 523.

HERVEY biſhop of Bangor driven from his dioceſe, ſent to the monaſtery of Ely till he could be provided for——projects the erecting it into a biſhop's ſee out of the ſee of Lincoln, ſucceeds and is made the firſt biſhop 305.

HILDEBRAND ſuccedes ALEXANDER in the papal chair under the name of GREGORY the ſeventh—his vaſt deſigns——his character 261. 2.

Holy land, the expedition to it repented of, and neglected by many——all excommunicated by the pope who draw back from their vows of aſſiſting in it —— a fortieth part of his revenues given towards it by the king 416.

HONORIUS ſuccedes CALIXTUS in the papal chair ——ſends a legate into England 314. He dies and a ſchiſm enſues at Rome 318.

HONORIUS III. ſuccedes INNOCENT in the popedom——ſends a legate into England with a propoſal——recalls him and conſides in the archbiſhop——the anſwer he received 447.

HUBERT biſhop of Saliſbury made archbiſhop of Canterbury in the room of BALDWIN by the king's nomination 405. He has the commiſſion of legate, is ſent to York to hold a legatine council, in order to mortify archbiſhop GEOFRY and inquire into a charge againſt him—his authority as archbiſhop of Canterbury denied by the dean and chapter and ſubmitted to as legate——delivers ſeveral conſtitutions for the clergy and religious to obſerve, which had no power but from his own authority——the council irregular and owing only to the king's reſentment againſt his grace of YORK 406. He carries on the college at Lambeth——remonſtrated againſt by the convent which he does not regard——forms a project of accommodation, but could not win the convent 407. He is threatened by INNOCENT the third who ſucceded CELESTINE 408. He is made lord chancellor—his province attempted to be divided by GIRALDUS named to the ſee of St. Davids—ſends an agent to Rome and gets the better of the diſpute 412. He holds a council at Weſtminſter tho prohibited by the chief juſtice——the new conſtitutions paſſed at it 413. His death and character 417.

HUBERT earl of Kent turned out in diſgrace and ruined 453.

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JAMES the ſon of ZEBEDEE not the firſt apoſtle of the Britons 5.

ILLUTUS is maſter of a great ſchool in Wales, and educates the ſons of noblemen 26.

INA made king of Mercia—calls the biſhops and nobility to ſettle the kingdom—his famous laws enacted 121. 2. The ſtory of his marrying the daughter of a Britiſh king &c. fabulous 139.

INGULPHUS, his obſervations on the partiality of the conqueror to the Normans 254.

INNOCENT pope, acknowledged by HENRY againſt the advice of his Engliſh biſhops, and ſuccedes HONORIUS 318. He is applied to by king STEPHEN to confirm his election to the crown of England——requeſted to make the biſhop of WINCHESTER his legate, which he did not deny, but ſoon ſuperſeded him 322. He ſends the biſhop of OSTIA with the character of legate 323. He makes archbiſhop THEOBALD legatus natus——acquires a pretence of judging in the election of biſhops 329.

INNOCENT III. ſuccedes CELESTINE in the papacy—iſſues an inſolent bull in favour of the monks of Canterbury—commands the college of Lambeth to be demoliſhed and the monks to be diſpoſſeſſed—threatens to ſuſpend archbiſhop HUBERT from his office 408. He employs the cardinals to prevail on the

the archbiſhop — writes inſolent and threatening letters to king RICHARD —— his wickedneſs very injurious to the Engliſh church 409. He is applied to by GIRALDUS to divide the province of Canterbury, to confirm his election to St. Davids, and to make it a metropolis — all which on the king's application he refuſes to do —but grants him the adminiſtration of the temporalities during the vacancy 412. He iſſues a bull requiring all metropolitans to convene the provincial, and all biſhops the ſynods of their dioceſe to make an eſtimate of all eccleſiaſtical preferments, and charge them with a fortieth part of their revenue for the holy war--pretends the neceſſity and the hopes of ſucceeding in the expedition—promiſes it ſhould not be drawn into example 413. He eſpouſes the cauſe of the monks of St. Auſtins —directs the biſhop of ELY to excommunicate thoſe who had diſpoſſeſſed them, and reſtore them to their poſſeſſion——writes an inſolent letter to the king——makes himſelf a party and is judge and advocate--declares himſelf to be the only defender of that houſe 415. 16. He iſſues a bull to excommunicate every ſunday all thoſe who draw back from their vows of aſſiſting in the expedition to the holy land —— prevails upon the king to grant a fortieth part of his revenue towards it 416. He determines againſt the claim of the biſhops of the province in the election of a primate——gets the king into his net and pulls it over him — vacates the elections made at Canterbury and orders a new election by the deputation of the convent at Rome——recommends cardinal LANGTON an Engliſhman and commands them to elect him —over-rules them by his threatening and conſecrates the cardinal —turns the king's promiſe againſt himſelf 420. He is charged by the king with ingratitude and invading his prerogative, and threatened to have his authority diſowned—his inſolent anſwer to this remonſtrance —— an account of his temper and qualifications —— lays the kingdom under an interdict, and commands three biſhops to pronounce the ſentence who to their infamy obey him——excommunicates the king by name and orders the ſentence to be pronounced every Sunday —his ſentence little regarded——writes to all the biſhops in England and the nobility to withdraw their allegeance from the king——alludes profaneneſs to what is ſaid of GOD—breaks thro the duty and ſteadineſs of his miniſters 421. 2. 3. He rejects two propoſals from the king to make up the diſpute——his reaſons for ſo doing —ſends two legates under a pretence of putting an end to it, but in reality to penetrate into the king's intentions ——his legates have an audience of the king in his great council—their anſwer from the king——his legates publiſh the excommunication &c. —— calls a conſiſtory to conſult how to ſubdue the king's obſtinacy 425. He depoſes king JOHN at Rome —— promiſes the king of France heaven and the crown of England to diſpoſſeſs him —— ſends letters and emiſſaries all over Europe promiſing the ſame privileges to thoſe who made war

war upon him, as to thoſe who aſſiſted in the expedition againſt infidels---ſends PANDULPHUS with a letter of inſult and menace——is ſeconded by his legate with an artful repreſentation of the revolt of his own ſubjects 426. He avows the deſign of erecting a monarchy over all the nations of the earth—owns the terms of agreement with JOHN were projected and formed with great deliberation at Rome —his account of thoſe terms—covers his ambition with zeal for juſtice and religion, and pretends to take the clergy under his protection---makes the king of France his tool at the expence of ſixty thouſand pounds 427. 8. 9. Foreſeeing the king's reſignation might be conſtrued into conſtraint, he ſends a legate in order to get the Engliſh people to approve of it 431. He is vexed at the archbiſhop's proteſt againſt the king's reſignation——gives his legate directions to fill the ſees and abbies with thoſe whom the king approved of — orders him to call in every paper and decree againſt the king and burn them 432. 3. He ſends an order to the king to reſtore but forty thouſand marks to the exiled biſhops and the monks of Canterbury, tho he had offered a hundred thouſand — intends to take the rights of patronage and election into the keeping of the holy ſee — writes to the dean and chapter of York on the death of GEOFRY to elect ſuch an archbiſhop as his legate ſhould nominate ——declares the election of SIMON LANGTON void, and forces the biſhop of WORCESTER upon them —oppoſed by the eccleſiaſticks for his tyranny 435. He is angry with the barons for attempting to dethrone the king who was under his protection —— ſwears that it ſhould not go unpuniſhed——declares the charters void and commands them to lay down their arms — excommunicates them by name and requires the archbiſhop to order the publication of it every Sunday--acts up to his new character of ſovereign lord of England 439. He confirms his legate's ſuſpenſion of archbiſhop LANGTON,--- ſends monitions to the emperors and princes of Chriſtendom to ſend ambaſſadors to a council held by him -- he brings the canons ready drawn and publiſhes them by his own authority 440. He endeavours to fruſtrate the expedition of LEWIS againſt king JOHN — forbids him by his legate to go on with it— lays the city of London under an interdict—excommunicates LEWIS and his new ſubjects by bell, book, and candle—— dies. 442. 3.

INNOCENT IV. ſuccedes GREGORY in the papal chair——ſends a nuncio into England to exact money from the clergy 460. He is ſurprized at the bold attack of the barons at the council of Lyons——orders two bulls to be drawn which he founded high, as a ſignal favour, one to permit the Engliſh patrons to preſent to their own livings, and the other to allow an Engliſhman to ſuccede an Italian in his benefice—writes a thundering letter to the biſhops to ſet their hands to king JOHN's charter——reſolves to make no abatement in his demands —loads the clergy with new taxes —and claims the adminiſtration to eccleſiaſticks who die inteſtate 462. 3. He confirms the election of ATHELMAR the king's half brother to the ſee of Wincheſter——

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gives the king an order for all eccleſiaſticks to pay him a tenth for three years — ſuſpends GROSTEST biſhop of Lincoln for not inſtituting an Italian to whom he had given a living 465. He abſolves the king of his oath to obſerve the great charters — ſends a bull for the biſhop of LINCOLN to inſtitute a Roman boy to a benefice — enraged at the biſhop's refuſal and a letter which he ſent to excuſe it — his menaces on that occaſion — excommunicates the biſhop 467. He moves in the conclave that the corpſe of GROSTEST ſhould be taken up out of conſecrated ground, and a brand of infamy be ſet on his memory — he dies and is ſucceeded by ALEXANDER the fourth 468.

Invocation of ſaints, the propriety of it diſproved 160.

JOHN ſon to HENRY the ſecond and brother to RICHARD, promiſes his brother with an oath not to go into England for three years without his leave 403. He breaks his oath in a little time — enters into meaſures with the king of France to deprive his brother of the crown 404. He ſuccedes his brother RICHARD in the throne to the prejudice of his nephew ARTHUR — ſmarts under the papal uſurpations — makes archbiſhop HUBERT lord chancellour 411. He oppoſes GIRALDUS's being made biſhop of St. David's — ſends an ambaſſador to Rome about it — waves his own nomination and conſents to one of the abbots whom the chapter had firſt pitched upon before GIRALDUS 412. He ſeizes the temporalities of his brother GEOFRY archbiſhop of York — goes down and accepts his ſubmiſſion — preſents WELLS to the living of Feverſham — is provoked at the monks of St. Auſtin's who kept out WELLS by force — orders the ſheriff to diſpoſſeſs them — is deſpiſed and affronted by them — forbids the execution of an inſolent bull of the pope's — is wrote to by him very impertinently 415. He is prevailed upon from Rome to grant a fortieth part of his revenues to the holy war and to exhort his nobility to contribute to it — orders his chief juſtice to inform them that this impoſition was not granted by right or papal compulſion — the ill poſture of his affairs abroad ſome little excuſe for him — is ſuſpected to have put his nephew ARTHUR to death with his own hands 416. which has a fatal effect upon his affairs and helped to forward that calamity which overwhelmed him — thinks of nothing but his diverſions — could not be awakened out of his dream of idleneſs and pleaſure 417. He is enraged at the news of an election to the ſee of Canterbury without his licence — recommends GRAY biſhop of Norwich — ſends a deputation from the convent to get the election confirmed at Rome — the turn of his affairs lies croſs to the claim of the provincial biſhops in the election of a primate — ſits quiet under the pope's decree againſt this claim — confides in the ſecurity the monks had given him not to elect any other primate than GRAY — promiſes the pope that he would acquieſce in the election of the convent — his promiſe turned againſt himſelf — loſes all patience — ſends a military force down to the convent to charge the monks with high treaſon and to baniſh them

out of the kingdom 420. He ſends a letter to the pope and expoſtulates very roundly with him for invading his prerogative——threatens to diſown his authority if the biſhop of NORWICH is not made primate, but is anſwered by the pope with great inſolence 421. He is enraged at the kingdom's being put under an interdict——carries his revenge too far againſt the whole eccleſiaſtical order——this very prejudicial to his affairs——obliged to reſtore them to his favour and to ſecure his lay ſubjects——his difficulties encreaſed 422. He is excommunicated by name by INNOCENT---his conduct ſeemed to be above any impreſſions of fear——the duty and ſteadineſs of ſome of his miniſters broke thro, particularly WELLS the chancellour whom he had made biſhop of Lincoln 423. He reſents his ingratitude and ſeizes his temporalities---his own ſteadineſs broke by this defection——offers to receive the primate, &c. and obey the pope's monitions ſaving the dignity and privileges of the crown——this propoſal rejected—propoſes to empower the pope himſelf or his delegates to deliver the temporalities to archbiſhop LANGTON, and receive his homage, but this is alſo rejected 424. He is attended by his great council at Northampton ——gives audience to two legates of the pope 424. His angry reply to their propoſal——makes a propoſal himſelf to PANDULPHUS which is inſolently rejected——the ſentence of excommunication publiſhed againſt him, &c.—his character blackened to the laſt degree--is propheſied againſt by PETER the hermit, the credit of which was of great diſſervice to the king 425. He is depoſed in the conſiſtory of Rome---the crown is promiſed the king of France if he will diſpoſſeſs him---all Europe is irritated againſt him by the pope---draws an army together of ſixty thouſand men, and manns a fleet to oppoſe the French—permits PANDULPHUS to come into England and gives him an audience---receives an imperious letter by him from the pope --- alarmed by the legate's repreſentation of the revolt and diſloyalty of his ſubjects---his jealouſy and diſtruſt of his army induſtriouſly cultivated---is in great perplexity--loſes all his ſpirit and ſinks under his misfortunes --- takes an oath to ſubmit to the award of the pope whoſe deſigns he did not apprehend---repairs to Dover church with a numerous train, takes the crown off his head, lays it at the legate's feet and does homage for his own kingdoms 426. 7. He ſigns a charter to yield up the patronage of all the churches which belonged to the crown---and declares that this reſignation was made of his own free will---takes an oath uſually given by vaſſals---promiſes to reverſe the outlawries againſt his ſubjects, and to make ſatisfaction for their loſſes---ſigns letters patent to the biſhops in exile---orders the hermit to be hanged for a falſe prophet, but unjuſtly 428. He takes an oath to govern according to law and juſtice and is abſolved from his excommunication by the archbiſhop---orders an enquiry to be made into the loſſes of the eccleſiaſticks, and ſome meaſures to be taken for repairing them---perceives the uneaſineſs of his people---ſummons the barons to attend him at Portſmouth and is refuſed---draws troops together

to chaſtize them --- remonſtrated againſt by the archbiſhop --- offended at it but obliged to deſiſt 430. A ridiculous ſtory told of him——ſeals a new charter in St. Paul's church in the preſence of the biſhops and the barons, which is laid upon the altar——ſwears fealty and does homage a ſecond time for his kingdoms, and receives them back again from the legate —— his ill example taught his ſubjects to forget their duty 431. 2. Backed by the power of the legate he fills all the churches and monaſteries with his creatures 433. He enflames the diſcontents of his people—— obtains an order from the pope to releaſe the interdict——gives up his claim to the nomination of biſhops and abbots by a charter —— it does not anſwer his end 434. 5. He is applied to by the barons for the laws and liberties granted by king EDWARD ——deſires to gain time——ſends the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY and the earl of PEMBROKE to receive their demands in writing —— aſked why they did not demand his kingdom—ſwore he would never comply with them —prepares for war and pretends a zeal for religion--takes upon him the croſs, and lays himſelf under vows of going to the holy land--reproaches the barons as apoſtates to religion, and as forfeiting their lands---invites foreigners into his ſervice 436. He takes part with his own vaſſalage—the barons in a great meaſure the occaſion of his enſlaving himſelf and his country——is beſieged by them in the tower —— was under a neceſſity of complying with them —— meets them at Running Meadow near Staines, and agrees and executes the two charters, Magna Charta, and Charta de Forreſta—he ſigns and confirms them by his oath — repents before the month was out and revokes them—diſpatches a meſſenger to the pope to be abſolved of his oath and to get the charters declared void —— ſends to France, Flanders and Germany for forces to aſſiſt him —— retires to the iſle of Wight and waits the arrival of the forces 438. He has a great number of adventurers from abroad ——gets the ſentence of excommunication pronounced againſt the barons——ravages their towns and villages——his affairs at Rome no leſs proſperous—ſends complaints thither after the archbiſhop 439. His death and character 443. 4.

JOHN VI. pope, was appealed to by WILFRID biſhop of York, admits him to plead his cauſe before a provincial council —— pronounces him innocent—writes to the kings of MERCIA and NORTHUMBERLAND in his favour — deſires they would determine the diſpute among themſelves —— that they would come to Rome if they could not, and he would convene a ſynod to determine it 131. 2.

JOHN biſhop of Hexham turned out of his biſhoprick that it may again be united to York for WILFRID 118.

JOHN precentor of St. Peter's at Rome, brought by BENEDICT to teach his monks church muſick——ſaid to be at the council of Hatfield — ordered by the pope to enquire into the faith of the Engliſh church relating to the Monothelites—ſets up ſchools for church muſick in many parts of Northumberland 114.

JOHN de Crema, ſent to England as legate from pope HONORIUS —— has an audience of the king —— enriches himſelf and his train by oppreſſing monaſteries and cathedrals——faithful to his truſt---- perſuades archbiſhop CORBEL to ſummon a council at Weſtminſter ——preſides in that council to the prejudice of the rights of the metropolitan —— affects great ſtate and grandeur —— orders his ſeat in the council to be raiſed above all the reſt like a throne, which gives great offence 314. He employs a great deal of zeal againſt the marriage of the clergy---declaimed againſt it with much ſatire in the council 315. He is ſurprized the ſame night in bed with a ſtrumpet ---- his meaſures thereby broke, and ſent home in diſgrace 316.

JOSEPH of Arimathea not the firſt apoſtle of the Britons 6. The ſtory of it examined, and refuted 6 to 9.

IRELAND given away by pope ADRIAN who had nothing to do with it to HENRY the ſecond king of England ---- the people miſrepreſented by that pope and why 346.

IRENÆUS biſhop of Lyons reprimands pope VICTOR 90.

ISLIP elected to the primacy in the room of STRATFORD——petitions with his ſuffragans for a redreſs of grievances in the church, and procures a ſtatute in favour of the clergy —— the controverſy revived between him and his grace of York about carrying the croſs and decided by the king —— dies and is ſucceded by LANGHAM biſhop of Ely 503. 4.

ITALIAN eccleſiaſticks turned out of all their preferments in England by force of arms — this connived at by the biſhops and excuſed by a confederacy of ſeveral men of quality 452. A ſtatute paſſed againſt them 508.

JULIAN cardinal, ordered to open the council at Baſil and to preſide in it as legate — tranſlates part of the council by the pope's order to Ferrara 549: 50.

JULIUS CÆSAR his opinion of the religion of the Britons 3.

JUSTUS, on the arrival of paganiſm in Kent leaves England —— condemned for it 64. Is recalled by EADBALD and reſtored to his ſee 65. Is appointed to the ſee of Canterbury on the death of MELLITUS by EADBALD——ſends to the pope for more aſſiſtance and has a power to ordain biſhops, and receives the pall from Rome—— ordains ROMANUS biſhop of Rocheſter 66. He conſecrates PAULINUS biſhop of Northumberland 67.

K

KEMP, a cardinal and archbiſhop of York, ſuccedes archbiſhop STAFFORD in the ſee of Canterbury, and dies in a year and a half 556.

Kent, the firſt Saxon kingdom, and the firſt converted to the Chriſtian faith, after the extermination of the Britons 36.

KENULPH, king of the Mercians, reſtores the metropolitical power to the ſee of Canterbury 161.

KILWARBY nominated by pope GREGORY

GORY the tenth to the ſee of Canterbury in the room of BONNIFACE 474. He is promoted to the purple as cardinal of Oporto, and reſigns the primacy of England to live at Rome 477.

KINEGIL king of Weſſex, marries his daughter to OSWALD king of Northumberland—is converted by his perſuaſions, and the zeal and inſtructions of BIRINUS biſhop of the Weſt-Saxons—grants the city of Dorcheſter near Oxford to BIRINUS for an epiſcopal ſee--dies 75.

Knights templars, ſentenced to perpetual penance in a ſynod at London, and condemned and ſuppreſſed afterwards by the pope 487.

L

LAMBERT, ſuccedes BRIGWIN in the ſee of Canterbury 151. He oppoſes the partition of the primacy by the biſhop of Lichfield but in vain. He is ſo much diſguſted at this that he quits his ſee and retires into France, but is perſuaded by ALCUINUS to return 153.

Lambeth, a college founded there by archbiſhop BALDWIN, and carried on by his ſucceſſor HUBERT —— remonſtrated againſt by the convent at Canterbury—a project of accommodation formed by the archbiſhop, and not agreed to by the convent 407. An appeal about it to Rome——a bull from thence to demoliſh the college — rejected by the king, and the college taken under his protection 408.

LANCASTER duke of, ſon of EDWARD the third, protects WICKLIFF openly—made one of the regents of the kingdom at his father's death during his nephew's minority 507.8.

LANCASTER duke of, grandſon to EDWARD the third, is ſent into exile — offered the crown by ſome malecontents —— comes into England —— is at the head of a great army — ſends the archbiſhop and the earl of Northumberland to king RICHARD to know the terms of his reſignation 518. He claims the crown by deſcent and perſonal ſervice, and is proclaimed king by the title of HENRY the fourth 519.

LANFRANK a Norman, ſuccedes STIGAND in the ſee of Canterbury 252. His election and conſecration remarkable — ſends to Rome for a pall, and is refuſed under the pretence it was without a precedent—this not true 255. He goes on in the exerciſe of his power without it —— convenes a council—conſecrates the new biſhops—ſuſpends the conſecration of the archbiſhop of YORK —— goes to Rome and is received with great reſpect by the pope 256. He uſes his intereſt with the pope to reſtore the archbiſhop of YORK, and the biſhop of LINCOLN — this an unaccountable ſtory 257. It is attempted to be explained — He returns to England and brings the cauſe between him and the archbiſhop of YORK before the council 258. The primacy is adjudged to him, and the bounds of the provinces fixed 259. He ſends an account of his ſucceſs to Rome—and enters into the meaſures of that court in ſupport of the monks againſt the ſecular canons 260. He receives a letter from the pope, and a preſſing invitation to go to Rome —— refuſes to go, in a manner which ſhews a denial of the pope's autho-

authority—calls a council to meet in London 264. He introduces the doctrine of the real preſence ſilently and by ſlow degrees 265. He is again ſummoned to Rome but refuſes to go 267. A pretence of his about exempt juriſdiction, and peculiars, not true, and of ill conſequence 278. He uſes all his intereſt in favour of WILLIAM RUFUS at his father's death — takes care to fulfill the will of the late king 279. He upbraids the new king with his falſhood and ingratitude—loſes his confidence and is much grieved — His death and character 280. 1.

LANGHAM biſhop of Ely, made archbiſhop of Canterbury by the pope in the room of ISLIP 504. He ſummons the clergy of his dioceſe to contribute towards paying his debts—viſits the univerſity of Oxford, and condemns thirty erroneous articles——confirms ſome hymns in honour of St. CATHARINE—— made a cardinal and reſigns the ſee of Canterbury 505.

LANGTON cardinal, elected to the ſee of Canterbury by the pope's order in the room of HUBERT, and conſecrated by the pope himſelf 420. He arrives in England, and abſolves the king from the ſentence of excommunication —— finds the charter of HENRY the firſt——waits on the king at Northampton and remonſtrates againſt his proceedings — follows him to Nottingham, and declares his reſolution to excommunicate all who ſhould take arms till the interdict was releaſed 430. He proteſts againſt the charter of reſignation executed by the king 433. He ſends his brother SIMON to Rome, to complain againſt the proceedings of the pope's legate, but in vain —— his character blackened at Rome, tho they had for ſome years paſt repreſented him as a miracle of wiſdom and goodneſs. 433. He excuſes himſelf from publiſhing the bull of excommunication againſt the barons, under a pretence of going to Rome---haſtens thither to make an impreſſion on the barons but is ſuſpended — his intereſt much diminiſhed at Rome ——could with difficulty prevent his deprivation 439.40. He returns to England and crowns the king over again --- convenes a ſynod at Oxford——the canons paſſed at it —— expoſtulates warmly at the council board with one of the king's miniſters —— convenes a ſynod at Weſtminſter to conſider a propoſal from Rome —— confided in by the pope, and has an authority to convene the prelates &c.——is directed what anſwer to ſend to the propoſal 446. 7. His death and character 448. 9.

LANGTON SIMON, brother of the archbiſhop, is ſent to England to adjuſt the diſpute about the primate — his inſolent anſwer to the king 424. He is elected by the chapter of York in the room of GEOFRY, but refuſed by the pope 435.

LANGTON biſhop of Cheſter, impriſoned by EDWARD the ſecond for cauſing his favourite to be baniſhed 486.

LAWRENCE ſuccedes AUSTIN in the ſee of Canterbury, and in his zeal. ——He renews the attempt of reducing the Britiſh biſhops to the

pope's obedience 61. He reproves EADBALD king of Kent, but to no purpoſe—takes leave of his cathedral in an odd manner—ſtory of his being whipped by St. PETER there—carries an account of this miracle to the king which converts him——ſuch fallacies common in thoſe days 63. His death 66.

Learning and religion gone much to decay in England 556.

LELAND, his account of the ſchool of ILTUTUS——his deſcription of the monaſtery of Banchor 26.

LEO IV. pope, denies that his predeceſſor had erected LICHFIELD into an archiepiſcopal ſee, and ſays he only ſent a pall to the archbiſhop at the requeſt of the king and nobility 152. He decrees the reſtitution of the primacy of Canterbury to its ancient dignity 160. He forbids the monaſticks to chuſe ſecular perſons for their governors 162.

LEO X. pope, his obſervation on the immutability of the Nicene canons 20.

LEOFRICK made biſhop of Crediton ——removes the ſee to Exeter—— compells the monks to remove to Weſtminſter——makes laws for the government of his new canons 236.

Letter from pope GREGORY to the Roman miſſionaries 40. From archbiſhop THEODORE to the king of the Mercians 117. From pope SERGIUS to the abbot of Jarrow. 145. From BECKET to the king 369. From the biſhop of LONDON to pope ALEXANDER 373. From archbiſhop RICHARD to the ſame pope 392. From the ſame archbiſhop to the biſhops of WINCHESLER, ELY, and NORWICH 393. From king RICHARD the firſt to the prior and convent of Canterbury 408. From king JOHN to pope INNOCENT 421. From the pope to the king in anſwer 421. From the ſame pope to the Engliſh biſhops and nobility 423. From the ſame pope to king JOHN, 426. From the ſame pope to archbiſhop LANGTON 428. From GROSTEST biſhop of Lincoln to pope INNOCENT 467. From ORLETON biſhop of Hereford, to thoſe who had the cuſtody of EDWARD the ſecond 494. From king EDWARD the third to the Engliſh biſhops 499. From pope MARTIN to archbiſhop CHICHELEY—from the archbiſhop to the king 544. From pope MARTIN to the duke of BEDFORD protector of the realm 546. From archbiſhop CHICHELEY to the pope 552.

LEWIS ſon of king PHILIP of France, invited by the barons into England — comes to London and receives their oath of allegeance---is followed by the pope's legate, and excommunicated by bell, book and candle 442. A negociation between him and the earl of PEMBROKE puts an end to his invaſion, and he returns home 445.

Lollards, the followers of WICKLIFFE ſo called, excommunicated by archbiſhop COURTNEY—had a great party among the people of faſhion——paſte up papers againſt the

the clergy on the doors of St. Paul's church, and Weſtminſter-abbey——deliver a remonſtrance to the parliament—the ſubſtance of it 515. 16. Their great increaſe alarms all the clergy 521. A council is called at Oxford to check their progreſs 525. The king's favour to them is addreſſed for by the houſe of commons 526. A plot againſt them by the eccleſiaſticks, in which ſome of them ſuffer thro the falſhood and artifices of their enemies 532. Severer ſtatutes paſſed againſt them with the connivance of their friends, and why. 534. The laws againſt them put in execution with all imaginable rigour——their zeal and courage more exerted 536. Their perſecution revived by archbiſhop CHICHELEY, in a moderate manner 542.

London, the chief metropolis of Britain under the Romans, according to STILLINGFLEET, but denied by USHER 25.

LUCIUS a Britiſh king ſends embaſſadors to pope ELEUTHERIUS —— the ſtory of his converting the Britons refuted 11.

LUCIUS pope, ſuccedes ALEXANDER in the papal chair —— reſolves to leſſen the power of the ſenate and people of Rome——applies to the king and clergy of England for their aſſiſtance —— his application unprecedented 395.

LUPUS a Gallican biſhop, comes into Britain with GERMANUS to ſuppreſs the pelagian hereſy 24. They conſecrate biſhops in ſeveral places, and make DUBRICIUS archbiſhop of Landaff 26.

LYVING biſhop of Wells, ſuccedes ELPHEG in the ſee of Canterbury. 226. He dies 228.

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MALMSBURY WILLIAM the hiſtorian, his account of the antiquity of Glaſſonbury church, fabulous 6. He ſeems to acknowledge this himſelf in another place 8. His information relating to biſhop WINFRID 104. His account of WILFRID's appeal to the pope 110. His character of EDILRED king of the Mercians 112. His account of archbiſhop THEODORE's remorſe for the injuſtice he had done to WILFRID 116. His character of ADHELMUS biſhop of Sherbourn 139. He calls the charity of OFFA to the ſee of Rome a tribute 157. His character of KENULPH king of Mercia 161. His commendation of ATHELARD archbiſhop of Canterbury 163. His account of FORMOSUS's ſending letters into England to threaten king EDWARD and his ſubjects with excommunication, not true 183. 4. He aſſerts the ſcorn with which the papal dignity was treated 186. His account of the ſeverity with which the miſtreſs of king EDWY was treated by the archbiſhop 194. The meaning of the word, ſimony, when he wrote his hiſtory 258. His character of RALPH archbiſhop of Canterbury 313.

MARCH earl of, the gallant of EDWARD the ſecond's queen, hanged at Tyburn 495.

MARCH earl of, next in ſucceſſion to the crown after RICHARD the ſecond, before HENRY the fourth 520.

MARCH earl of, eldeſt branch of the line of York, proclaimed king of England by the name of EDWARD the fourth 557. His title approved and ratified in parliament 559.

MARTIN V. pope engroſſed the diſpoſal of vacant biſhopricks in England by way of proviſion —— appointed thirteen biſhops in the province of Canterbury within two years——is laviſh in his grants and diſpenſations —— executes an inſtrument called the concordat between MARTIN the fifth and the church of England——the tenour of this inſtrument—is diſconcerted at ſome of the king's demands—— tranſlates the biſhop of LINCOLN to the ſee of York, which the king would not permit and the pope acquieſced 538. 9. He ſends a thundering letter to archbiſhop CHICHELEY againſt the ſtatute of premunire —— the reaſons of his perſonal outrage againſt the primate 544. He ſuſpends his exerciſe of the legatine power——repeats his commands to him to get the ſtatutes repealed—reprimands him ſeverely for one of his expreſſions——names the archbiſhop of YORK before him in a letter—— makes void the ſtatutes paſſed in the parliament of England, and commands the archbiſhops not to act upon their authority——declares all who ſubmit to them to be ipſo facto excommunicated 545. He writes letters to the king, the parliament and the protector of the realm——the purport of thoſe letters 556. His nuncio repairs to the convocation houſe whilſt they were ſitting and preſſes for an aid to enable his holineſs to carry on the war againſt the hereticks—— ſends a letter commanding the Engliſh clergy to contribute a tenth ——is denied and has only eightpence in the mark of their annual tenths, if not contrary to the king's prerogative and the laws of the realm — his nuncio is impriſoned for collecting money contrary to law—reſented by the pope but inſiſted on and continued 548. He would gladly have evaded a general council at Baſil—orders cardinal JULIAN to open it and preſide as legate —— dies before it was aſſembled 549.

MAUD the empreſs, daughter to HENRY the firſt, left a widow by the emperor without iſſue——married againſt her will by her father to the earl of ANJOU's ſon —— parts from her huſband and comes into England——has the oath of allegeance taken to her by the great council as hereditary heir to the kingdom —— after this ceremony, as her huſband was deſirous of a reconciliation, ſhe went back—— brings a ſon into the world —— named HENRY after her father 318. She comes over into England and occaſions an unnatural war 328. She defeats the king at Lincoln and takes him priſoner—all England except London and Kent declare for her —— aſſiſted greatly by the earl of Gloceſter 330. She makes an attempt on the biſhop of WINCHESTER who had turned to his brother, has an interview with him on the downs in Hampſhire and ſwears to be wholly guided by his council — takes his oath of allegeance and receives her next day in his cathedral church —has a conference there with the archbiſhop 331. She is received as queen of England by a council there——meets with no farther oppoſition

oppoſition and is acknowledged every where as queen —— tranſported with her ſucceſs beyond all the bounds of wiſdom or moderation——ſtudied only how to take her revenge and gratify her pride and vanity 332. She rejects the terms offered for the king's releaſe with ſcorn — alienates the minds of the citizens of London from her ——obliged to fly——ſurprized by the king's forces and narrowly eſcapes to Wincheſter — her brother the earl of Glocester taken— exchanges the king for him —— her affairs in great diſorder 333. She charges the legate by one of her agents at a council with inviting her into England and adviſing all the cruelty that had been ſhewn his brother 334. She makes a peace with STEPHEN 342. She waves her right to the crown of England in favour of her ſon 343.

MEDE JOSEPH, an obſervation of his 30.

MELLITUS conſecrated by AUSTIN biſhop of London and ſent to preach the goſpel to the Eaſt-Saxons 58. He ſucceeds in converting the Eaſt-Saxons 61. He is ſent to Rome for new inſtructions 62. He is baniſhed by the ſons of SEBERT ——flies into Kent to the archbiſhop, and on a conſultation with him and the biſhop of ROCHESTER imprudently leaves the kingdom 64. He is recalled by EADBALD but could not be reſtored to his biſhoprick 65. He is appointed to the ſee of Canterbury on the death of LAWRENCE, continues in it five years and dies 66.

MERCIA, its kingdom containing a great part of England, continued long in idolatry — in the ſeventh century was converted by means of the king's ſon 79. 80. It is difficult to fix the ſettlement of the firſt epiſcopal ſee in this kingdom ——the converſion of it carried on by the clergy from Northumberland——DENMA one of the Northumberland clergy made their firſt biſhop, and the ſee in the reign of WULPHER, a ſon of PENDA, fixed at Litchfield—its converſion compleated by that monarch and his queen, and the kingdom filled with prieſts and churches 81. It was divided into five biſhopricks, Litchfield, Sydnaceſter, Worceſter, Hereford and Leiceſter 115.

MEPHAM elected to the ſee of Canterbury by the king's conſent, and confirmed and conſecrated by the pope——holds a provincial council and ſettles a rubrick for the principal holy days —— begins a metropolitical viſitation thro the ſouthern dioceſes——but oppoſed by the biſhop of EXETER with men in arms on the frontiers of his dioceſe —— is recalled by the king from his viſitation —— his diſappointment threw him into a fever, of which he died 496.

Monaſteries at firſt the only nurſeries of diſcipline and the chief ſchools of learning— Iona groſsly abuſed 124. 5. Their number and abuſe complained of by BEDE 142. They try to exempt themſelves from epiſcopal juriſdiction——ſome of them forge themſelves charters for this purpoſe 338. The conſequence of their exemption from the juriſdiction of the biſhops 341.

Monaſtic zeal very prejudicial to the affairs of England 218.

Monks, their plea of exemption from the juriſdiction of biſhops when begun—and of what conſequence 271. 2. Thoſe of St. Auſtin's pretend to a patronage of the church of Feverſham——and keep the king's clerk out by force—deſpiſe all the offers of the archbiſhop and nobility to make up the breach—affront the king and every body that oppoſed--appealed to Rome--their obſtinacy not to be overcome——are permitted to reap the fruits of it 415. 16.

MORTIMER earl of March, his title to the crown ſuperſeded——gives no offence——made governor general of Ireland 542.

Mortmain ſtatute of, what, and whence occaſioned 477.

MORTON biſhop of Ely, put under an arreſt by RICHARD the third, has a petition in his favor ſent to the king by the univerſity of Oxford—is committed to the cuſtody of the duke of BUCKINGHAM at the caſtle of Brecknock——perceives the duke is diſſatisfied with the king——enters into confidence with him about means for delivering the kingdom from RICHARD's tyranny—propoſes to dethrone the king and ſet up the duke—means only a compliment——projects the marriage of the earl of RICHMOND with the eldeſt daughter of EDWARD the fourth——acquaints the queen dowager and the counteſs of RICHMOND with it, and eſcapes into Flanders 561 to 565.

N

NAtional vanity proved abſurd 22.

NEVILL biſhop of Chicheſter and lord chancellor, elected by the convent to ſuccede LANGTON archbiſhop of Canterbury, and approved by the king——is rejected by the pope, becauſe of his fortitude and integrity 451. He has the great ſeal demanded of him, but refuſes to deliver it 455. He is elected biſhop of Wincheſter by the convent, but is rejected by the king 457.

NICHOLAS V. pope, choſe by the council of Ferrara in the room of EUGENIUS, to whom FELIX, choſe by the council of Baſil, agreed to reſign the popedom 550. He attempts to levy a tenth upon the clergy, and is refuſed——fills many vacant ſees without oppoſition 555. He tranſlates cardinal KEMP to the primacy on the death of STAFFORD, by a proviſionary bull—does not interfere in the choice of BOURCHIER to ſuccede him——advances him afterwards to the purple 556.

Non-reſidence complained againſt by the houſe of commons 542. Reflexions on it 543. Canons relating to it——reflexions on them 472. 3.

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Northern Engliſh, converted by the Scots, or ſuch Engliſh as had been bred in Ireland——received the liturgy in uſe among them—had no agreement with the miſſionaries from Rome 85.

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Nuncio, ſent from Rome to complain of the ſtatutes made in parliament, under RICHARD the ſecond againſt the papal power—— is not regarded —— is obliged to take an oath not to do any thing detrimental to the king's authority, or the laws of the realm, &c. 514.

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—— O

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ODO COLONNA made pope by the council of Conſtance, and took the name of MARTIN 538.

OFFA king of Mercia—makes Litchfield an archbiſhoprick—ſends to the pope for a pall for his metropolitan —— obtains it and divides the primacy 152. He pretends the diſcovery of St. Alban's bones to him in a viſion—goes to the town which had taken his name to ſee for them —— erects a monaſtery there to his memory —— goes to Rome to procure privileges for it —— grants a yearly penſion of a penny a houſe to ſupport the Engliſh ſchool there—— this fact controverted——the true account of it ——his death and character 155. 156. 7. 8.

OLDCASTLE SIR JOHN, informed againſt to the king as a heretick, and the king's leave deſired for his proſecution——is talked to by the king who was no match for him on this ſubject, and given up to the ſpiritual power——makes a jeſt of the archbiſhop's ſummons —— offends the king, and is ordered to be apprehended and ſent to the tower——brought before the archbiſhop, &c. and gives an account of his faith—is pronounced a heretick convict, and delivered up to the ſecular power —— his execution reſpited fifty days by the king ——eſcapes out of priſon and flies into Wales 531. A thouſand marks is ſet on his head 533. He is taken and brought to London — drawn upon a hurdle to the gallows —— hung up by the middle and burnt alive——his character 536. Reflexions on this ſeverity 536.

Oppreſſions from Rome, reſolved againſt in the parliament of EDWARD the firſt 484.

ORLETON promoted to the ſee of Hereford againſt the king's inclination —— joins with the barons againſt him——is accuſed of high treaſon by the king before the parliament — inſiſts on the privilege of his character——is taken into cuſtody by the archbiſhop, to ſave him from the king's reſentment — is brought to a trial in the king's bench and refuſes to plead —— his temporalities ſeized till the archbiſhop made his peace——enters into a conſpiracy with the queen, and the biſhop of LINCOLN, againſt the king, and cauſes him to be depoſed—is ſent with the biſhop of LINCOLN to perſuade the king to quit the government —— inſults him with his misfortunes —— ſends a latin letter to thoſe who had the care of the king in his impriſonment, with a double meaning about putting him to death

death—is tranſlated to the ſee of Wincheſter by the pope, againſt the will of EDWARD the third—but recovers his favour 492. 3. 4.

OSRED king of Northumberland overthrows the Picts—founds a biſhoprick at Whithorn, and makes PICTELMUS the firſt biſhop 140.

OSTIA biſhop of, ſent as legate of pope INNOCENT into England—viſits monaſteries and cathedrals—convenes a council at Weſtminſter in which he preſides—aſcribes the decreeing power ſolely to the pope--never heard of in any council before in England 323. He convenes a council for the election of an archbiſhop, and ſummons the monks of Canterbury to attend it, without the king's participation 324. He leaves England 325.

OSWALD king of Northumberland, exerts his power in favour of the chriſtian religion—ſends to the king of SCOTLAND for a biſhop to inſtruct his people—removes the ſee of York to Holy Iſland—finiſhes the building of York cathedral—erects ſeveral churches in many places of his kingdom—becomes interpreter to the Scotiſh biſhop in his court and family—builds ſchools for learning, and founds and endows monaſteries 72. 3. He goes into Weſſex to marry the daughter of king KINEGIL—aſſiſts BIRINUS the biſhop, in converting that king and his ſubjects—and joins with KINEGIL, who was his tributary, in a grant of the city of Dorcheſter near Oxford, for a biſhop's ſee for BIRINUS 75.

OSWALD biſhop of Worceſter, forces his canons to quit the cathedral, who would not yield—ejects the canons from the monaſtery of Perſhore, and ſix others—builds another cathedral and other houſes &c. 201. 2. He is made archbiſhop of York and allowed to keep his former ſee—this plurality of ſees an innovation introduced by DUNSTAN 210. He dies 217.

OSWY king of Northumberland brother and ſucceſſor of OSWALD—his zeal for Chriſtianity—his death and character 74. He exhorted SIGIBERT third king of the Eaſt-Saxons to enquire into the grounds of his religion, and to ſurmount the prejudices of education—convinced him of the errors of paganiſm—ſent CHAD and another prieſt home with SIGIBERT to convert his people 78. He educated his daughter in the chriſtian religion, and refuſed to marry her to the ſon of PENDA, king of Mercia, becauſe of his infidelity 79. He poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of Mercia for three years 80. He married a princeſs of Kent—his queen had a chapel and exerciſed her religion, according to the rites of that church founded by the Roman miſſionaries—ALFRED his natural ſon and partner in his dominions, in the ſame ſentiments, which were confirmed in them by his tutor biſhop WILFRID—a confuſion from this difference of rites in his court—prevailed on to give way—called a ſynod at Whitby in Yorkſhire to ſettle this diſpute—made a ſpeech to the ſynod—commanded COLEMAN to declare the original of the rite he followed—ordered AGIL-

BERT to declare the authority from whence his obſervance of Eaſter ſprung——aſked COLEMAN whether the words "Thou art PETER" &c. were ſpoken by CHRIST ——and whether any ſuch power was given to COLUMBA——his amazing ignorance——declares himſelf in favour of the Roman rites——conſented to WILFRID's going into France for conſecration——appoints CHAD a Scot, biſhop of Northumberland in his room——ſent him to Canterbury to be conſecrated——remained ſteady in his reſolution to conform to the rites of the church of Rome——joined with the king of KENT, in chooſing a metropolitan, and ſending him with letters to Rome for conſecration——conſented to reſtore WILFRID and recommends CHAD to the king of MERCIA 87. to 98.

OTHO legate to GREGORY the ninth arrives in England——removes by his temper and addreſs the prejudices conceived againſt him——ſummons a council at St. Paul's——obtains a guard of two hundred men from the king——proceedings and canons at that council 454. 5. 6. He is recalled, and in his return ſtripped of every ſhilling he had extorted in England, by the emperor's officers. 460.

OTTOBON the legate, holds a national ſynod at London, and paſſes many excellent canons——reflexions on ſome of them 470. 1.

Oxford univerſity, the opinions of WICKLIFFE defended there by ſeveral doctors in writing and diſputation——the majority againſt the new opinions, and condemn them in full congregation——their members forbid to teach or preach them under pain of degradation——they write to the archbiſhop and aſk pardon for their backwardneſs in ſuppreſſing hereſy——chuſe twelve of their body to examine into it——make an extract of WICKLIFFE's errors and ſend it to the primate ——are empowered by the king to enquire after perſons ſuſpected of this hereſy, and to impriſon them 527. 8. They condemn the opinions of one RUSSEL a franciſcan heretick about tithes 543. They ſend a petition to RICHARD the third in favour of biſhop MORTON 562.

P

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PANDULPHUS legate to INNOCENT the third, his dialogue and inſolent anſwer to king JOHN——publiſhes the ſentence of excommunication againſt him &c. 425. He is ſent again into England with an imperious letter from the pope——terrifies the king with an account of the revolt of his ſubjects and the defection of his army——propoſes the throwing himſelf into the arms of the pope, and ſucceeds——attends the king to Dover church and takes the crown and ſceptre from him——receives his homage for his kingdoms in the name of pope INNOCENT and the church of Rome——keeps the crown and ſceptre five days in his poſſeſſion ——leaves the kingdom without taking off the interdict, or giving JOHN abſolution——carries eight thouſand

thouſand pound to quiet the exiled biſhops and clergy, with an aſſurance of the reſt, and an honourable reception in England — forbids the king of France to carry on his expedition againſt JOHN 426. 7. 8. 9. He repreſents the ſame king JOHN, as a prince of great piety and humility, whom he had before treated with the greateſt inſolence and contempt —— ſets the clergy forth as oppreſſors of the king and the rights of the crown 433.

Papal power, not thought of at Rome as of divine right 51. Several ſtatutes paſſed againſt it 514.

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Parliament, when the commons and clergy were firſt called to it 479. That of EDWARD the third paſs the ſtatute of Proviſors --- confirm the privileges of the clergy 501. They paſs the ſtatute of premunire 503. They reſolve againſt the payment of the tribute granted by king JOHN 504. The lack-learning parliament, why ſo called 524. That of HENRY the fifth at Leiceſter, their project againſt the clergy 534.

PASCHAL pope, ſuccedes URBAN, and ſends a legate into England 294. He endeavours to prove the right of inveſtitures in the papacy ——receives an embaſſy from the king of ENGLAND 296. He manages the ambaſſadors with great ſkill and addreſs —— impoſes on them with falſe promiſes, and lets ANSELM's agents into the true ſecret 297. He advances in his pretenſions, and declares the right of inveſtitures ſacred and unalienable --diſpleaſed with the freedom of the biſhop of EXETER the king's ambaſſador — his inſolent reply 300. He is won to the king's ſide by the biſhop of EXETER's preſents —— writes a diſcouraging letter to ANSELM 301. He departs from the conſtitutions of his predeceſſors, to gratify the king in the homage of the biſhops and abbots---obliges the king to renounce all pretenſions to inveſtiture and patronage 303. He tells the archbiſhop, that allowing the clergy to do homage was a particular favour to the king, and to be continued only till he could be perſuaded to lay it aſide 304. He is applied to by the monks of Canterbury for a pall for a new archbiſhop---determines to ſend it by a legate ---extremely mortified at the flight of papal pretenſions in England—threatens the king and monks of Canterbury 307. He recalls the legate he was ſending to England—makes a formal promiſe not to violate the rights of the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY——and writes a letter in favour of the archbiſhop of YORK 308. His death 309.

Patronage the right of, whence it had a beginning 141.

PAULINUS conſecrated by JUSTUS biſhop of Northumberland 67. He is ſent for to explain the chriſtian religion to king EDWIN, in the preſence of the high prieſt, and all

all the court 69. He baptizes the king, and the court, and vaſt numbers of the Northumbrians in Yorkſhire 70. He is made archbiſhop of York by EDWIN——ſent by him into Lincolnſhire where he had great ſucceſs in preaching the goſpel 71. He is forced to fly afterEDWIN's death into Kent--made biſhop of Rocheſter 72.

PEACOCK biſhop of Chicheſter, the firſt deiſtical writer in England—publiſhed ſeveral books in favour of natural reaſon above the ſcriptures — enflamed the mob by his declamations from the pulpit againſt his brethren — ſummoned by the archbiſhop to a ſynod, and obliged to recant——recanted a ſecond time — his books publicly burnt —— confeſſes that pride had brought him into this diſgrace — is deprived of his ſee 557.

PECKHAM dean of Lincoln, oppoſes the pope's exactions at the council of Lyons, for which freedom he is deprived of his preferment by the pope 476.

PECKHAM, a Franciſcan monk, nominated by pope GREGORY to the ſee of Canterbury, in the room of KILWARBY promoted to the purple——holds a provincial ſynod at Reading, and renews the canons againſt pluralities —— is obliged to revoke ſome others then made, in a month after, before the parliament 477. He calls a provincial ſynod at Lambeth——confirms the conſtitutions of OTHO and OTTOBON, and adds ſome of his own—reflexions on the latter —— his death and character 478. 9.

PELAGIUS a Briton, author of a hereſy that infected the Britiſh churches 22. His principles what ——his hereſy ſuppreſſed by ſome Gallican biſhops——extinguiſhed finally by the baniſhment of his adherents — this baniſhment condemned 23. 4.

PEMBROKE earl of, convenes the lords upon the death of JOHN, and preſents his eldeſt ſon, HENRY, about ten years old, as their king——his ſpeech on that occaſion —— choſe guardian of the king and protector of the realm—ſends letters to all the nobility and corporations to inform them of young HENRY's acceſſion, and promiſing reſtitution of eſtates and privileges to all who ſhould return to their duty——has a negociation with LEWIS, prince of France, and gives peace to the kingdom, and a quiet poſſeſſion of the crown to the king. 444. 5. He dies, and is ſucceeded as guardian to the king, by the biſhop of WINCHESTER 446.—

PENDA king of the Mercians, kills EDWIN king of Northumberland in battle, over-runs his dominions and puts the people to the ſword 71. He was of a haughty turbulent ſpirit, a great oppoſer of chriſtianity——induced at laſt to tolerate it in his kingdom--- bleſſed with a ſon of an excellent diſpoſition, to whom he had given part of his dominions——his ſon propoſes to marry the daughter of OSWY king of Northumberland—refuſed unleſs he renounced his paganiſm, and brought his ſubjects with him into the chriſtian church--gave great

great attention to the chriſtian doctrine at the court of Oswy — declared his reſolution of becoming a chriſtian, whether or no he married the princeſs — he and his attendants baptized by Finan at Oswy's court—marries his daughter, and returns home with four of the Northumberland clergy — takes great pains in the converſion of the whole kingdom, which Penda did not forbid—Penda killed in battle by Oswy, and the year following his ſon murdered 79. 80.

Pentecoſtals, or proceſſion of pariſhes, explained 339.

Pepin king of France, introduces the Roman way of ſinging into the Gallican churches 30.

Philip king of France, promiſed heaven and the crown of England by the pope, if he would diſpoſſeſs king John — prepares a powerful fleet and army to attempt it—forbad by the pope's legate to go on with the expedition —— out of all patience to be thus tricked, and refuſes at firſt to obey the order--- ſits down with the mortification of waſting ſixty thouſand pounds to be a tool to the pope 426. 7. 8.

Picts, their original, uncertain and fabulous 30. They were firſt converted by Columba 85.

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R

RALEY elected by the chapter to the ſee of Wincheſter in the room of PETER de Rupibus—— diſliked by the king—his election confirmed by the pope —— retires into France, and puts the city of Wincheſter under an interdict, till recalled by the king 457.

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Religion gone much to decay 556.

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moſt diſtinguiſhed nobility to his paſſions——recommends WALDEN to the primacy in the room of ARUNDEL whom he had got baniſhed——conſults the clergy upon the pope's encroachments, and declares his readineſs to oppoſe them ---goes to Ireland --- a conſpiracy entered into to dethrone him —— returns with all expedition to oppoſe the revolt——finds himſelf deſerted and offers to reſign upon conditions —— ſurrenders himſelf to the duke of LANCASTER—— ſubſcribes and ſwears to an inſtrument of reſignation 518. The end of his reign——his character 519.

RICHARD III. obtains the crown by blood and wickedneſs, and orders his two nephews to be privately ſtrangled in the tower —— creates his own ſon prince of Wales—— puts MORTON biſhop of Ely under an arreſt —— is wrote to by the univerſity of Oxford in his favour—is in great perplexity about it——commits him to the cuſtody of the duke of BUCKINGHAM at the caſtle of Brecknock——refuſes to make good his promiſes to the duke — the hearts of the people alienated from him---got a parliament to own and confirm his title —made alliances or truces with all the powers of Europe——was defeated in battle and ſlain —— his character 563. 4.

RICHARD prior of Dover, elected archbiſhop in the room of BECKET, without the uſual oath of obedience to the laws and cuſtoms of England—is oppoſed by prince HENRY, and repairs to Rome--his election is confirmed by the pope--he is conſecrated and ſent into England with the character of legate 385. He calls a provincial council at Weſtminſter, and paſſes eighteen canons--appealed againſt to the pope by the archbiſhop of York——abſolves the clergy whom he had excommunicated——quarrel between him and the archbiſhop of York about ſitting at the legate's right hand at the council 387. He has a diſpute with the prior of his convent, who is ſupported againſt him by the ſee of Rome——refuſes to obey the pope's mandate —— is mortified for this diſobedience——his power as metropolitan denied, and the pope determines that the archbiſhops ſhould have precedence according to priority of conſecration. He refuſes to go to the general council at Rome 390. His letter to the pope about the exemptions granted at Rome to monaſteries, &c. 392. His letter to three biſhops about the exemption of the clergy from the ſecular power—writes to the pope in vindication of thoſe biſhops with great ſpirit——aſſerts the rights of the lower clergy againſt the papal uſurpations — his letter to an abbot of the Ciſtercian order 393. 4. His death and character 396.

RICHARD chancellor of Lincoln, promoted to the primacy in the room of LANGTON, and dies in a few months——his character 450. 1.

RICHMOND earl of, a prince of the houſe of Lancaſter, in Brittany when a project was formed for his dethroning RICHARD the third, and marrying the eldeſt daughter of EDWARD the fourth in order to unite

unite the two houſes—comes into England with a ſmall aſſiſtance, gives battle to the king and defeats him 563. 4.

ROBERT a Norman monk made biſhop of London and firſt miniſter to EDWARD--ſupplants earl GOODWIN and his family——treats EMMA the queen mother with great contempt——perſuades the king to ſeize all her lands and jewels---raiſes a calumny againſt her and the biſhop of WINCHESTER---ſtirs up the king to put her to the ordeal trial——makes three new biſhops——perſuades the king to put away his wife, ſtrip her of her jewels and ſend her to a convent 235. 6. He ſuccedes EADSIUS in the ſee of Canterbury, and goes to Rome for a pall——prevails on the king to recall his nomination of a ſucceſſor in the ſee of London---advances WILLIAM a Norman in his room—alienates the minds of the people from the king---makes himſelf many enemies, and is obliged to fly into Normandy——his death and character 238. 9. 40.

ROBERT duke of Normandy, invades England --- is reconciled to his brother, and returns home 296. 7.

ROGER biſhop of Saliſbury, prime miniſter to HENRY the firſt, courted by king STEPHEN at his acceſſion—his two nephews promoted 321. He went always to court with a grand retinue well armed and accoutred—had a principal hand in the king's election——put under an arreſt and his caſtles and treaſures ſeized—reflexions on this ſeverity 326.

ROGER archbiſhop of York, ſends proxies to a provincial ſynod held at Weſtminſter under the archbiſhop of Canterbury — appeals to the pope againſt him—attempts to thruſt him out of his place at a council, and is maltreated by the archbiſhop's ſervants 387.

Romans, their liturgy wherein different from the Gallican — excelled all others in church muſick 28. 9. 30.

Roman miſſionaries, why diſliked by the Britons 50. They had no miraculous knowledge of the Engliſh language——the want of this enough to convince us that all the accounts of their miracles are forged —— a defect in this knowledge one of the reaſons of their little ſucceſs —— gift of languages ſo eſſential to the converſion of a ſtrange people, one of the firſt aſſiſtances GOD would have given them, if he had given them any ſupernatural power at all 81. They did not take the proper methods for converting the kingdom of Kent, and their labours not very effectual 83. They attempt to bring over all the Engliſh to the rites and uſages of the Roman church 85. They revive the diſpute about Eaſter and the eccleſiaſtical tonſure with more zeal——the controverſy of great uſe to them and the Roman ſee. 86.

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ROMANUS biſhop of Rocheſter drowned 66.

RUSSEL, a franciſcan heretick, his crime, proceeded againſt in a ſynod under archbiſhop CHICHELEY, and the univerſity of Oxford 543.

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ST. PAUL preacher of the goſpel to the Britons 10.

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Schiſm in the church of Rome for fifty years — tended to the diſſolution of the papal dignity —— ended by the council of Conſtance 537.

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SEBBI king of the Eaſt-Saxons retires from the throne and turns monk—circumſtance of his death 111. 12.

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SELDEN his conjecture about the law which ſeparated the eccleſiaſtical and civil courts 358.

SERGIUS the pope writes to the king and biſhops of England in behalf of archbiſhop BRIGHTWALD —— inveſts him with the primacy of all the churches and with the pall 123. He gives BEDE the name of venerable, and why, 146.

SEVERUS a Gallican biſhop comes into BRITAIN with GERMANUS to ſuppreſs the Pelagian hereſy —— they get the hereticks baniſhed —— reflexions on that proceeding 24.

SIGIBERT brother and ſucceſſor of CARPAULD king of the Eaſt-Angles, in his father's reign obliged to go into France——gave himſelf up to ſtudy and the converſation of men of learning——convinced of the vanity of idolatry and embraced chriſtianity——when advanced to the kingdom of his anceſtors endeavours to poliſh and to improve his people —— particularly to cultivate the chriſtian faith——ſends for biſhop FELIX from Burgundy one of his intimate companions and inſtructors in his exile —— aſſigns him the city of Dammock now called Dunwich in Suffolk for his ſee---aſſiſts him in propagating the goſpel --- erects ſchools after the manner of thoſe he had ſeen in France —— expected that as chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed upon reaſonable doctrines and matters of fact, that the more his people were qualified to examine it the more they would like it ——looked upon learning not only as an ornament to his kingdom, but as a proper expedient to recommend the goſpel--- affirmed by ſome hiſtorians, but untruly, to have been the founder of Cambridge univerſity --- gives a kind reception to FURSEUS a monk from Ireland, who came voluntarily into his kingdom to preach the goſpel --- gives him leave to build a monaſtery in Suffolk called Burgh-caſtle 76. 7.

SIGIBERT the third, king of the Eaſt-Saxons, makes a viſit to OSWY king of Northumberland ——convinced by him of the errors of paganiſm — baptized by FINAN one of OSWY's biſhops —— deſires his friend OSWY to compleat the good work he had wrought, and aſſiſt him with ſome of his clergy for the converſion of his people 78.9.

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SEXTUS pope, ſends a bull of excommunication againſt all thoſe who ſhould diſturb the eccleſiaſtical privileges 560.

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STAFFORD archbiſhop, commanded by the king not to execute the pope's bull for levying money upon the clergy——makes this prohibition

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earl of GLOCESTER who was taken priſoner—refuſes to permit his biſhops to attend a council called by the pope at Rheims — reſents the archbiſhop's diſobedience who went without his conſent——jealous of his concerting meaſures with the pope againſt him——reconciled to him —— preſent at a council held at London by the archbiſhop —— propoſes the coronation of his ſon EUSTACE at that council, but is refuſed—— incenſed at this refuſal—tries to force the biſhops into a compliance, but they all refuſed —— declares Battle abbey a royal chapel——in the intereſt of the convent againſt the biſhops—loſes EUSTACE his eldeſt ſon —— and his queen—turns his thoughts towards an accommodation with MAUD and her ſon—a peace concluded during his life, his death and character 330 to 332.

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ſon 342. He recommends BECKET archdeacon of Canterbury for the great ſeal 347. He recommends ALEXANDER to ſuccede ADRIAN in the popedom, there being a ſchiſm at Rome—deſires him to take the advice of his clergy — adminiſters church affairs during the king's abſence —— his death and character 350.

THEODORE a native of Tarſus appointed archbiſhop of Canterbury by pope VITALIAN ——ſent into England—tries to ſecure the favour of the ſeveral princes---travels over England, viſits the ſeveral churches, ſettles the catholic way of keeping Eaſter, and brings the people to conform to the uſages of the Roman church —conſecrates PULTA biſhop of Rocheſter —— the only one who had exerciſed the archiepiſcopal functions, and been ſubmitted to by the Engliſh church--makes the caſe of biſhop WILFRID his care 95. 6. He reprimands biſhop CHAD for uſurping WILFRID's right--charmed with the humility and ſubmiſſion of his anſwer —reconſecrates him--deſires WILFRID may be reſtored —— recommends CHAD to the ſee of Mercia ——ſets up ſchools for the Greek and Latin languages &c. —— took great pains in inſtructing the youth ——ſent for maſters from abroad --- erected a ſchool for the greek tongue at Cricklade in Wiltſhire, originally called Greeklade from thence — ingratiates himſelf with the princes of the heptarchy —— gets a ſynod called at Hertford in which he preſides ——produces a collection of canons from the ancient council 97. 8. He gets his canons approved by the ſynod—— owes his metropolitical authority entirely to the kings of the heptarchy —— his penitential --- all the care of the church committed to him —— introduces auricular confeſſion in order to prepare the laity and clergy for the ſacrament ——the ſees of Rome and Canterbury greatly obliged to him —— why his new authority often contradicted, and why he fell into violent meaſures —— ſaid to depoſe WINFRID biſhop of Litchfield, but probably by miſtake 100. to 104. He conſents to the depoſing of WILFRID, and dividing his biſhoprick into two ——conſecrates the new biſhops —— in three years divides the ſee of Holy Iſland into two, and fixes the new one at Hexham——his irregular proceedings blamed 107. He ſends a monk to Rome with a heavy charge againſt WILFRID——takes no notice of the ſentence paſſed in his favour by the pope and council 110. He divides the church of the Eaſt-Angles into two biſhopricks--conſecrates and ECCA fixes at Dunwich and BEADWIN at Northelmham 111. He procures GEBMUND to be biſhop of Rocheſter —— calls a council at Hatfield againſt the monothelite hereſy--- his conduct in it——invited by AGATHO the pope to go to Rome and write againſt this hereſy 113. He aſſembles a ſynod at Twyford in Northumberland ——depoſes TRUMBERT biſhop of Hexham——and why—extends his juriſdiction over the north 115. He wants to be reconciled to WILFRID —— invites him to a meeting with him in London —— deſires WILFRID to forgive him —— makes him an offer of the primacy, and promiſes

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THURSTAN archbiſhop of York, refuſes canonical obedience to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and is driven from his dioceſe —— pope PASCHAL writes to the king in his favour——applies for leave to go to a council at Rheims, but refuſed——allowed to go on a ſolemn promiſe made the king 309. He breaks his promiſe---forbidden to return into the king's dominions 310. His return ſollicited by the pope——demanded with a menace of an interdict——THURSTAN had engaged him by the dint of bribery—returns upon conditions and maintains the independency of his ſee 311.

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Victor I. biſhop of Rome a fiery prelate 90.

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Vortigern king of the Britons calls in the Eaſt-Saxons 32.

Ulf biſhop of Dorcheſter in danger of being deprived for ignorance 239.

Union of the houſes of York and Lancaſter at the death of Richard the third 565.

Urban II. pope acknowledged in England and over-reaches the king 286. He makes new advances in the deſign of humbling princes—his decree in the council of Clermont 287.

Urban IV. ſuccedes Lucius in the papal chair —— approves of archbiſhop Baldwin's deſign of erecting a church and college at Hackington, and aſſigns a fourth part of the offerings at Becket's tomb for the carrying it on —— his jealouſy awakened by an appeal from the convent of Canterbury, he revokes his bull in favour of the archbiſhop and commands him to appear and anſwer the appeal — thunders againſt the building, and appoints three abbots to ſerve the monition on Baldwin —— commands him to demoliſh the work, and even to unhallow the ground he had conſecrated —— dies and is ſucceded by Gregory the eighth 397. 8.

Urban VI. pope overlooks the election of the convent, and ſends a bull to declare Islip archbiſhop of Canterbury —— tranſlates Langham from Ely to Canterbury on the death of Islip —— requires the payment of the tribute which king John had bound himſelf to pay, with great inſolence, which is rejected 504.

Usher archbiſhop, his account of Glaſſonbury from an ancient hiſtory in the Cotton library 6. 7. Contends that York was the metropolis of Britain 25.

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Wainfleet made biſhop of Wincheſter by a conge d'elire from the king at the death of cardinal Beaufort 555.

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Wales the chief ſeat of religion and learning during the Saxon invaſions —— the only dominions perhaps of Arthur 33.

Walter de Hemiſham, choſe by the chapter of Canterbury to ſuccede Langton —— is rejected by the king for want of learning and ſkill in buſineſs; by the biſhops becauſe his father was hanged for theft, and for his own bad conduct—his election voided at Rome 450.

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WAREWALST biſhop of Exeter, joint ambaſſador with ANSELM to pope PASCHAL——his inſtructions 299. He had a ſpirit ſuperior to that of his maſter—pleads his cauſe with great courage——his bold remonſtrance and declaration——true to the ſecret inſtructions the king had given him, and forbids ANSELM to return to England—owned and juſtified by the king——continued ambaſſador at Rome to obſerve their motions—applied himſelf to that method which never failed of ſucceſs at that court——gave a favourable turn to the king's affairs 300. 1.

WARWICK earl of, an indignity put upon him by EDWARD the fourth ——his brother the archbiſhop of YORK excepted out of the pardon granted by the king 559. 60.

WELLS lord chancellor to king JOHN, made biſhop of Lincoln, revolts againſt him and has his temporalities ſeized 423.

Weſt-Saxon king, made AGILBERT a Frenchman biſhop of Dorcheſter —grew uneaſy at his foreign dialect—divides his kingdom into two biſhopricks—founds an epiſcopal ſee at Wincheſter, and makes his own countryman WINA the firſt biſhop, and ſends him into France to be conſecrated 84. 5.

Weſt-Saxon kingdom divided into five biſhopricks 183.

Weſtminſter-abbey firſt built by SEBERT king of the Eaſt-Saxons—a ridiculous ſtory of its being conſecrated by St. PETER 62.

WICKHAM biſhop of Wincheſter, made lord chancellor 513.

WICKLIFFE appears and advances ſome opinions againſt the papal power and the eſtabliſhed religion ——is protected by the duke of Lancaſter—is enjoined only ſilence for the future 506. He diſpelled the charm that maintained the papal uſurpations 508. His doctrine ſpred with amazing ſucceſs—— lives unmoleſted at his pariſh at Lutterworth—a great divine and philoſopher, wrote ſeveral books and tranſlated the bible into Engliſh—his body taken up and burnt many years after his death——the principles he ſet out with 510. 11. His opinions of two ſorts, proceeded againſt with great zeal at the council of Conſtance 537.

WILFRID biſhop of York driven from his dioceſe, flies into the kingdom of the South-Saxons, then not converted, and is received by ETHELWALCH the king who had married a chriſtian princeſs and been baptized, with great favour and countenance—— baptizes great numbers and ſettles a chriſtian church 82. He is guilty of unpardonable vanity and ambition—invited by CEDWALLA king of the Weſt-Saxons to be his miniſter of ſtate which he accepts 83. He is a warm aſſertor of the catholic Eaſter and the eccleſiaſtical tonſure at the ſynod at Whitby in Yorkſhire—— tutor to ALFRED natural ſon to OSWY—defends the Roman uſages from the examples of PAUL and PETER

PETER——his argument grounded on two miſtakes——triumphs over COLEMAN at the ſynod——made biſhop of the Northumbrians in his room——did not pretend that the pope or archbiſhop had any authority over the northern Engliſh—propoſed going into France for a conſecration——ſent thither at the public charge and conſecrated by AGILBERT—ſtays there too long——returns and finds his ſee filled by CHAD, and retires to his monaſtery at Rippon 88 to 103. A man of a daring and vain-glorious temper, and laid open by it to the practice of his enemies 94. He is depoſed and baniſhed 104.5. He goes to Rome, ſuppoſed a proxy for the Engliſh church at a general council but not truly——admitted into the ſynod——ſtory of his being acquitted there and reconciled to THEODORE impoſſible 108. 9. His petition to the pope and council——was ſo ſubmiſſive as to get a ſentence in his favour 110. He is upbraided by the king for procuring the ſentence by fraud or bribery——committed to priſon ——releaſed by the ſollicitation of the king's aunt 111. He is invited by THEODORE to a meeting with him in London—entreated by the primate to forgive him—offered the archbiſhoprick——his temper on this occaſion admirable——reconciled to THEODORE——refuſes the primacy and why——invited by ALFRED into Northumberland ——and reſtored to the revenues which had been taken from him, and to his dioceſe which was again united 116. 17. 18. He diſpleaſes ALFRED--behaves inſolently to the king and his courtiers——drove away again from the ſee of York —flies into Mercia, well received by that king——made biſhop of Leiceſter—in a few months quarrels with the king of Mercia and driven from his new biſhoprick 120. He quarrels with archbiſhop BRIGHTWALD and loſes his protection——a council called at Oſterfield to examine into his conduct——ſummoned to appear at the council——refuſes till a ſafe conduct is ſent--- a charge laid againſt him --- his reply---the ſentence of the council --- proteſted againſt by WILFRID---reproaches his enemies with ingratitude for his eminent ſervices to the church--appeals to the pope --- depoſed by the council and excommunicated ---goes to the court of Mercia for protection---flies away to Rome--preſents a petition to the pope --- admitted to lay his caſe before the pope and a provincial council --- pronounced innocent by them --- in no haſt to return --- deſires to paſs the reſt of his days at Rome ---this meaſure being diſapproved, he was commanded home, and he obeyed 129 to 133. He is reconciled to the archbiſhop who promiſed to uſe his intereſt in his favour---went to the court of Mercia where he was kindly received --- ſends two meſſengers to ALFRED who refuſes to acquieſce in the determination from Rome --- ſends meſſengers to the uſurper of ALFRED's crown after his death--- goes to his abbey of Rippon --- had an uncourtly anſwer from the uſurper --- at the uſurper's death makes an intereſt with the regent--the archbiſhop goes into the north to effect his reſtoration——a ſynod called at Nidd for this purpoſe--- after much difficulty he was fixed in

in the biſhoprick of Hexham, and reſtored to his abbey of Rippon 133. 4. 5. His death and character 136. 7.

WILLIAM the conqueror ſuccedes HAROLD in the throne 245. He is crowned on Chriſtmas day by the archbiſhop of York—various reaſons given for this 248. 9. He took the uſual oath at his coronation——confirms the privileges of the people by a public edict——goes over to Normandy and carries the principal Engliſh nobility with him 249. He advances RIMIGIUS to the ſee of Dorcheſter — ſends LANFRANK to Rome to concert meaſures for reforming the Engliſh church — this kept ſecret for ſome time—his reign for the firſt three years much embarraſſed —— overcomes his difficulties 250. He deſpoiled the monaſteries and collegiate churches of all their treaſure —ſeizes ſome of their lands—violates the immunities of the clergy --quarters Normans upon the monaſteries——ſends to the pope for legates to come to England 251. He permits the legate to call the clergy to a council —— the crown put on his head by one of the legates —— receives a remonſtrance from the archbiſhop of YORK which ſtung him to the quick--ſends an excuſe to the archbiſhop — cauſes STIGAND to be accuſed before the council — his charge againſt him 252. He impriſons him for the reſt of his life — the true reaſon for the king's proceeding againſt him — depoſes other biſhops and abbots—all the great poſts in the church put into the hands of his creatures 253. He ſends an ambaſſador to congratulate GREGORY the ſeventh on his acceſſion to the popedom—paſſes a canon in Normandy againſt ſimony, but ſo as to make it uſeleſs 262. 3. His anſwer to GREGORY's claim of England 266. He ſupports his primate in his refuſal to go to Rome—— took ſuch meaſures with regard to the church as he thought convenient—forbid his ſubjects to acknowledge any other pope than he allowed of, or receive any orders from Rome—ſometimes flattered and ſometimes threatened by GREGORY--concerts meaſures with his biſhops to keep him at a diſtance — forms the Engliſh church on the model of the Norman 269. He arreſts his brother-in-law ODO earl of Kent —his releaſe requeſted by GREGORY but refuſed 270. The privileges he granted Battle abbey of very ill conſequence 271. He ſeparates the eccleſiaſtical from the civil courts—when the ſeparation made uncertain 273. He commands biſhops and archdeacons not to hear eccleſiaſtical cauſes in civil courts 274. 5. His death and character 276. 7. 8.

WILLIAM RUFUS ſuccedes his father in the throne—diſtributes his treaſures very profuſely——makes fair promiſes—quiets the factions of the Normans in his brother's intereſt 279. He forgets his promiſes and oppreſſes his people with cruel impoſitions—admoniſhed of his falſehood by the archbiſhop — his anſwer 280. He ſeizes upon the vacant benefices —— ſells them to the higheſt bidder——ſeizes upon the temporalities of the ſees of Canterbury and Lincoln ——his dangerous illneſs——repents and gives ſeveral lands to monaſteries--

fills the ſees of Canterbury and Lincoln—recovers and returns to his former violences 281. He eſpouſes the pretenſions of the archbiſhop of YORK —— always under a neceſſity of inventing new ways to raiſe money— undertakes to compromiſe the difference between the archbiſhop of YORK and the biſhop of LINCOLN — obliges the biſhop of LINCOLN to pay him two thouſand pounds——artfully conceals his motives 282. He refuſes a preſent of five hundred pounds from ANSELM — offended with his freedom —— refuſes leave for a national ſynod —— exaſperated at the archbiſhop's diſcourſe 283. He goes to Normandy —— returns and renews the diſpute with ANSELM —— diſguſted at his pretending to decide the popedom—— his declaration to him 284. He meets his great council at Rockingham to decide his diſpute with ANSELM —— gets the nobility and the biſhops on his ſide—preſſes to bring him to a trial and depoſe him, but in vain — uneaſy at his intended journey to Rome and forbids it 285. He ſends two chaplains to Rome to obtain the pall for a new archbiſhop, and to promiſe to own URBAN if they granted it--over-reached in this by the court of Rome --- cauſes URBAN to be publicly owned ---- attempts to oblige ANSELM but could not ſucceed —— exceedingly mortified with the iſſue of this affair—reproaches and threatens ANSELM —— refuſes him leave to go to Rome—— commands him to leave England in eleven days——ſeizes upon the temporalities of his dioceſe 286. 7. 8. He refuſes to receive letters from ANSELM and threatens his meſſenger——juſtifies his conduct towards that prelate at Rome 289. He was declared at a council at Rome at which ANSELM was preſent, worthy of excommunication —— refuſed to yield inveſtitures to the pope—— his death and character 290. 91.

WILLIAM biſhop of London goes into Normandy, but is recalled 239.

WINCHELSEA elected by the convent with the king's approbation to the ſee of Canterbury in the room of PECKHAM 479. He applies to pope BONNIFACE for a bull to prohibit the clergy from granting an aid to the king without his leave ——conſults with his ſuffragan biſhops upon an anſwer to be given to the king on this ſubject ——orders the pope's bull to be publiſhed in all cathedral churches —— has an audience of the king at Saliſbury——agrees with him upon terms of accommodation 480. 1. He is expoſtulated with by king EDWARD and accuſed of high treaſon—throws himſelf at the king's feet and begs his pardon and his bleſſing —— is complained of by the king to the pope —— is outlawed and his revenues ſeized—— ſuſpended by the pope 483. 4. He is recalled from his exile by EDWARD the ſecond—refuſes to concur with his arbitrary meaſures in breaking thro the canons, and enters into a confederacy with the barons in defence of the rights of the people--holds a provincial council at London to enquire into the behaviour of the knights Templars ---delivers articles to the ſuffragan biſhops for a reformation 486. 7. He is required by the king to give notice

notice to the clergy of his dioceſe, of a parliament---he had no mind to execute this writ---he obeys upon a ſecond writ, and ſends a provincial mandate to ſummon the clergy, tho he is not well pleaſed with it —— calls a provincial council of his ſuffragan biſhops, and gives leave to the deans and chapters to be admitted, if they come and petition for it —— his death and character 488.

WINCHESTER biſhop of, ſuccedes the earl of PEMBROKE as guardian to king HENRY the third—isdiſmiſſed from that poſt 448. He isrecalled to court ——thinks of nothing but governing by an abſolute power--- exaſperates the nobility and gentry againſt him by his inſolence and tyranny ——is threatened by the prelates with excommunication— appeals to Rome —— complained againſt by the archbiſhop ſo much and ſo often that he is turned out with infamy and goes to Rome— his death and character 453 to 456.

Wilton the ſee of it transferred to Saliſbury 254.

WINFRID biſhop of Litchfield depoſed and why 104.

WITTLESEY biſhop of Worceſter, ſuccedes LANGHAM in the ſee of Canterbury——dies 505. 6.

Worſhip of images not thought of in the ſeventh century 127. A controverſy about it 153.

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WULPHER a younger ſon of PENDA king of Mercia aſcends the throne ——as ſavage in his nature and as violent for paganiſm as his father --- puts two of his children to death whom his wife, a zealous chriſtian, had educated in her belief, becauſe they would not renounce it —— his conſcience wounded with the guilt of that unnatural crime, revolts from paganiſm --- promotes the chriſtian religion in conjunction with his queen very zealouſly, and completes the converſion of that barbarous kingdom 80. 1. He joins with the Kentiſh and Northumbrian kings to unite the Engliſh churches 95.

WULSTAN archbiſhop of York conſpires againſt EDRED ——made priſoner for almoſt a year--- occaſions his death 191.

WULSTAN ſuccedes ALDRED in the ſee of Worceſter tho with reluctance 242.

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